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University of Glasgow  
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# Walking Women: Gender, Planning and Urban Space in Glasgow

Presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
M.Sc. in City Planning and Regeneration

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## Abstract

Focussing on the relationship between gender and the city, this paper uses policy analysis, photography, and walking interviews to expose gender inequality in the built environment in Glasgow. It examines how an inattention to gender in planning leads to the reinforcement of patriarchal gender hierarchies through urban space by analysing physical characteristics of the built environment and the gendered construction of fear. This paper argues that the absence of gender equality policies in city planning combined with persisting social gender norms restrict equal access to the city. This is done by analysing the construction of a sense of belonging as well as the factors influencing its creation and relevant examples given by interviewees in relation to specific locations in Glasgow. The research then suggests possibilities for urban interventions to mitigate inequality in the built environment and promote the dissolution of gender hierarchies that systematically disadvantage women.

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# 1. Introduction

With the exponential population growth worldwide cities are expanding and populations are becoming increasingly diverse. However, the majority of urban research silences identity-based inequalities in the built environment (Frichot et. al, 2018; Fleming & Tranovich, 2016; Rahder & Altilia, 2004; Rustin, 2015; Walker, 2017). This paper positions itself at the intersection of urban research and gender studies, examining how male dominance in the planning sector has led to an interplay between gender and the city that systematically disadvantages individuals based on their gender identity. With a focus on Glasgow, this dissertation answers the following questions:

How does the urban environment and planning limit possibilities for overcoming traditional notions of gender?

How does the conducted research inform about new ideas of gender in social space?

Chapter 2 introduces and justifies the methods used. Walking interviews conducted with women living in Glasgow will explore how the city is experienced by individuals, focusing on the everyday construction of a sense of belonging, supported by policy analysis, photography and mapping. The literature review in chapter 3 explores gender inequality in the city, from the epidemic numbers of violence against women to the underrepresentation of women in male-dominated sectors relating to the city such as architecture, planning, development and construction. It explores how the longevity of buildings and streets eventually lead to gender inequality being cemented into the very fabric of the urban environment (Ankum, 1997; Ärlemo, 2018; Becker, 2008; Bitter, 1994). Chapter 4 explores if and how gender based inequalities are addressed in planning policy on different scales of government and analyses gender violence in Glasgow and Scotland. Chapter 5 presents the research findings, beginning with constraints on gender by analysing the relationship between gender and the city in Glasgow. It explores how inequality is experienced by the women interviewed for the study, presenting factors influencing sense of belonging and the construction of fear. The chapter shows that research adapting a gender lens uncovers gender-

based constraints and informs of possibilities to make the city more equal, which are then explored. By implementing mobile methods, this dissertation not only adds to empirical evidence on an underexplored topic, but it does so by using an innovative approach, demonstrating the suitability of mobile methods for urban research. Mapping and photography will support the research visually. Chapter 6 consists of three vignettes based on the previous research.



## 2. Methodology

This chapter briefly introduces the methods of research used in this paper, focusing on policy analysis and walking interviews, then briefly introducing photography and mapping.

### 2.1 Policy Analysis

In order to effectively uncover the gap between theory and policy regarding gender-based inequality in the built environment in Glasgow, the policy analysis will examine the latest government publications on urban and regional planning that apply to Glasgow regarding their mention of the words: ‘gender’, ‘women’, ‘(in)equality’ and ‘inclusive’. This method is adequate as the words searched for are essential when addressing the topic – this way, connections (or lack thereof) will be efficiently exposed enabling “value judgements about the worth of particular policies” (Bracken, 2007:292) regarding gender equality. Evidently this is not enough to address a problem effectively: A solution must be specified otherwise it “can be logically presumed that the problem will persist or worsen” (Yamatani & Feit, 2013:820), rendering unspecified policy goals ineffective in achieving gender equality. Therefore, the search results will be analysed regarding their effectiveness via content analysis (Bracken, 2007:264). As stated, the policy analysis is conducted on different scales of government focusing on the most recent publications available online. The UN Goals of Sustainable Development will form the largest scale of government. The Scottish National Planning Policy Framework, other national policies relating to the built environment and government policies aimed at gender equality will be evaluated. Thereafter, Glasgow City Council<sup>1</sup> planning policies as well as other planning documents applying to the City of Glasgow such as the Clydeplan will be examined.

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<sup>1</sup> Glasgow City Council will in the following be abbreviated to GCC.

## 2.2 The Walking Interview

The walking interviews will be conducted with six women between the ages of 23 and 32. Four of them are Scottish and five of them live in Glasgow, the sixth is a first-time visitor. All participants identify as female. Interviews were conducted in English, Spanish and German, then transcribed in English. The selection of interviewees was dependent on both voluntary participation, availability and familiarity with the researcher, as trust allows “the conversation to drift/flow relatively freely” (Evans & Jones, 2011:851). Furthermore, “linguistic and cultural understanding [and] gender dynamics/legacies” (Macpherson, 2014:428) play an important role. Conducting the interviews in participant’s mother tongue facilitated both cultural and linguistic understanding, and let the participant express their feelings and beliefs in a natural way (Adler Hellman, 1987). Participants and researcher share the same gender identity. The researcher is aware that her own identity as bisexual, white, European woman might influence the respondents to answer in a certain way, however, participants know and trust the researcher and are aware of the anonymous, non-judgemental treatment of the collected data.

Walking interviews allow for an in-depth understanding of how the city is perceived. Compared to sedentary methods<sup>2</sup>, they “generate richer data, because interviewees are prompted by meanings and connections to the surrounding environment and are less likely to try and give the ‘right’ answer” (Evans & Jones, 2011:849). As participants are in the place they are speaking about they can express emotions immediately as they experience them (ibid.:850), which is not the case with sedentary interviews. In addition, conversation flow is easier to manage in changing surroundings. It requires “less prompting by the interviewer” (Evans & Jones, 2011:856) as interviewees mention places “spontaneously in conversation” (ibid.), producing data about interviewee’s relations and connections to space, the experience of the built environment, feelings and emotions attached to it and the interaction with place and use of space (Anderson, 2004:259; Evans &

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<sup>2</sup> Mobile methods include all forms of research methods that are not bound to one place, thereby distinguishable from sedentary methods where research is conducted in a fixed place, mostly as seated interviews.

Jones, 2011:856; Macpherson, 2014:426; Corraliza, 2000). As “specific bodies (aged, disabled and/or gendered) experience this landscape in different ways” (Macpherson, 2014:428), walking interviews present themselves as an ideal method to explore the gendered experiences of being in, and moving through space. In contrast with seated interviews, mobile research is especially suitable as it can “bring more nuanced understandings of place into planning policy” (Evans & Jones, 2011:849) and “to social science research” (Anderson, 2004:254), informing “how individuals and communities value the spaces in which they live” (Evans & Jones, 2011:849). Middleton (2011) identifies a “much needed engagement with the actual experience of walking” (90), and these understandings can potentially inform policy makers of “ways in which it can be more effectively promoted” (Middleton, 2011:91) as a sustainable method of transportation. In regards to the “need for further work to refine the technique and test its potential applications” (Evans & Jones, 2011:857) this research hopes to solidify the importance mobile methods are gaining within urban research.

As “places are created by the routes people take” (Evans & Jones, 2011:850), it is important to consider “the route and distance covered during any research using walking methods” (Macpherson, 2014:428). Routes have been chosen by the interviewees with the instruction of walking to the city centre, which produced rich geographically linked content and routes that partially overlap. All interviews were around one hour in duration and conducted at different times throughout the day. The conversations are recorded, and the walk is tracked for “spoken words and location to be accurately connected” (Evans & Jones, 2011:851), as well as to determine “how long interviewees spent in each different zone [and] their average speed in each” (Evans & Jones, 2011:852). This information is illustrated graphically. In order to identify gendered experiences of the urban, the research will focus on “the habitual, day-to-day pedestrian practices of city residents as opposed to being ‘one off’ events” (Middleton, 2011:101). However, a German tourist has been interviewed to expose differences between first-time- visitors and long-term residents.

Walking interviews can encounter some difficulties that have been considered prior to the research. Constraints include the required physical capabilities of participants, and external influences like noise and weather (Anderson, 2004). All participants of the research were young, able-bodied women so “the specific bodily capacities of the people” (Macpherson, 2014:428) interviewed did not affect the research and have been considered in the consent form. It has been shown that noise does not affect “content and length of interviews” (Evans & Jones, 2011:857). Furthermore, weather, temperature and light conditions in Glasgow are extremely variable which all interviewees are aware<sup>3</sup> of, and can therefore be considered ‘normal’. However, research suggests that “walking methods that involve a ‘pleasurable walk’ are likely to inject a certain positivity into the research relationship” (Macpherson, 2014: 430) as endorphins get released (Lamb et al., 2002) and outdoor walks have mood-enhancing effects (Morgan, Tobar & Snyder, 2010). Thus, interviewees “dispelling negative thoughts” (Macpherson, 2014:430) and experiencing the urban environment in a more positive way than usual is likely to result in “somewhat upbeat and partial accounts of themselves and the landscapes they are passing through” (Macpherson, 2008), which needs to be taken into account when evaluating results.

### 2.3 Photography and Mapping

Photography adds “texture to representations of place and landscape” (Macpherson, 2014:426) and visualises the comments of participants and therefore conveys a more rounded picture of the interview content. It aids the “deconstruction of the hierarchies of spatial experience and power” (Mott & Roberts, 2013:231) and is thus a suitable method for the nature of this research. The qualitative data is then mapped, adding another layer of depth to the interpretation and presentation of the data. All pictures are the author’s own unless otherwise stated.

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<sup>3</sup> The participants that commented positively on the weather showed awareness of worse weather conditions as well as other light circumstances.

### 3. Literature Review: The Gendered City

This chapter explores the interplay of gender studies and urban planning in contemporary literature. It examines how gender stereotypes and social norms that are present and engrained in society translate into the built environment. Ultimately, it will demonstrate that gender divisions influence the “socio-spatial organization of urban areas” (Little et.al, 1988:3) and are mutually reinforcing. Cities are androcentric<sup>4</sup> in three ways: In their symbolic architecture, their spatial organisation, and in the use of public space. First, the everyday- perspective and the sense of belonging are introduced. Then, prevailing gender stereotypes and social gender structures will be analysed. Following, physical structures and the underlying gendered processes of city development will be examined to uncover “the interrelations between socially constructed gender relations and socially constructed environments” (Little et al, 1988: 2).

#### 3.1. Sense of Belonging and the Everyday

Patriarchal structures “are expressed in issues of fear and safety and gendered exclusions from public spaces” (Fenster, 2015), creating no-go-zones<sup>5</sup> that “abuse [women’s] rights to the city” (ibid.). Beebeejaun and Fenster emphasise that gender differences that are overlooked by planning policies are felt in everyday life as a sense of belonging (Beebeejaun 2017, Fenster 2005) defining how the urban environment is experienced.

Sense of belonging, in other words, “the subjective experience of having relationships that bring about a secure sense of fitting in” (Lambert et. al, 2013:1418) is constructed in the everyday. It ranges from deep emotional connections to temporally perceived connections to strangers and places (Fenster, 2005; Lambert et.al, 2013; Levine, 2016). Feeling a sense of belonging, even as temporary “group membership helps reduce feeling of subjective uncertainty” (Lambert et al, 2013:1419) and is considered essential for emotional well-being (Levine, 2016; Lambert et.al, 2013:1418). The

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<sup>4</sup> Androcentric: “dominated by or emphasizing masculine interests or a masculine point of view” (Merriam Webster, 2018).

<sup>5</sup> The term ‘no-go-zone’ will be used in this paper to describe an area or space that is avoided by women as a result of gendered constraints and a lack of a ‘sense of belonging’.

construction of this sense of belonging is thus dependent on the individual at the intersection of the individual's identities. Additionally, "through the everyday spheres of life, the gendered and patriarchal nature of cities is more readily revealed" (Beebeejaun, 2017:330). As feelings are very individual, sense of belonging is partially dependent on individual perceptions of (a lack of) possibilities (Fenster, 2005). However, it is also culturally constructed and dependent on social gender norms defining women's right to use the city<sup>6</sup>: "The right to use the city and the right to belong are mixed up. In fact, the possibilities of daily use of urban spaces are what create a sense of belonging to the city" (Fenster, 2005). The following will therefore analyse Glasgow's built environment through the lens of everyday experiences of women, uncovering how the urban environment and planning practice define possibilities for overcoming traditional notions of gender in social space.

### 3.2. Gender Stereotypes, Social Structures and the Body

Since the popularisation of the term 'gender' in the 1970s, the "strongly held correlation between biological sex and social gender" (Bell & Valentine, 1995: 36) is challenged by augmented visibility and acceptance of non-binary and transgender identities, uncovering gender as a social construct. Clearly, 'gender' and 'women' are not equated to one another – this research however focuses on women's gender-dependent experiences. The "powerful cultural norms" (Jarvis et.al, 2009:29) defining masculinity and femininity are still in place, resulting in gender stereotypes that systematically contribute to inequality. The following will demonstrate that despite noticeable media attention to gender inequality and related movements around the globe contributing to the continuous evaporation of traditional gender norms, gender roles continue to exist and restrict women (Ärlemo, 2018; Doan, 2010; Frichot et.al, 2018; Fleming & Tranovich, 2016; Mott & Roberts, 2013). Women are confronted with unattainable beauty standards, intensified by social media platforms such as Instagram and picture-manipulation software (Miss Representation, 2015). Gender stereotypes constructed by the media and advertising, the representation of women in history (Wir Frauen, 2018),

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<sup>6</sup> The gender-based differences in being able to use the city relates closely to the Lefebvrian right to use the city which has been elaborated on by many scholars including Fenster (2005).

politics, and the continuous struggle for equal pay are just some aspects demonstrating that gender equality has not been reached (Miss Representation, 2015). While more career opportunities become available, most caring and household responsibilities are still ascribed to women (McDowell, 1990:388). It is clear that gender roles continue to shape the way we live and interact with each other and our environment, resulting in gender inequality.

The hierarchal gender structure and its social and cultural manifestations depend on locality, as culture and society are shaped historically and politically (Van der Haide). Therefore, the “state-wide gender system can be thought of as organising dominant narratives such as heteronormativity, patriarchy and individualism” (Jarvis et.al, 2009:223), whereas local gender systems are continuously engaged with on a daily basis –research should thus be conducted within one local culture. A 2014 survey of Scottish social attitudes demonstrated that “stereotypical views on gender roles persisted” and people who held these views “were consistently less likely to view a wide range of abusive behaviours as wrong or harmful” (Scottish Government, 2017a:9). Surprisingly, young people seemed to “hold more permissive views than adults about violence against women [...] and stereotypical gender views played a role in this” (ibid).

In addition to restrictive social norms, women face disadvantages when navigating the city that are based entirely on their physical body, exemplified by the Case Study in 6.1. Evidently, not only women face constraints based on the biological body – age, disability, race and sexuality are factors like gender that can evoke disadvantages in the city based on their divergence from the norm<sup>7</sup>. The city influences, shapes, and defines “the way the subject sees others” (Grosz, 1998:249), itself, and its spatial position. Representations and images of bodies in the city, the city providing “material support and sustenance” (ibid.) to the body, and in turn, shaping the city to suit the human body and satisfy its needs suggest a close interrelation. Grosz

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<sup>7</sup> The ‘norm’ refers to the able-bodied, middle-aged, heterosexual, white, male body that is privileged due to belonging to these identities. Diverging from this norm is associated with the loss of privilege. Increasingly, his norm is being exposed and consequently questioned, unmasking the unfounded privilege enjoyed by this (actual numerical) minority. (Haig, 2016; Nealon, 1998; Valdes, 1996; Coston & Kimmel, 2012; Kimmel, 2017; Brod & Kaufman, 1994).

(1998) further emphasises that a certain environment produces “the bodies of their inhabitants as particular and distinctive types of bodies” (250), which both relates to a certain body being used to the conditions prevailing in a city such as safety, norms, social rules, and access to resources, and to the city creating a certain environment for social interaction and the circulation of information (250f). As the body is gendered by cultural norms, representations and upbringing, the interrelation between body and city manifests itself as a distinct, gender-dependent experience (Becker, 2008): The city by its design prioritises bodies that function according to the norm (Wir Frauen, 2018; Germa & Maruejols, 2018).

Consequently, women are disadvantaged based on their biological sex and their social gender (Walker, 2017; Van der Heide). These disadvantages manifest themselves in many aspects of city life such as safety and violence, public transportation, sidewalks, and walkways - the topic is still “under-explored” (Parker, 2016:1337).

### 3.3. Physical Manifestation of Gender Inequality

Gender inequality stems from “centuries of gender division and conflict” (Jarvis et.al, 2009:133) and manifests itself physically in the city, as “contemporary cities and urban lived experience [are] shaped by androcentric planning and design cultures” (ibid.) following highly gendered processes of development. The outcomes often do not serve the needs of a diverse population and result in “the social and spatial construction of gender” (Jarvis et.al, 2009:31). As a consequence, patriarchal structures are engrained in “the fabric of the city itself” (ibid:22). Examples of such structures in Glasgow are given in 5.1.3.

Androcentric cultural values sediment into the built environment through oppressive societal norms, “political and administrative systems, which in turn come to symbolise and reinforce powerful regulatory norms and stereotypes” (Jarvis et.al, 2009:9). For example, land use policies and zoning that result in a spatial separation of the home and work, therefore spatially distinguishing “between unpaid home labour and wage labour” (Heim LaFrombois, 2015:424) disadvantage women disproportionately (Jarvis et.al,



2009:134). Although these are predominantly associated with the American example of the effects of suburban sprawl on women (Parker, 2016), Britain has developed a comparable “spatial separation between home and work, domestic and waged labour, public and private spheres, and, increasingly, between the daily activity patterns of men and women” (Little et.al, 1988:2). This separation gendered the home as female, while “public spaces have a long history of being coded as masculine” (Heim LaFrombois, 2015:426). The following will examine the gendered processes of city planning creating this inequality.

### 3.4. Gender Inequality and Planning

The urban environment, the construction sector and local government predominantly employ white, able-bodied, heterosexual men (Maruejols, 2017; Germa & Maruejols, 2018) and “research on urban politics and planning remains largely dominated by men” (Parker, 2016:1339). In the United Kingdom, men dominate in architecture, engineering, urban planning, development and local government (Rustin, 2014). The stark “underrepresentation<sup>8</sup> of women” (Little et.al, 1988:35) in fields related to the built environment translates into an unawareness of the gendered implications of their actions as decision-makers directly profit from existing power structures. As a result, the built environment is engrained with an “inattention to race, gender, and other power relations” (Parker, 2016:1339). The “historically prevailing ideas about the sexual division of labour are translated in and through urban space” (Heim LaFrombois, 2015:424), reinforcing “heterosexual, white, middle class household and economic privilege” (ibid.) through the spatial organisation of cities. Due to the longevity of buildings and streets “yesterday’s spatial planning, including its norms and values” (Ronnblöm & Sandberg, 2015:3) stands the test of time in the form of spatial boundaries. The lack of representation in planning is further intensified by the fact that lobbying in the planning sector is dominated by “nonelected business elites [that] tend to be white and male” (Heim LaFrombois, 2015:424f) as

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<sup>8</sup> At the current growth rate of women entering local politics, “it will take another 68 years to reach equal representation” (Doward, 2017).

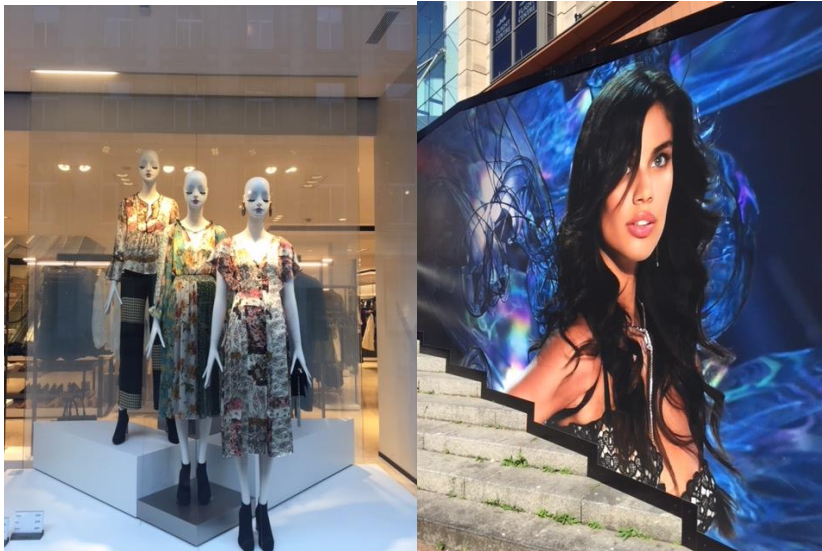
well. Through repetition, “ways of organizing and structuring the city are accepted as natural, as neutral processes” (Jarvis et. al, 2009:130). Uncovering these patriarchal structures in the built environment and the planning process is necessary to tackle gender inequality in society as a whole.

## 4. Gendered Glasgow

This chapter investigates the built environment and the everyday experiences of six women in Glasgow. The built environment, as mentioned in 3.3., contains physical manifestations of patriarchy ranging from “obvious ‘masculine’ architecture [...] e.g. phallic buildings” (Jarvis et.al, 2009:21), statues, monuments, industrial and historic heritage (ibid.) to temporary elements promoting gender stereotypes such as advertisements and mannequins (Koch, 2018). The following pictures exemplify such structures found in Glasgow.



*Figure 1 &2: The remainders of single sex schools in Woodlands and North Kelvinside.*



*Figure 3 & 4: Gender stereotypes and beauty norms on Buchanan Street.*

The following illustrates the history and reputation of Glasgow, followed by a policy and statistics analysis. The chapter closes with the analysis of the conducted walking interviews, focusing first on constraints, then on possibilities of gender.

#### 4.1 History and Reputation of Glasgow

The table in Appendix A: *History and Gender* gives an overview of the urban development and the development of gender studies and feminism in Glasgow from 1880 to today, including major international and national events. It illustrates the city's trajectory from "second city of the Empire" (Pacione, 1995) to post-industrial decline, poverty and crime. Glasgow was seen as the "epitome" of the hard man image (Young, 2007:71), as the city has been associated with the "archetypal construction of masculinity in Britain" (ibid.) due to hard physical labour in heavy industries, street gangs and knife fights, always accompanied by a "hard drinking culture" (ibid:72). Glasgow has been named the 'Scottish Chicago' for its gang violence in the late 1990s (Britain's Underworld, S1E1), and "labelled [...] the most violent city in the developed world" merely 13 years ago (Tweedie, 2005). The city's long-lasting struggle to rid itself of crime has left Glasgow with a reputation of disorder and violence despite the success of the Crime Prevention Unit

(Younge & Barr, 2017): Glasgow continues to be portrayed as rough, violent and poor in the media. However, contradictory to this, Glaswegians are also described as helpful, friendly, and down to earth. The brief analysis in Appendix B: *Representation of Glasgow* reflects on the juxtaposition of friendliest city and murder capital. In conclusion, between “great ‘self-made’ men of Glasgow’s industrial heritage” (Pacione, 1995:49), the robbers, dealers and gang members of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and further poverty and despair in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, men took the central stage appearance regarding the in shaping Glasgow’s reputation (Young, 2007).

## 4.2 Policy Analysis

While mainstream urban research feels like feminism and gender disparities have been addressed adequately (Beebeejaun, 2017), physical evidence and crime statistics of cities as well as personal experiences of members of marginalised groups suggest otherwise, exposing a discrepancy between theory and reality. While the UN acknowledges persisting gender inequality in their sustainability agenda, noting the importance of ending gender-based “discrimination and violence in every part of the world” (UN, 2017), the following will examine the extent to which more local planning policies have incorporated gender equality as “a necessary foundation for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world” (UN, 2017). The importance placed on gender equality in ensuring women’s “fundamental human right[s]” (UN, 2017) by the United Nations will be highlighted by the following analysis of crime statistics and trends in Scotland and Glasgow. Ultimately, the subsequent policy analysis aims to uncover the gap between theory and policy regarding gender-based inequality in the built environment in Glasgow.

#### 4.2.1 Violence against Women

Although recorded crime in Scotland “decreased by 3%” from 2015/16 to 2016/17 thereby reaching the “lowest level of recorded crime since 1974” (National Statistics, 2017:1), “sexual crimes increased by 5%” (ibid.), which is the highest level since the beginning of data collection in 1971. Sexual crimes involving an underage victim made up “at least 44%” (National Statistics, 2017:27) of the total, and 17% of that total were attempted rape and rape. Rape-related crimes increased by 4% from the previous year, following a constant upward trend since 2010/11, amounting to a total of 66% since the turn of the decade (ibid, 27). The “upward trend for sexual crimes across the UK” (National Statistics, 2017:31) is apparently related to more people reporting crimes rather than actual increases in crime. Arguably however, this merely exposes how many rape-related crimes went unnoticed – still, the actual number of offences is expected to be much higher (Rape Crisis Scotland, 2018; Kalm, 2018:113). “Women disproportionately experience this violence” (Scottish Government, 2017a:7): Records of sexual crime in Scotland in 2016/17 show that victims of domestic abuse<sup>9</sup> were 79% female, victims of rape and attempted rape were 94% female, and “87% of crimes of ‘sexual assault’ had a female victim” (Scottish Government, 2017a:7) with 95% of the perpetrators being male. The Scottish government acknowledges that these numbers are “a continuing challenge for the justice portfolio” as gender-based violence restricts women “to participate equally in society without the fear of violence, abuse or intimidation” (Scottish Government, 2017b:15). Glasgow is home to “11% of Scotland’s population, but accounted for 18% (43,903 crimes) of all recorded crime in Scotland” (National Statistics, 2017:1f) in 2016/17, therefore possessing the highest density of recorded crime in the country with 714 crimes per 10,000 population (ibid: 15). Evidently, crime continues to be an issue in the Scottish city.

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<sup>9</sup> Domestic abuse is highly gendered and an immense threat to women’s lives: 52% of female victims “were killed by their partner or ex-partner” (Scottish Government, 2017a:8) whereas male victims in this category only made up 6%. As domestic abuse does, despite being interrelated with the city, not take place in a public setting, it will not be discussed in detail.

Violence against women “remains a human rights violation experienced at epidemic levels in Scotland” (Engender, 2017:87). The connection between sexual violence and the city, and consequently, the necessity to adequately address safety issues in policies becomes evident. Violence against women is caused by gender inequality and associated gender norms and stereotypes “that continue to permeate society” (Scottish Government, 2017a:2 & Engender: 83), as explored in 3.2. It is thus necessary to include gender equality into policy, as it is the starting point, rather than the final aim, of creating a truly inclusive urban environment without gender violence. Both the statistics introduced here as well as the previously uncovered connections between the city and gender inequality justify the following policy analysis.

#### 4.2.2. Scotland

The aforementioned UN goals for sustainable development were adopted by Scotland in 2015 (The Global Goals, 2017), who are thereby committing to put gender equality onto the development agenda. Women in Scotland still “earn £182.90 per week less than men” (Close the Gap, 2016), and representation on local council elections only increased 4% in 2017 – at this rate it would “take 25 years to reach fair representation” (One Scotland). While administration and service work are dominated by women at 80%, “senior managers in science, engineering and technology professions” are only 10% female, which in civil engineering is “less than three per cent” (Close the Gap, 2017). Currently, 36% of Scottish ministers are female (BetaGov, 2018) and the same percentage prevails on city level: 31 of the 85 members of the Glasgow City Council are female (GCC, 2018).

Engender, a Scottish organisation promoting and lobbying for gender equality for over 25 years, note that “gender equality concerns are primarily absent from statutory planning” (Engender, 2017:69). They uncover a lack of gender perspectives in planning policies in Scotland, criticising the planning system for not including gender mainstreaming<sup>10</sup>. The UN’s ‘New Urban

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<sup>10</sup> Despite there being multiple definitions of gender mainstreaming, its aim to “achieve the goal of gender equality” (Cornwall et. al, 2007:125) as well as its “most common usage [...]

Agenda’ “designed to achieve gender equality” (ibid, 69) could encourage “Scotland’s National Planning Framework (due before parliament by 2019)” (Engender, 2017) to include these concerns in legislation. The Planning (Scotland) Bill introduced in 2017 (Scottish Government, 2017c) does not bring up women, gender, or equality. The Scottish Planning Policy (Scottish Government, 2014) shows some awareness of gender. by promoting adaptable buildings that “take into account how people use places differently, for example depending on age, gender and degree of personal mobility and providing versatile greenspace” (17). Although this mentions gender as aspect defining the perception of places, no specifications are given and gender is not mentioned again. None of the remarks of “inclusive” (Scottish Government, 2014:10), for “inclusive communities” and an “inclusive society” (ibid:11) are explicitly defined, and there is no specifications as to how or why this is to be achieved, which is therefore not a substantial step towards inclusivity and cannot be argued to serve gender equality.

#### 4.2.3. Glasgow

In the Equality Outcomes published by Glasgow City Council in 2017, they commit “to mitigate the effects of inequality” by pledging to “mainstreaming equality in all aspects of policy development and decision making thereby demonstrating leadership” (GCC, 2017b:4). However, the document does not mention the built environment nor aims or goals specifically for city development, planning or development projects, which ultimately demonstrates the locally inexistent connections between gender inequality and city planning. The Clydeplan (GCVSDPA, 2017), applying to Greater Glasgow and the Clyde Valley, does not mention ‘gender’ or ‘women’. “Equality” (GCVSDPA, 2017:9, 12, 13, 37) in all cases relates to economic

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as a long-term strategy or systematic institutional approach for promoting/ producing gender equality as a policy outcome” enjoy a “relatively high degree of agreement” (Cornwall et. al, 2007:124). It “involves the integration of gender equality concerns into the analyses and formulation of all policies, programmes, and projects” (Cornwall et. al, 2007:136; Jarvis et.al, 2009:221), in other words, incorporating “a gender perspective in all research” (Jarvis et.al, 2009:222). Gender mainstreaming works across all sexualities and gender identities (Cornwall et. al, 2007:132). It is here relevant because transformative processes “will be at the local level” (Porter &Judd, 1999:226) and should therefore appear in citywide policies.



growth and competitiveness, or an unspecified 'social inequality'. The Glasgow City Development Plan (GCC, 2017a) does not use the words 'women', 'gender', or 'gender inequality'. The word 'inclusive' is mentioned three times on the 137 pages (ibid:19, 21, 32) as desirable characteristic of places and of the planning process. It declares that "the city's growing and diverse population" requires "sustainable, vibrant and distinctive places which are well-designed, accessible, safe, healthy and inclusive" (ibid:21). Still, the diversity of the population is not specified, and their presumably diverse needs are only collectively addressed. In conclusion, neither the Clydeplan, nor the City Development Plan see the connection between gender equality and the built environment. Hence they cannot be classified as effective policies in regards to the aims of this paper.

As the walking interviews geographically cover the areas of Sauchiehall and Garnethill, the applicable "Regeneration Framework for Sauchiehall and Garnethill District" has been analysed regarding gender awareness. It declares that "age and gender surveys in selected locations" (GCC, 2015:54) were conducted to inform how people use public space at different times of day. However, there are no further remarks about the study. The document merely touches on a "need for wider, more inclusive measure of value and success" (ibid:15) regarding the unequal spatial "distribution of deprivation" (ibid: 22). Both mentions of equality (ibid:22; 46) relate to economic inequality and the document does not differentiate between affected people by other categories such as age or gender. The Glasgow City Centre Strategy (GCC, 2013a) does not include 'gender', 'equality', 'women', or 'inclusive'. It becomes evident that the aforementioned criticism from Engender (Engender, 2017) regarding the absence of gender concerns in policies relating to the built environment and city planning is appropriate, and can rightfully be extended to smaller scales of government in the case of Glasgow.

## 5. Research Findings

To understand the way women navigate in the city, six walking interviews<sup>11</sup> have been conducted in Glasgow. The following table briefly introduces the participants and their relation to Glasgow and the researcher. These are completed by maps of the routes and the walking speeds. Then, topics mentioned by the participants<sup>12</sup> relevant to the research questions will be analysed focusing on a sense of belonging in the city, accompanied by maps that show areas associated with positive and negative feelings. Photography and further mapping will illustrate the findings graphically.

*Table 1: Overview of Research Participants.*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Sexual orientation</i>	<i>Time in Glasgow</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Met researcher</i>
Amelia	32	Mexican	hetero	8 months	Not displayed	At the interview
Ava	25	Scottish	hetero	7 years	Self-employed	November 2017
Emily	26	Scottish	hetero	4 years	student & PTW <sup>13</sup>	September 2017
Isla	22	Scottish	lesbian	5 years	Student & PTW	September 2017
Olivia	23	Scottish	hetero	Since birth	student	March 2017
Sophie	24	German	hetero	2 days	student	2015

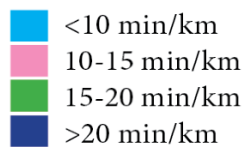
All participants of the study identify as female. Olivia, Emily, and Isla live in the West End, Amelia and Ava in the city centre. Sophie's interview was conducted in German, as it is both the researchers' and Sophie's first

<sup>11</sup> All interviewees and persons introduced by them have been allocated a pseudonym randomly. The time used in the quotes indicates the minute and second the sentence started on the recording.

<sup>12</sup> Evidently, the content is limited to characteristics named by interviewees of this study, thus claims neither completeness nor universality.

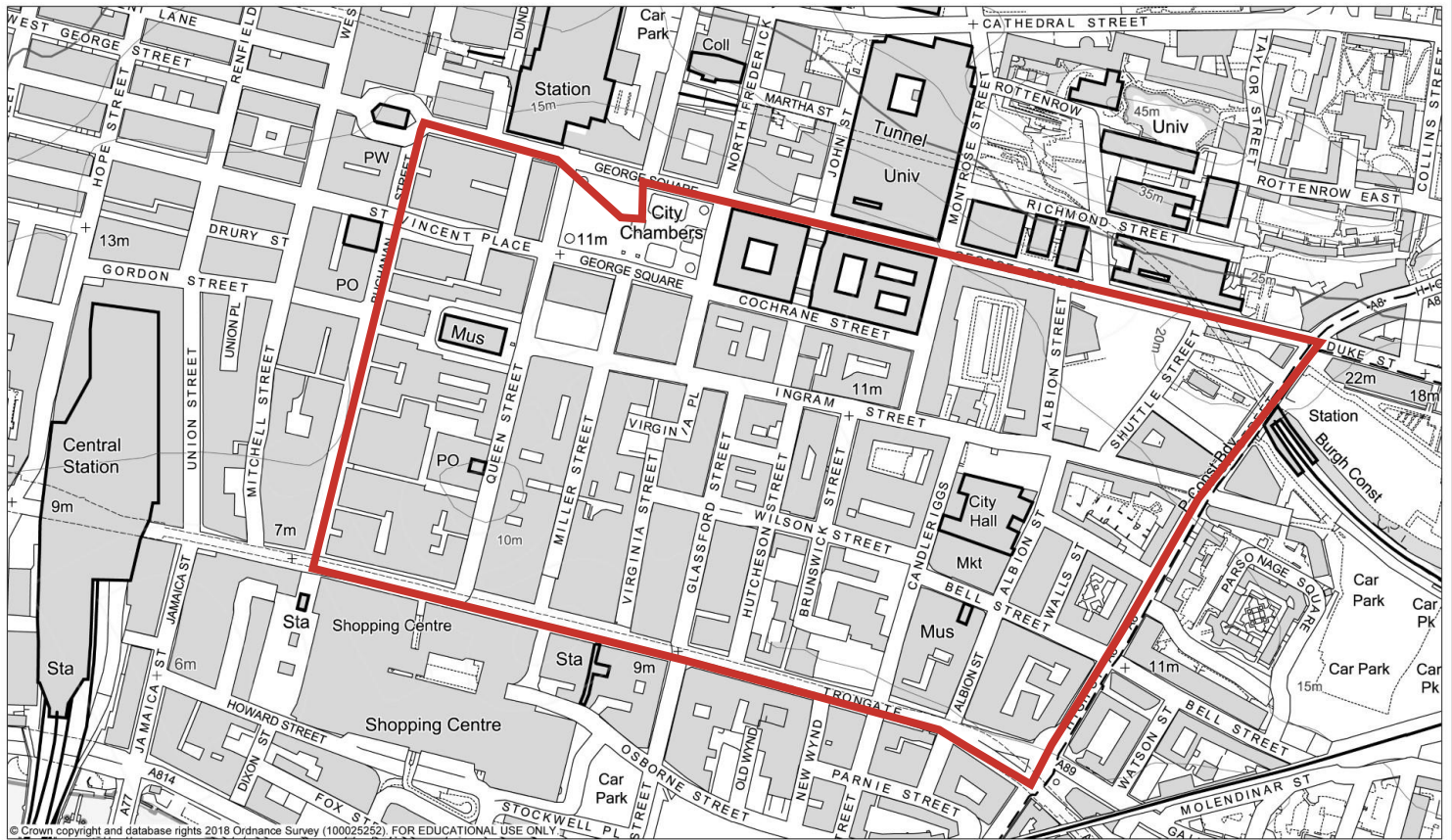
<sup>13</sup> PTW: short for Part Time Work.

language, enabling the most natural conversation. Amelia's interview was conducted in her native language Spanish. Both interviews have been translated to English by the researcher during the transcription process. The interviews have been conducted shortly after the devastating fire at the Mackintosh Building. Due to related road closures, limited access to Sauchiehall Street caused inevitable diversions to the usual walking routes taken. Furthermore, due to the researcher's status as temporary resident in Glasgow, respondents might feel the need to promote the city, especially since the nature of the research might seem criticising. Furthermore, the researcher's own views might have been transmitted through the type of questions, and the tone of voice when speaking about certain issues. The researcher was aware of this before the interviews, intending to remain as neutral as possible. The following pages show the routes taken by interviewees in alphabetical order as well as their walking speeds, the key for which is pictured below.

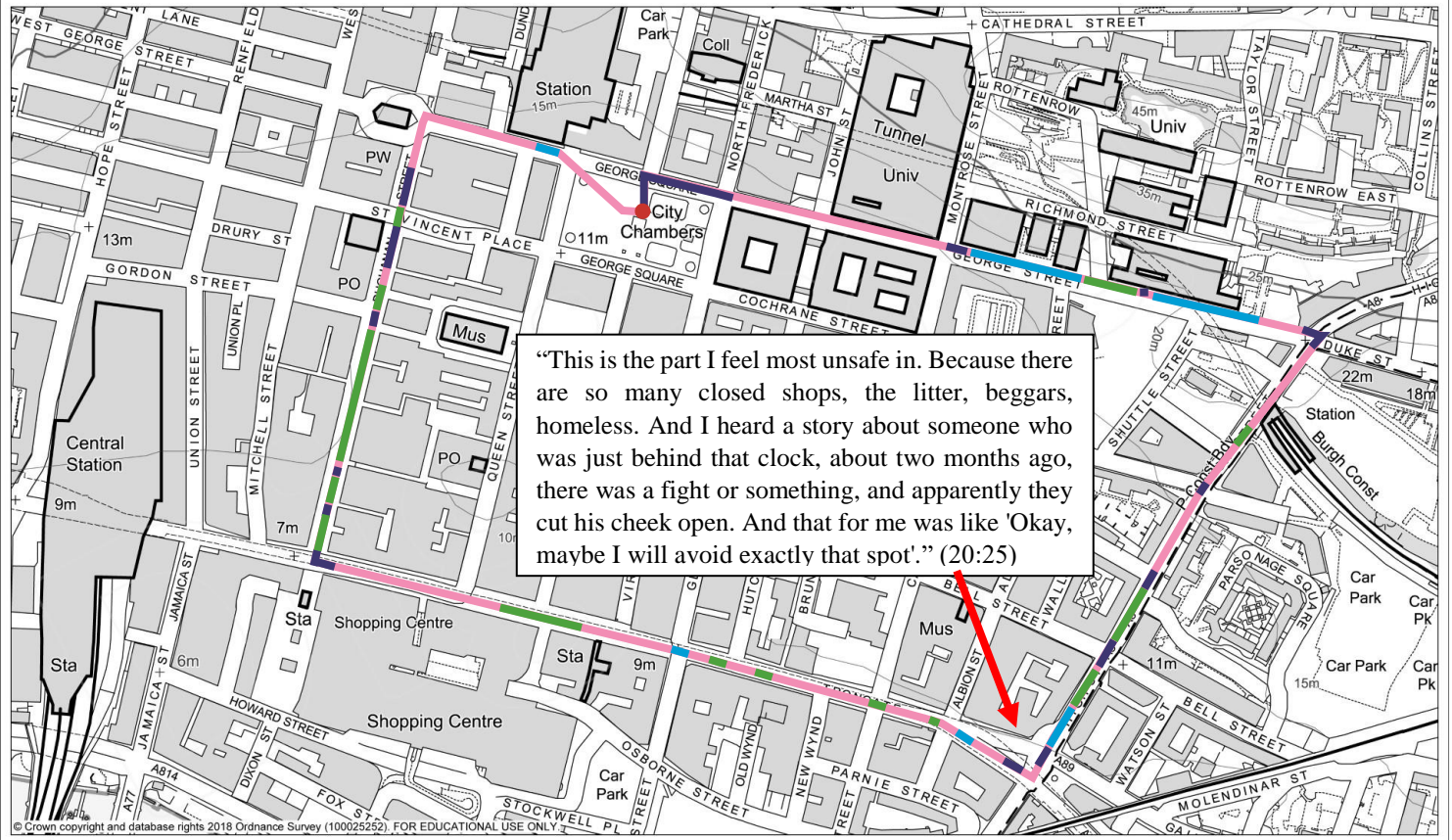


*Figure 5: Key to walking speeds.*

# Amelia

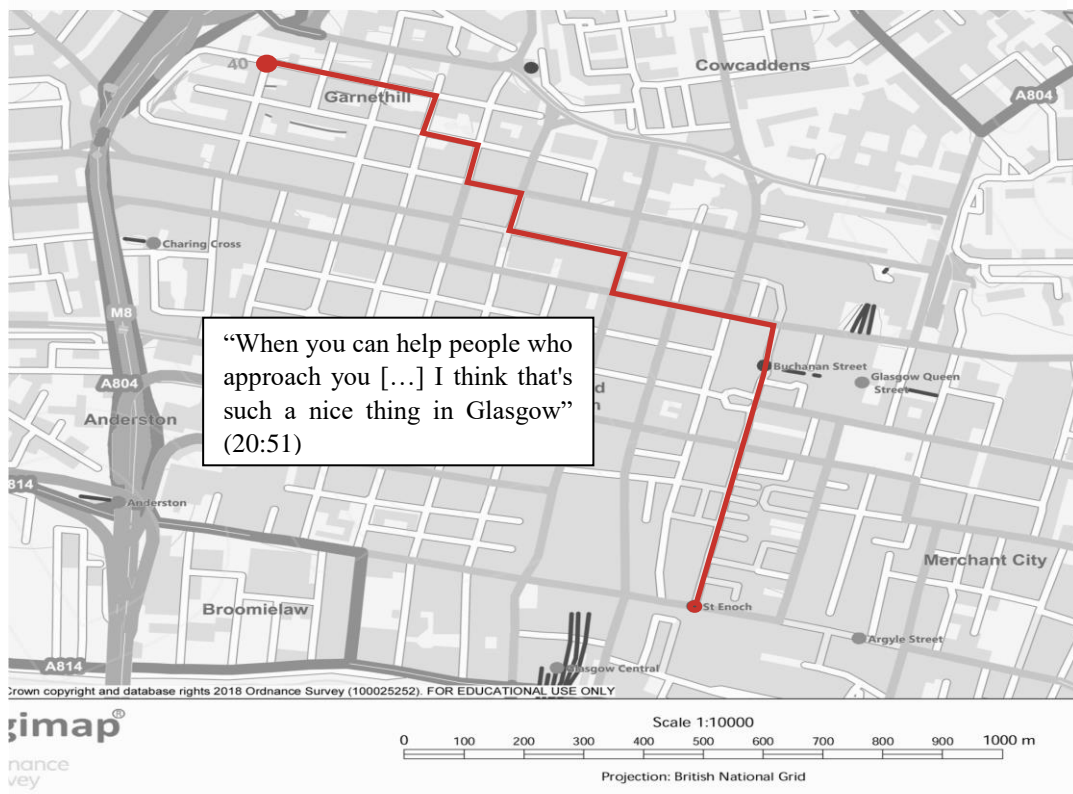
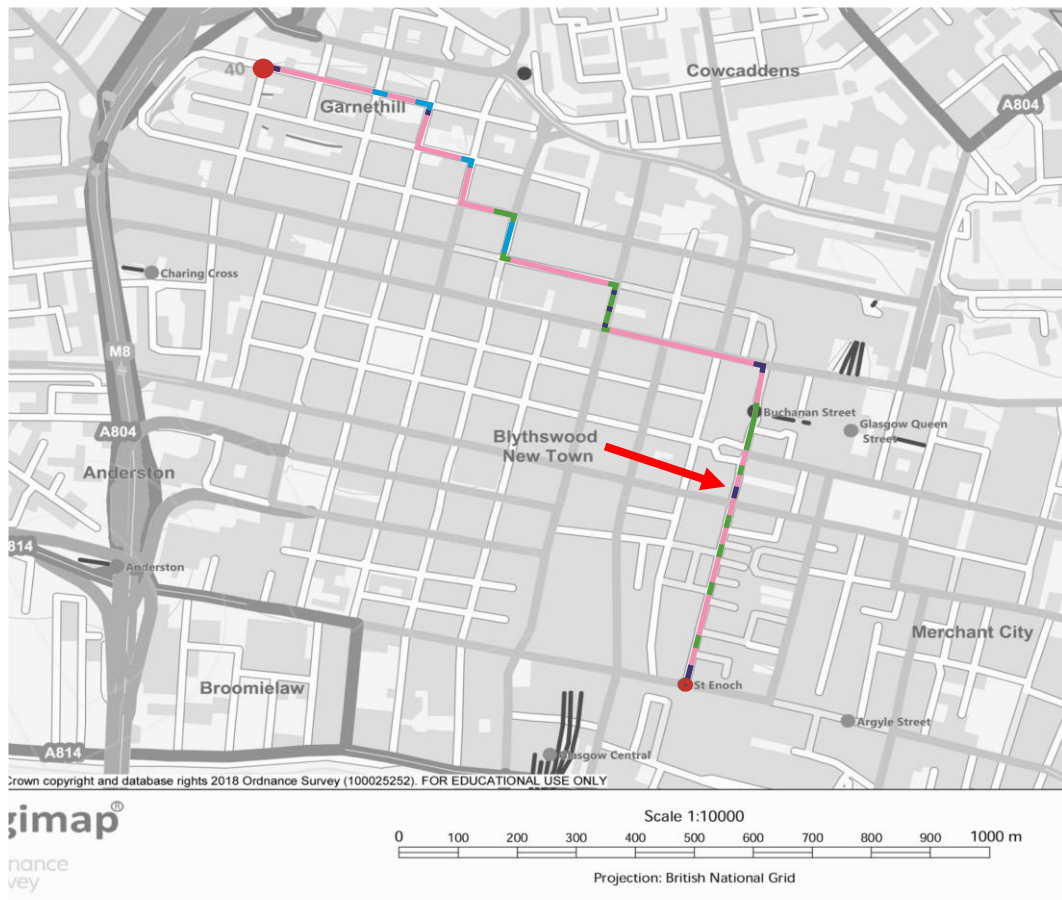


# Amelia



“This is the part I feel most unsafe in. Because there are so many closed shops, the litter, beggars, homeless. And I heard a story about someone who was just behind that clock, about two months ago, there was a fight or something, and apparently they cut his cheek open. And that for me was like 'Okay, maybe I will avoid exactly that spot.'” (20:25)

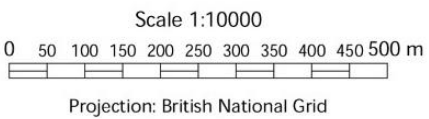
Ava's route and speed.



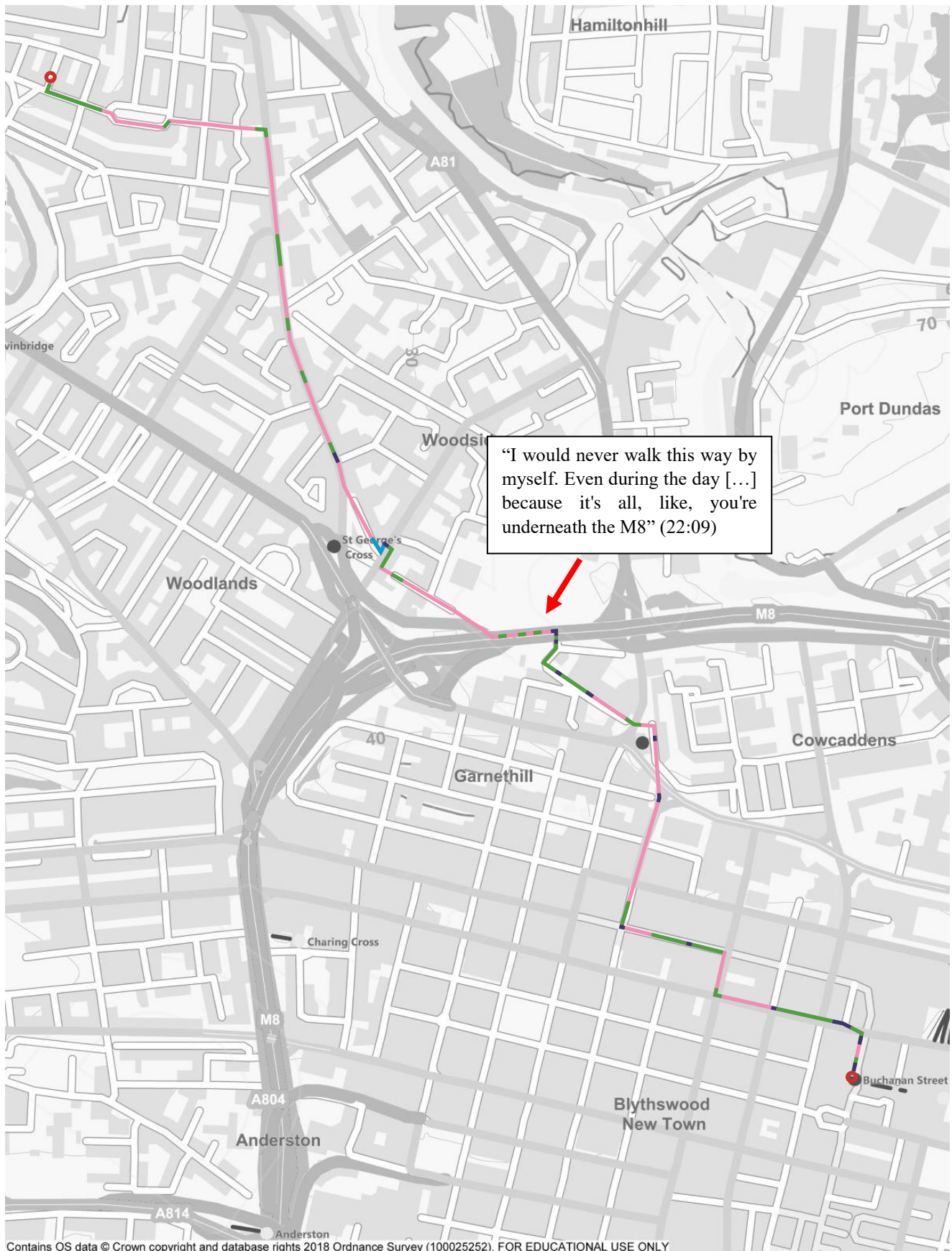
Emily's route and walking speed.



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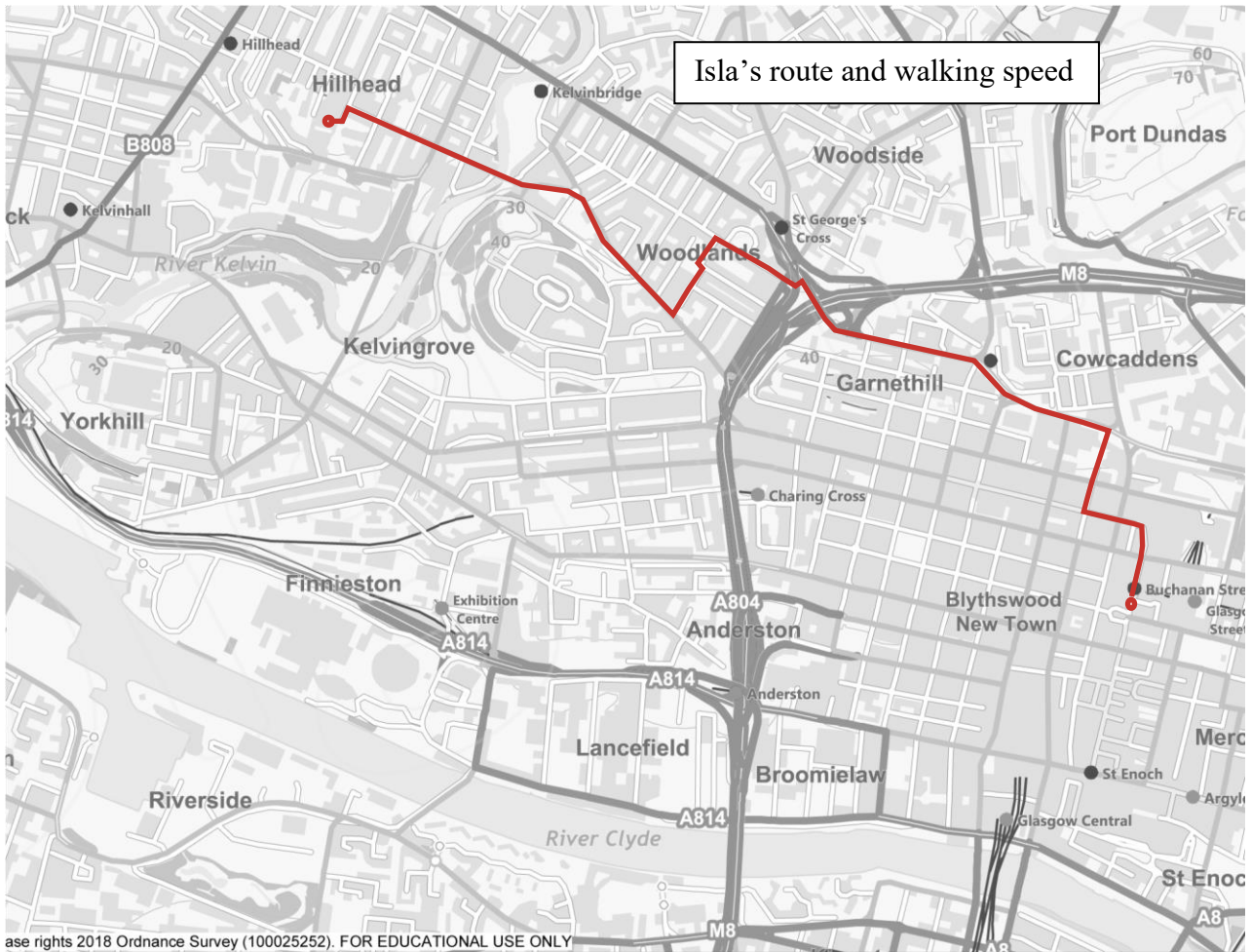


Aug 06, 2018 14:55  
Jana Lucie Unsel  
University of Glasgo

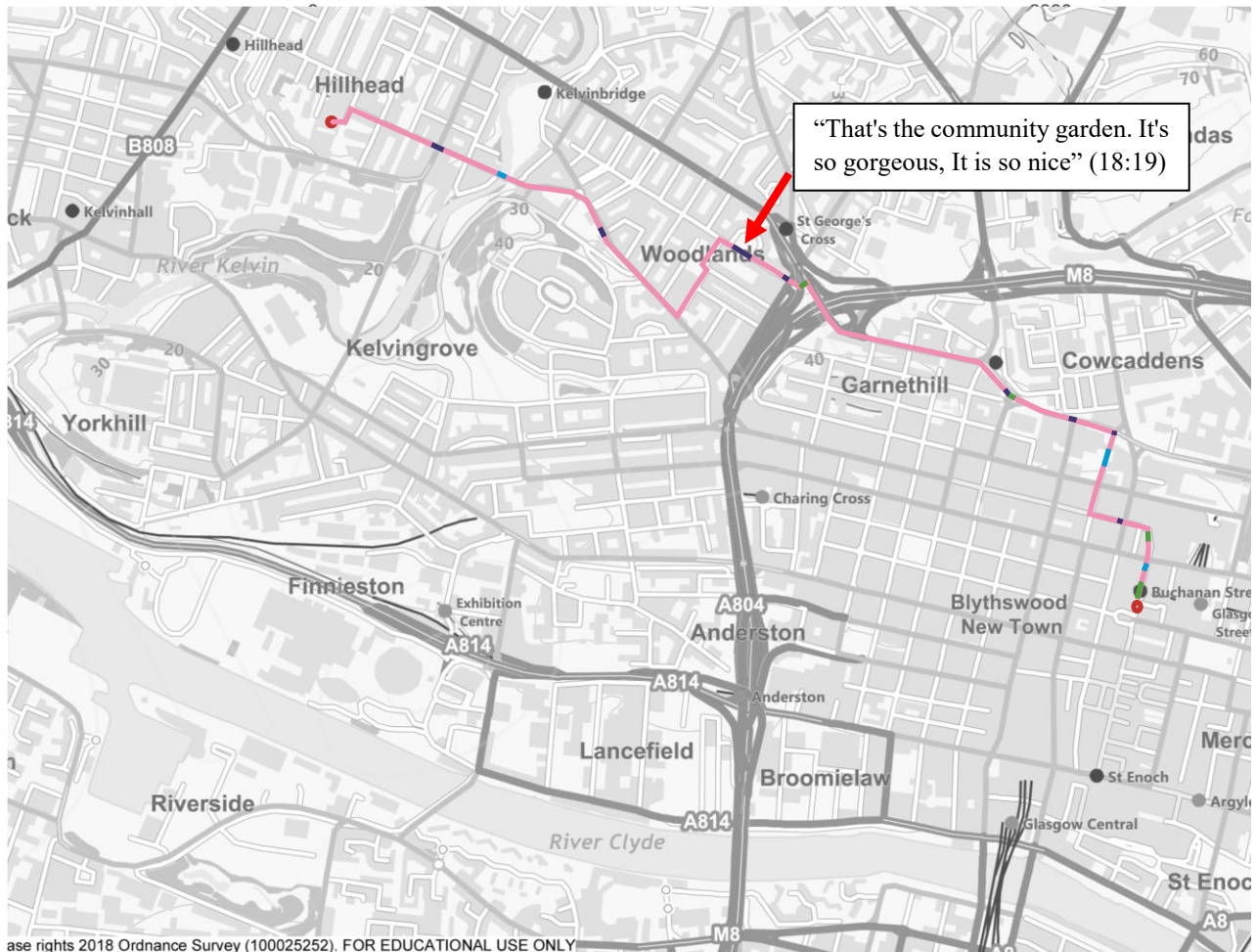


"I would never walk this way by myself. Even during the day [...] because it's all, like, you're underneath the M8" (22:09)

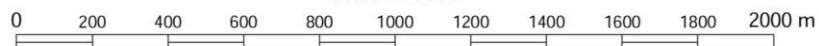
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Scale 1:20000

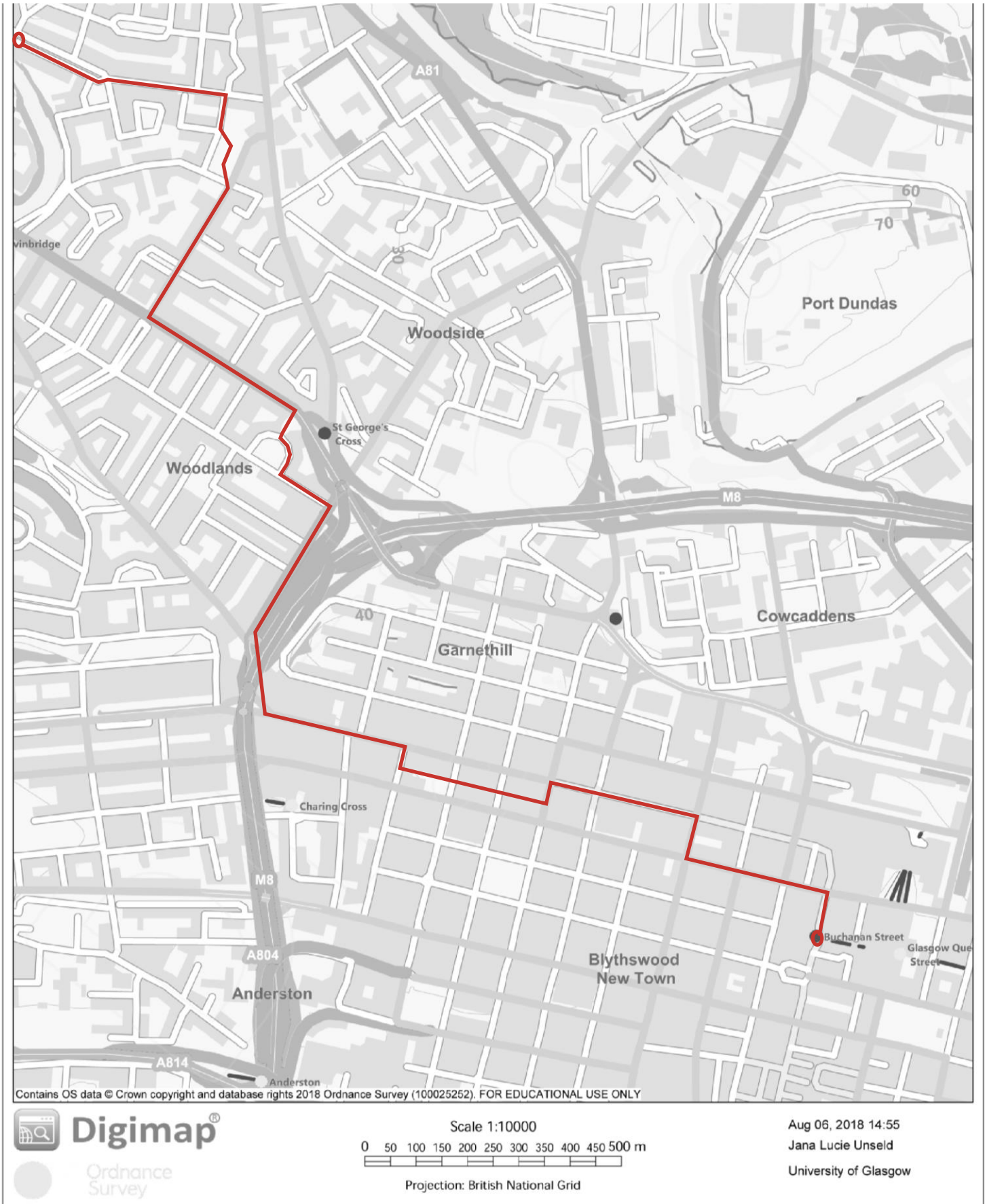


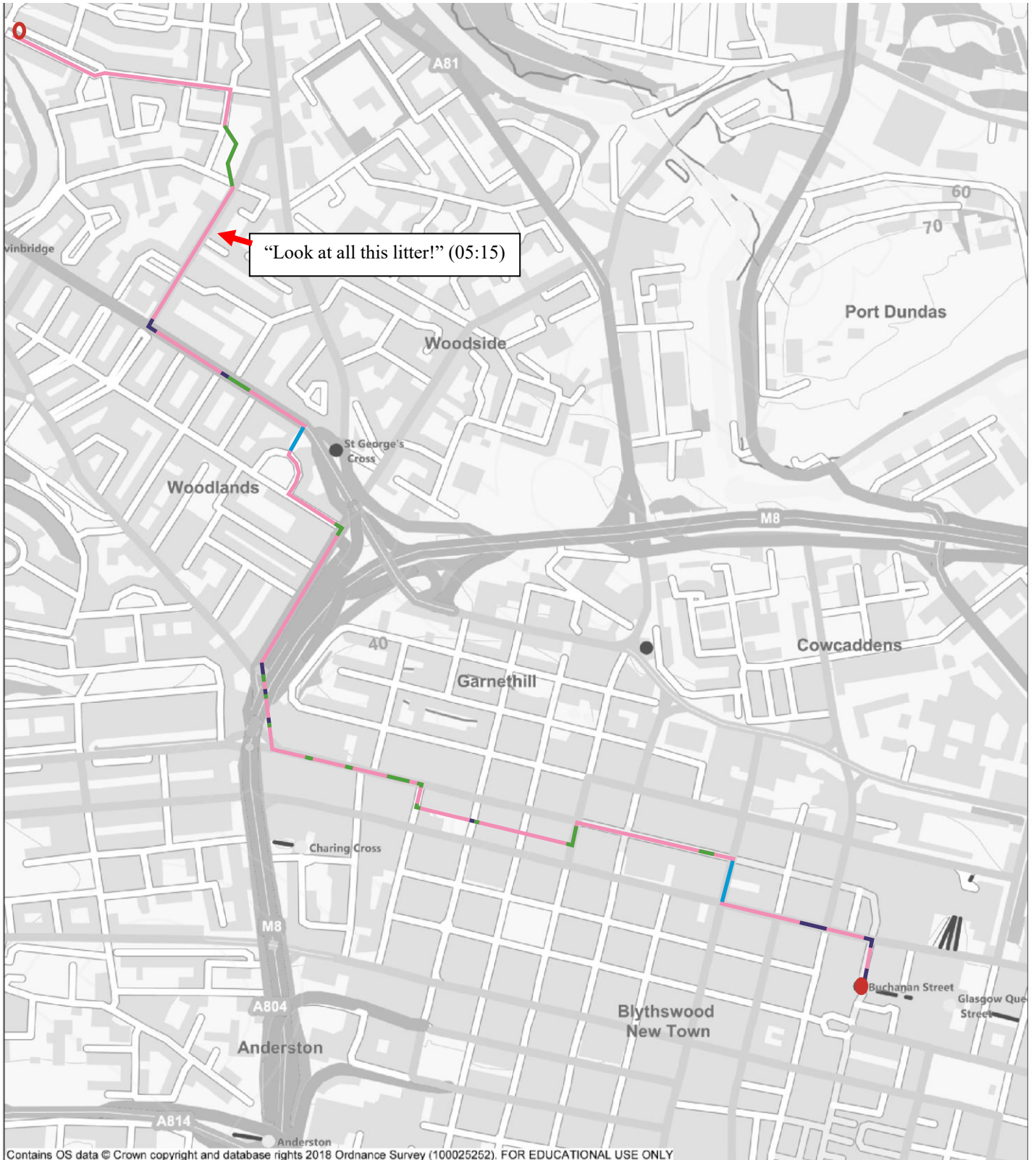
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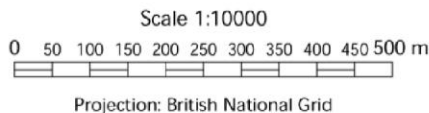


Olivia's route and walking speeds.



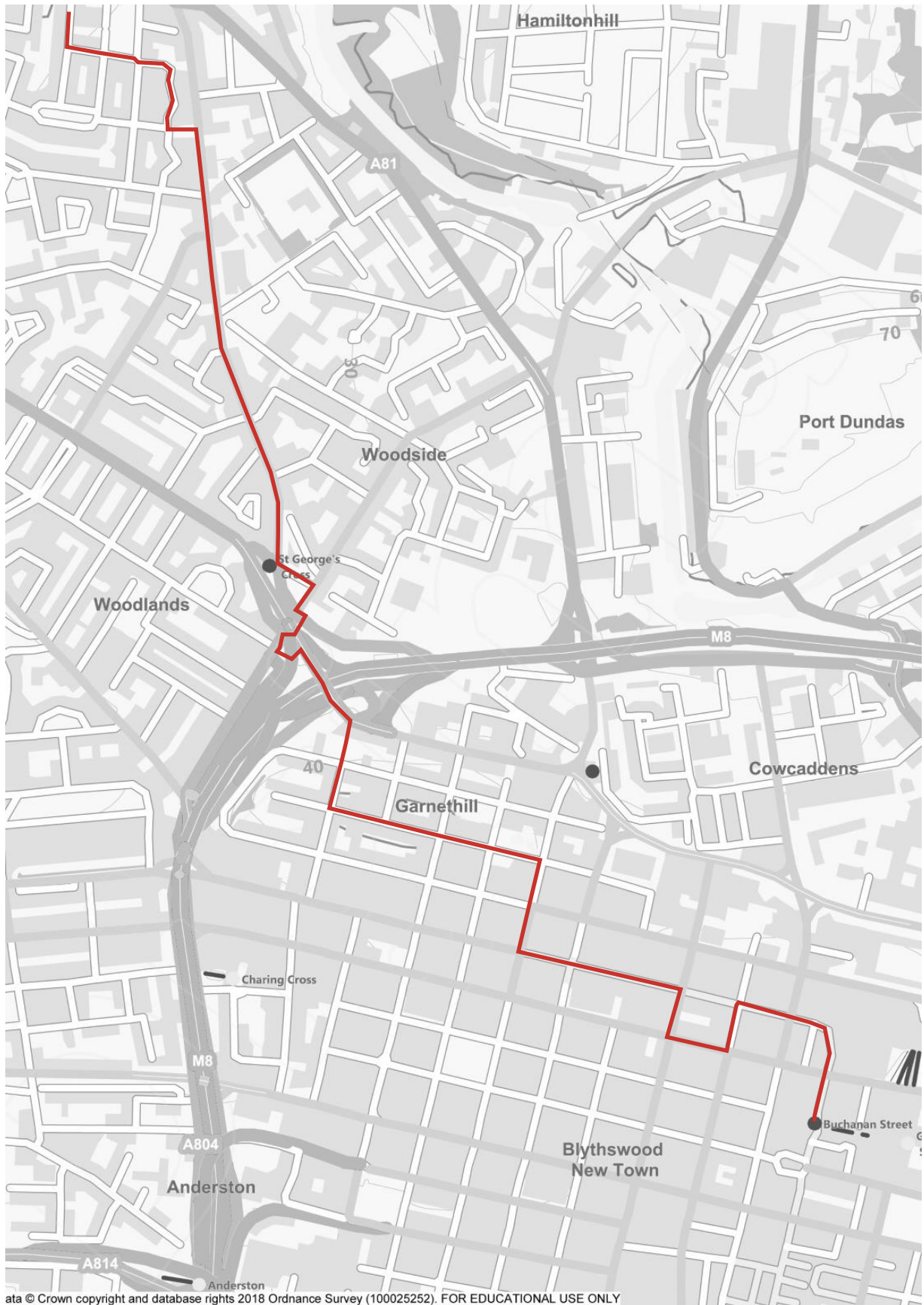


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Aug 06, 2018 14:55  
Jana Lucie Unsel  
University of Glasgow

Sophie's route and walking speed.



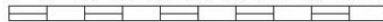
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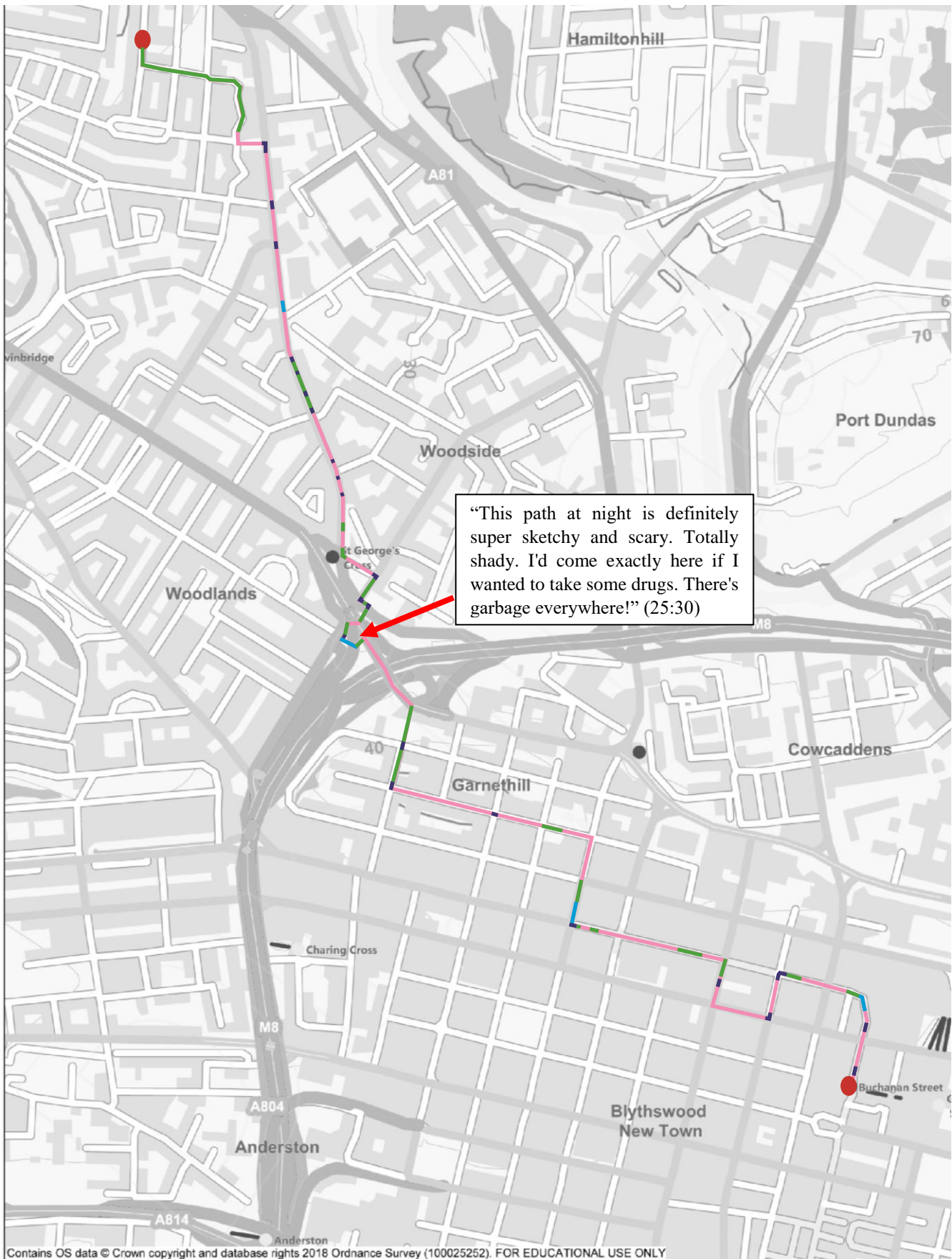


Projection: British National Grid

Aug 06, 2018 14:55

Jana Lucie Unsel

University of Glasgow



"This path at night is definitely super sketchy and scary. Totally shady. I'd come exactly here if I wanted to take some drugs. There's garbage everywhere!" (25:30)

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## 5.1 Constraints on Gender

Interviewees overwhelmingly generated positive accounts of Glasgow (Amelia, 00:19; Ava 13:41; Emily, 01:20; Isla, 04:26; Olivia 18:28). As this research focuses on the constraints on and possibilities of gender, the following will solely focus on the analysis the construction of a sense of belonging and the characteristics and factors influencing this construction, therefore excluding other comments not related to the topic. This chapter will focus on factors hindering the development of a sense of belonging<sup>14</sup> in the everyday.

### 5.1.1 Experiences

Experiences play a vital role in the perception of the built environment regarding gender-specific constraints and gender stereotypes. For the purpose of this study, experiences will be classified in three different categories. Direct experience of participants will be referred to as first-hand experience, the experience of friends and acquaintances as second hand experience, and experiences of strangers transmitted by word-of-mouth or the media as third-hand experience. The analysis of experiences given by participants show that most experiences are third-hand. This might be due to the availability of news and the speed with which they travel. Interestingly, when speaking about unpleasant experiences the interviewees walked faster, and slower when speaking about positive aspects. All other divergences from usual speed can be traced back to traffic lights, external disturbances or road gradients.

### 5.1.2 Hindrances to the Sense of Belonging

The following will identify factors restricting the creation of a sense of belonging. It is important to note that this construction is individually created at the intersection of one's identities. For example, Isla discloses how her sexual orientation and associated outer appearance ("androgynous-presenting queer woman", Isla, 02:20) influences her sense of belonging as

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<sup>14</sup> Hindrances to the construction of a sense of belonging range from heightened awareness and a sense of discomfort to perceived fear.

she diverges from the 'norm'. She experiences a "constant fear" (Isla, 02:20) of verbal harassment, especially when "holding [her] girlfriend's hand" (Isla, 02:31), and describes feeling uncomfortable in very heteronormative environments, e.g. around football fans (Isla, 25:02). Due to the scope of this paper however, the focus will be on gender identity.

Gender-based constraints on access to the city are dependent on various factors such as time of day (Fenster, 2005). The following maps illustrate how time of day influences the perception of the city. Interviewees felt that "as a woman, at night you generally feel a bit less comfortable" (Sophie 03:55). Positive and negative remarks are mapped phenomenologically to illustrate no-go-zones<sup>15</sup> mentioned by interviewees during the day and at night. While during the day, most areas are considered neutral (yellow) or desirable (green) to walk through, at night no-go-zones (red) restrict access to the city extensively. Areas that remained grey have not been mentioned. The stronger the colour, the more extensively it has been discussed. This map is based on the qualitative data generated by the interviews, which, due to its emotional nature, has been mapped by the author rather than using a computer-based software. This is an advantage as software is unable to grasp nuances, hints as well as nonverbal elements of the conversation, especially considering the interviewee's diverse cultural backgrounds.

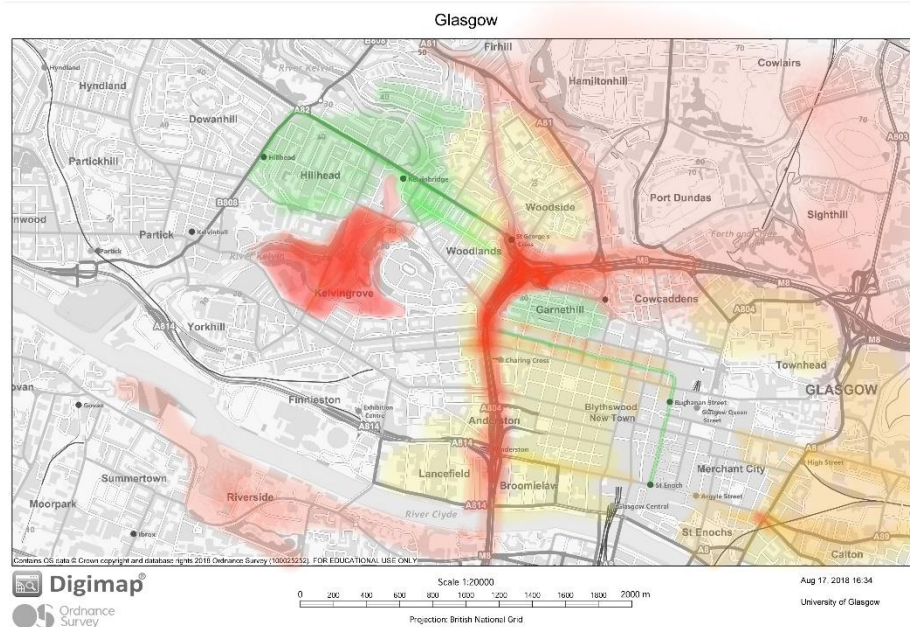
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<sup>15</sup> An area that is actively avoided when navigating the city will be referred to as 'no-go-zone'.

Figure 6: Affect map of place-mentions during the day.



Figure 7: Affect map of place-mentions at night.



These maps will be referred to again when discussing no-go-zones in more detail in Chapter 6.

### 5.1.3. Physical Characteristics

Interviewees noticed characteristics of the urban environment that likely counteract the construction of a sense of belonging. Interviewees stated that “places that feel disconnected” (Ava, 26:58), neglected (Emily, 22:58) or “isolated” (Emily 00:43) in terms of road layout and public transportation create a sense of discomfort. Car dominance (Olivia 17:29), poorly maintained sidewalks (Emily, 32:03; Sophie, 30:45) or “slippery and unsheltered” (Isla 43:17) walkways make for poor “quality of connections” (Emily 29:34). These characteristics especially complicate navigation for non-“able-bodied people” (Emily 30:41), as well as for people with caring responsibilities<sup>16</sup>. Furthermore, the type of shops and their outer appearance can hinder the creation of a sense of belonging: run-down shopfronts (Ava, 03:51, 11:18; Olivia 34:02; Emily, 38:59) and permanently closed shops (Amelia 20:25) along with shops at the lower end of the retail market (Ava, 17:44, Emily 37:43, Olivia 31:56) are mentioned. Concerning these constraints interviewees named large concrete structures without relation to the human scale (Sophie 50:05), bad smells and noise (Olivia 16:08). Litter sends a message of neglect and creates a sense of discomfort<sup>17</sup> (Olivia 05:15; Sophie, 14:30; Ava 07:35; Isla, 14:47; Amelia, 25:55). Especially when navigating at night, areas with poor lighting (Isla 01:52; Sophie 26:55) and obscure hedges (Emily 22:58) were generally avoided. Coincidentally, Engender identifies “insufficient lighting [...] inaccessible streets and public buildings” (Engender, 2017: 69) as concerns for women in Scotland. Vacant and derelict land<sup>18</sup> as well as abandoned buildings were discussed by all interviewees. Emily, having worked for the council before, has an acute understanding of the underlying processes (Emily, 39:45; 40:12) and therefore mainly perceives it as the remaining signs of industrial decline (Emily, 41:28). VDL sends a message “of neglect” (Sophie, 20:13) and seeing abandoned buildings is “disturbing” (Sophie, 47:44) and “bizarre” (Isla 33:55) – Sophie explicitly voices that both phenomena create no-go-zones

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<sup>16</sup> Such as pushing a pram, taking care of the elderly or disabled. It is worth noting that care work is highly gendered (Becker, 2008).

<sup>17</sup> Glasgow’s garbage management is perceived as dissatisfactory even in comparison to Mexico City (Amelia, 14:57).

<sup>18</sup> Vacant and derelict land will be abbreviated to VDL.



(Sophie 19:39). The following pictures exemplify some of these characteristics.



*Figure 8: Cracked pavement.*



*Figure 9: Permanently closed shops with graffiti-tags.*



*Figure 10: Litter.*



*Figure 11: Side-lane of Buchanan Street with signs of neglect.*



*Figure 12: Traffic on Great Western Road.*



*Figure 13: Walkway without light provision framed in hedges.*



*Figure 14: Large structures without relation to the human scale, Sauchiehall Street.*

#### 5.1.4. Stigmatisation and Reputation

Nonetheless, areas are not solely avoided due to their physical characteristics. Statistics on crime, deprivation, the reputation of an area and its representation in the media stigmatise areas<sup>19</sup> and people which can cause avoidance. Glasgow's rough reputation introduced in 4.1. is reflected in the interviews (Amelia, 14:15; Ava, 02:22). The perception of crime is depends on local information that is reproduced "through street conversations, and networks of interaction" (Jarvis et.al, 2009:151) such as shared news articles on social media or other messaging apps. It becomes evident that the interviewees are aware of and contribute to the "local construction of dangerous and stigmatised people and places" (ibid: 151) by internalising and spreading third-hand- experience and thereby creating no-go-zones. As Sophie is on her first walk through Glasgow, she constructs her perception of the surrounding environment according to previous experience and immediate visual impressions of the built environment. She attaches a potential sense of belonging to Maryhill Road (Sophie 22:52) – an area stigmatised by the Scottish women (Olivia 01:30, Ava 04:08, Emily 09:44, Isla 02:34) - showing how the reputation of a place directly influences the

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<sup>19</sup> Some areas the interviewees would avoid were mentioned only by name such as "Possil" (Ava, 03:02) and "Drumchapel" (Ava, 05:02) and will not be analysed further here due to the limited scope of this paper.

sense of belonging of people familiar with its reputation. Similarly, Olivia states that when she was in Stockholm she did not “know the reputation of the place” (Olivia 24:53) and forasmuch she did not feel “insecure” (Olivia 24:51). In turn, she is also the only interviewee that actively avoids (Olivia 01:30, 01:40, 04:45, 08:45) Maryhill Road based on stigmatisation created through third-hand experience: As neither herself nor anyone she knows “has had any problems” (Olivia, 05:02) she remembers that “someone got shot in Maryhill Road like 3 weeks ago” (Olivia 04:52) to justify avoiding the street – which she already did before this incident. The stigmatisation of place severely restricts her movement.

Similarly to the stigmatisation of place, the stigmatisation of people is a hindrance to the creation of a sense of belonging as it prevents identification with others (Ava, 03:22). Not fitting in usually results in “feel[ing] really out of place [and] uncomfortable, like I'm not meant to be there” (Ava 03:36). For example, Olivia feels out of place on Buchanan Street (Olivia 38:44) when not conforming to the perceived beauty standards/ social norms. She admits to not being “the type of person” (Olivia 38:42) that would “dress up to go shopping” (Olivia 38:43) and does not “even like how it looks” (Olivia 38:52), however feels “frowned upon” (Olivia 38:30) for diverging from these perceived norms. Although she does not actually identify with the way people present themselves, she would rather assimilate to be (an arguably inauthentic) part of the surrounding population as perceived belonging to the temporally constructed group helps create a sense of belonging in the urban environment. This thus links to the literature review by proving that a sense of belonging is both temporally and socially constructed (Watt & Smets, 2014).

All interviewees described coping mechanisms they adapt in situations perceived as uncomfortable or potentially threatening. Mostly characterised by a heightened sense of awareness (Olivia 34:45), manifesting itself as a closer observation of surroundings (Amelia, 05:25), awareness of how they walk (Ava, 06:09) walking faster (Sophie, 26:30, Amelia, 15:33) or even running (Sophie, 09:37), taking a detour (Sophie, 20:45, Amelia, 15:33) and contacting someone over the phone (Olivia 12:30). The answers are consistent with coping mechanisms in literature: Women “may avoid

strangers, pretend to have a conversation on their phone, grasp their keys as a weapon and limit their movement through particular urban areas where sex crimes are perceived to be rife” (Kalm, 2018: 113). Furthermore, observing someone perform the coping mechanisms described before causes a sense of discomfort. Observation is used to establish a sense of belonging (Amelia, 05:25 & 17:42), especially when unfamiliar with the area (Sophie, 12:15). It is remarked as positive to see people that seem relaxed (Amelia, 28:25) “moving completely normally” (Sophie 11:40). Logically, observing others staring “at the ground and walk[ing] super-fast [without] mak[ing] eye contact with anyone [...] gives you a bad feeling”(Sophie, 12:15). Furthermore, the following activities of other people were described as creating discomfort: taking drugs (Olivia 27:55; 28:14; 19:08; Amelia 20:25 & 21:44, Isla, 25:02), hanging “about outside the pubs [...] during the day” (Ava 03:22), especially in groups (Ava 05:38) begging (Olivia 02:45, Amelia 20:26), intense staring (Ava, 05:57 & 19:03, Amelia, 41:35), drunken and aggressive behaviour (Amelia, 15:33), and catcalling<sup>20</sup> (Amelia, 41:35). Most of these activities were associated with men (Ava, 05:51). The absence of people has also been described as unpleasant (Emily 24:51), especially in vast areas, which for Emily is also linked to the possibility of not having assistance “if you fell over or tripped” (Emily 25:01). While “a lot of footfall” (Emily, 13:05) was remarked as generally positive and linked to feeling safe (Olivia 05:58; Ava, 14:38; Sophie 03:55; Isla 43:16), Sophie suggests a more complex relationship between footfall and sense of security: “at night, it really depends on the other people in the streets” (Sophie, 23:27). What she refers to and is reflected in her other statements is the degree of identification with others present. Therefore, if other women construct similar no-go-zones, areas with very little to no female presence are created, on which grounds other women avoid the area as well.

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<sup>20</sup> Catcalling has gained a lot of media coverage in the past years. However, the interviews did not feature it in such a prominent way as to include it extensively in this paper.

### 5.1.5. Gender Inequality, Fear, and Awareness

As argued in this paper, the creation of fear in urban spaces reinforces gender inequality by restricting women's access to said spaces. Fear is directly linked to gender inequality as "the fear of sexual violence is a powerful means of maintaining gender inequity" (Kalm, 2018: 113). Perceived fear is mostly caused by third-hand experience: Olivia states she is "overly cautious cause [she has] heard so much" (Olivia 23:40), and Isla admits that despite not having experienced any physical violence it is "the horror stories that [cause her] hypervigilance" (Isla, 03:50). Olivia adds that she feels that "once someone [has] warned of" (Olivia 24:37) her she feels responsible. Amelia speaks about her "friend from Barcelona" (Amelia 16:55) who had been convinced by her boyfriend "that it would be very dangerous if she left her apartment at night", scaring her to the extent that she did not "go out at night" (Amelia, 16:58). Such warnings can have a long-lasting effects and restrict movement: If "someone warns you or you hear a lot about an area from people[...] that immediately makes you feel like it's dangerous there" (Amelia, 18:45). Both the actual threat of sexual violence and the gendered construction of fear reinforce gender inequality, manifested spatially in no-go-zones that prevent the construction of a sense of belonging. This perceived fear is identified as gendered through the interviews, as the women agree that men do not "think about these things" (Olivia 10:10; Emily, 21:12). Walking at night is considered "a lot more dangerous if you're a woman than if you're a guy" (Emily, 03:49) which is not questioned since "as a girl it is so engrained in society that it is normal" (Emily 17:27). The creation of such no-go-zones positions the woman as inferior. The interviews thereby reflect the statements made in the literature review: It comes to show that if a woman navigates the city alone at night it is "defined as a risky behaviour" (Listerbon, 2016:253). This causes women "to adjust their life and mobility in order to deal with a perceived risk of violence in the public sphere" (ibid: 254).

Interviewees agree that alcohol can create sense of belonging by suppressing perceived fear. Inebriation offers a break from the constant awareness when navigating the city –a break of the internalised gender behaviour norms that are very present when sober: "Walking back, sober, just aware [is] where the fear sets in" (Isla, 26:41). This is mirrored by the

statement: “it’s just that I’m drunk and feel like it’s fine” (Olivia 09:10); Ava reflects on feeling “invincible” (Ava, 06:41) walking home alone which, afterwards, she considers “pretty dangerous” (Ava, 06:41). By walking fearlessly, the women breach their internalised gender norms of “policing yourself if you do not fit into, the kind of stereotypical, societal, patriarchy. If you're not a white man then basically you have to police yourself in what you do” (Emily, 08:00). Substantiating the argument above, when reflecting upon walking ‘unaware’ it is considered “naïve” (Olivia 23:40) or a “completely unnecessary risk” (Olivia 09:42). Gender norms prescribe women to “be more mindful” (Ava, 06:42), “more perceptive” (Emily 04:12) and to take precautions such as informing friends (Olivia, 10:12, Emily 09:05). While obvious manifestations of gender inequality such as blaming victims of sexual violence for “dress[ing] inappropriately” or drinking “too much alcohol” (Emily, 04:15) is seen as backwards (Emily, 07: 53), the gendered construction of fear is subjectively experienced, invisible from outside and consequently not directly represented in the media.

Despite the women’s preponderantly oppositional viewpoints to gender discrimination, insecurity, especially when perpetuated by authority, can challenge such perspectives and reinforce gender inequality by destroying confidence in the validity of the female experience. This is exemplified in the following. Olivia was followed by a “really dodgy looking” (Olivia 10:50) man when walking from the centre to the Southside during the day – due to the time of day it “didn’t bother” (Olivia 10:43) her. As he disappeared a “sketchy looking man” (Olivia 10:55) offered to give her a lift home as he had supposedly noticed the man “following [her] all the way out of town” (Olivia 11:01). This evidently seemed like a scheme, as the car would have had to follow her as well to notice she had been followed. Upon finding out that “there was a lot of rapes in the area” (Olivia 11:05) she spoke to a police officer who blamed the incident on her carelessness:

“well to be honest you shouldn't be walking that way during the day, or any time of the day actually, I can tell you a hundred stories that would make you want to never walk anywhere in Glasgow on your own again' and I just thought, what kind of response is that? So that was that” (Olivia, 11:54)

The reaction from the male officer blames her for not restricting her movement in accordance to gender behavioural norms. The answer made



Olivia feel like it was her fault (Olivia 14:46) while the stalking was the illegal activity, and in no way encouraged or provoked by her. This experience not only validates the patriarchal gender hierarchies, it accelerates the construction of no-go-zones that reinforce gender inequality as the police is a trusted authority in regards to crime. Blaming women for (potential) sexual violence “reinforc[es] stereotypes and existing social and spatial power relations” (Listerbon, 2016: 253), while also victimising the woman as inferior and needing (male) protection. Safety measures such as CCTV that “only become useful after the sexual harassment or assault has occurred” (Kalm, 2018: 114) evidently have limited effectiveness in terms of crime prevention. Safety measures “seem trapped in a neoliberal and securitization frame, offering no radical solution” (Listerbon, 2016: 257) to the increasing sexual offences. Evidently, they might scare some potential offenders off, but they also create hypervigilated spaces, as exemplified in the following pictures, while the realities of “the lives of women whose experiences of fear and threats in their everyday use of public spaces are often unrecognized and unobserved” (Listerbon, 2016: 253).



*Figure 15: One of the many CCTV-cameras in Glasgow's city centre.*



*Figure 16: Another reminder of urban surveillance.*

#### 5.1.6. Public Transportation

Respondents agree on the health and environmental benefits of cycling, however, only Amelia regularly cycles in Glasgow<sup>21</sup>. The Scottish interviewees do not cycle – the main concerns are missing cycle infrastructure and feeling insecure about road safety. All participants identify a lack of necessary cycling infrastructure in Glasgow (Amelia, 27:22; Ava, 24:44; Isla, 08:50; Olivia, 22:21; Sophie, 24:31). Further constraints to cycling mentioned were concerns regarding “road safety” (Amelia, 06:37, Olivia 07:15) mostly referring to car dominance, which Olivia justifies with second-hand experience of cycle accidents (Olivia 07:37). This shows that the car dominance in Glasgow, exemplified in the pictures below, has adverse effects on sustainable transport.

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<sup>21</sup> Sophie does not reside in Glasgow and will thus be excluded from this argument.



*Figure 17: Glasgow's average rush-hour traffic on the M8.*



*Figure 18: Car dominance.*

Only Emily, Olivia and Ava have actually taken buses in Glasgow. They point out a heightened sense of awareness (Emily, 15:57) and a feeling of discomfort (Ava, 14:54; Olivia, 29:57) on buses. The three Scottish women mentioned certain precautions they take when using buses such as sitting in sight of the driver and close to doors (Emily 16:06) and avoiding other passengers (Emily 16:21; Ava, 14:59). Apart from limited perceived safety, a lack of cleanliness (Emily 14:43), inadequate frequency especially at night (Emily 15:25) which is important for people working night shifts<sup>22</sup>, cost of travel (ibid.; Isla, 30:39) and environmental concerns regarding pollution (Ava, 15:35) were criticisms of buses. Of those, frequency and perceived safety were listed in reference to the subway: As the subway compartments are closed, getting “stuck with [...] one weird person at night” (Olivia 30:45) and taking it “on the day that there has been a football match” (Isla, 28:00) is perceived as especially critical. Olivia had a bad experience (“closest I’ve ever seen to a full battle” (Olivia 30:14)), and Isla feels out of place due to her sexual orientation (“too much heterosexual energy” (Isla, 28:22)). Nonetheless, the subway was generally positively commented (Emily, 01:32). Interviewees additionally pointed out its limited size and opening hours (Emily 06:59, Amelia, 32:05; Ava, 26:31). Generally, it was commented that due to Glasgow’s nightlife “you get a lot of people traveling home at night” (Emily, 06:37) for which the limited public transport is a problem (Emily, 06:59). This brief analysis of public transport demonstrates that the physical characteristics of transport methods such as routes, availability, and location, do not define the every-day experience of its users entirely. It is more intangible characteristics such as time of day, state of the vehicle (e.g. cleanliness) and most notably, identification with other passengers that aid or impede the creation of a sense of belonging. Correspondingly, these experiences are interrelated with and defined by one’s identities. It can be seen as moving through space in a space – both of these physical spaces (the outside = the city vs. the inside = the method of public transportation) can be perceived as dangerous, and are subject to stigmatisation: For example, by

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<sup>22</sup> “I know a lot of people who work in bars and restaurants [...] especially women” (Emily 07:10) who face issues when navigating the city at night. She recalls stories of girls being “attacked on her way home” (Emily 07:23), and “obviously been followed” (Emily, 07:33). The non-profit Get Back Scotland and associated events highlight the issue (Facebook, 2018).

taking the bus, a passenger can avoid directly passing through a “no-go-zone”. However, the bus itself is a semi-public space that can be a ‘no-go-zone’: defined individually by intersecting identities. Highlighted by the participants in this case study were personal experiences and stigmatisation, sexuality, and gender, which, through perceived fear, created heightened senses of awareness and discomfort. In conclusion, it is essential to examine the journey itself, e.g. what happens between A and B, which again highlights the potential and relevance of mobile methods in urban research.

## 5.2. Possibilities of Gender

Previously, this paper established the close link between the city and gender and uncovered characteristics of the built environment in Glasgow that unveil the relation between gender inequality and city development. The following expounds the possibilities of gender equality in the built environment informed by the walking interviews conducted, unveiling the tensions between policy, place and people. As concluded in the previous section, gender inequality is cemented into the built environment through unawareness and misrepresentation of multiple voices in the planning process, intensified by the inefficiency of policies regarding gender and by the continuous production and reproduction of gendered fear. Consequently, outdated gender hierarchies survive within the urban fabric. On the other hand, the interviews inform about the possibilities for the urban environment to become more inclusive, and actually promote gender equality through interventions in the urban: “The logic behind this is that changing the physical environment will translate into social transformation” (Heim LaFrombois, 2015: 427). The following will describe physical features of the built environment, as well as more intangible aspects that aid the construction of a sense of belonging in order to identify ways in which planning can actually contribute to gender equality through shaping the built environment.

### 5.2.1. Creating a Sense of Belonging

To avoid repetition, desirable physical features of the built environment introduced in the following will not include the absence of aspects mentioned in 5.1.3. However similar the responses were regarding positive characteristics, some elements appeared to potentially create both discomfort and comfort depending on individual preference. An example are seagulls - while Sophie remarked them positively (Sophie, 15:00), Amelia repeatedly classified them as nuisance (Amelia, 15:24; 25:55). This may seem obvious, but demonstrates that even a rather homogenous group might comprise opposing perceptions of the built environment. Interviewees positively remarked architecture (Ava, 00:34, 11:31, 14:08, 16:56), interesting shapes (Olivia, 41:42; Ava, 16:56), flowers (Sophie, 32:00), music (Ava, 14:37; Amelia, 29:06; Isla, 43:08; Sophie 42:50), colour and art (which will be discussed in detail in 5.2.2.). Having “interesting focal points” (Sophie, 32:01), a “wider field of vision” (Sophie, 29:00, 32:54) and good walking permeability (Ava 13: 43; Isla, 09:14) as well as mixed-use (Isla 11:14) (Sophie 06:12) and “streamlined [...] shopfronts” (Isla, 05:43) were considered desirable. Lighting can also create sense of belonging: While some lights create a nice atmosphere and make the urban environment more aesthetically pleasing (Isla, 12:55, see figure 19), other lights create a sense of belonging by widening one’s visual field and creating perceived safety (Sophie, 32:30). The relation between sense of belonging and footfall has been discussed in 5.1.2.



*Figure 19: Churches on Great Western Road at night.*

Interestingly, only Amelia voices an awareness of the fact that, often, perceived “fears aren't based on reality” (Amelia, 17:42). She speaks about a friend who she urged to observe the environment: “look where we are walking right now, look at everyone here, look at the way they are walking, observe that, not what people tell you” (Amelia 17:43), in other words, the stigmatisation of the area. This highlights the fact that created no-go-zones can be reconstructed, changed, and consequently dismantled by confronting oneself with the origins of the initial construction of the no-go-zone in a rational manner. It suggests that especially in conversation with other women sense of belonging can be restored. Amelia constructs a sense of safety based on seeing “women go out on the streets very dolled up, in miniskirts” (Amelia, 19:27) which in her country “would be seen as a clear invite for men to say something or do something to them” (Amelia, 19:29), in other words, it would cause sexual violence. The prevailing gender hierarchy manifests itself visibly in the city through women adapting certain behaviours based on established gender norms to avoid sexual violence. In turn, noticing women breach the norms Amelia is used to conveys the differing social gender norms, which give her a sense of belonging as they are closer to gender equity.

The interviews thus link to the literature by proving that “the presence of women in public encourages other women to claim space” (Listerbon, 2016: 258). The construction of fear based on both the stigmatisation of areas and on the notion of making women responsible for sexual assault causes gendered no-go-zones that directly translate into an absence of women. This once again highlights the causal relation between (fear of) sexual violence and gender inequality. Not only the presence of other women, but also of other vulnerable groups like children (Sophie 01:04; 01:01; 36:00) associate with a sense of security and belonging. In response to 5.1.4., interviewees also described Glasgow as a friendly city (Amelia 17:27; Emily 16:27; Ava 09:56). Ava actively intends to promote this reputation by offering help to tourists (Ava, 09:28) as she is “really proud of living in Glasgow” (Ava, 23:01) and laments the persisting crime-laden image. Her actions thus actively aid the construction of a sense of belonging in strangers.

As stated, certain elements not only create a positive feeling, but potentially have the power to form corridors through no-go-zones. This becomes evident when comparing Olivia and Emily in regards to Maryhill Road. As discussed before, both attach a certain stigma to the area that is mainly based on third-hand- experience. In contrast to Olivia, Emily does not avoid Maryhill Road entirely – interestingly, she mentions two familiar points of reference along the street: Friends living on Maryhill Road, and her boyfriend’s old flat (Emily, 19:34). She thus attaches a familiarity to the area based on positive experience in contrast to the purely negative stigma that Olivia attaches to it. The relation between familiar reference points and a sense of belonging is reflected by Sophie, who states that she would feel safer walking somewhere during the night if she knew the area or people that lived there (Sophie 04:23). Familiar areas and areas frequented regularly evoke “a sense of security, whether it’s a false sense of security or not, it doesn’t matter” (Emily 20:43). Feelings of familiarity can outweigh perceived stigmatisms of an area. This facilitates the navigation through spaces and the creation of a sense of belonging. Points of reference serve as “holes” in the no-go-zone and stringing those together can potentially create passages through these. A sense of familiarity with the surrounding environment can also be constructed by temporarily identifying with others (compare with



3.1): “What I definitely like most is seeing people where it is obvious that they are people my age and they are also walking home from a night out, just to know that I'm not alone in this situation.” (Sophie, 23:33). This temporarily constructed familiarity can be expanded to physical aspects of the environment. The run-down garage door featured in 5.1.3. and pictured below to some might send a message of neglect, and the area might consequently be perceived negatively.



*Figure 20: Graffiti-tagged, run down garage door.*

To Sophie this is a familiar sight and therefore has no influence on her sense of belonging (Sophie, 13:30). However, she would still prefer to see a more aesthetically pleasing design. This might seem obvious, but serves to show that small scale urban interventions that seem pleasant to all urban dwellers can serve a bigger purpose by helping more vulnerable groups attach positive feelings to their surroundings, enabling them to claim space. Such interventions will be introduced in the following.

### 5.2.2. Small-scale Urban Interventions

Despite most participants mentioning VDL and abandoned buildings negatively, Olivia takes the most hopeful stance, saying that “nicer places are opening up” (Olivia 17:29) which she justifies by exemplifying the transformation of the Shawlands Arcade (Olivia, 17:57) which she has witnessed growing up. Amelia, while describing it as “abandoned and lonely and neglected” (Amelia, 12:25) also ascribes “potential” (Amelia, 22:06) to the “beautiful buildings [that] look so run-down” (ibid.). In contrast to Sophie she does not “feel unsafe [...] it’s just a less pleasant walk” (Amelia, 14:05). In line with Isla’s comment on greenspace, she states that “a park would be perfect there” (Amelia, 23:14) but immediately raises the issue of policing it at night (Amelia, 23:16).

All interviewees positively commented on art without prompting by the interviewer. Especially colour (as part of an art piece or element of the built environment) has been remarked as creating a positive feeling. Most positively remarked in terms of permanent aspects where professional graffiti murals (Isla, 32:50). Evidently, “massive concrete infrastructures” (Emily, 23:34) as well as exposed flat walls in busy areas such as the wall in Buchanan Street (figure 21) were identified as suitable for such murals (Emily, 45:43, Olivia 41:48).



*Figure 21: Wall in Buchanan Street.*



*Figure 22: White wall under the M8 bridge.*



*Figure 23&24: Graffiti- Art in underpass close to Cowcaddens Subway station.*



*Figure 25: Graffiti on New City Road close to St. George's Cross.*



*Figure 26: Children's drawings and weathered mural on the side of Maryhill Community centre.*

Interestingly, the positive effect of art described by interviewees was neither location-dependent, nor limited to high-quality murals. Sophie notices the colourful children’s drawing on the side of Maryhill Community Centre which she describes as “a bit of a mess, and it’s not perfect, but there’s suddenly colour - it’s not a beautiful graffiti [but] it’s a nice disruption” (Sophie 08:38) of the surrounding colour schemes. Emily identifies a feeling of safety as immediate effect of murals, as they attract footfall “and that makes it feel a bit safer” (Emily, 23:22). The mere presence of art conveys that “somebody cares about the place” (Emily, 29:10) unless they are low-quality tags (Sophie 07:27).



*Figure 27: Flower displays in Buchanan Street.*

Not only murals but also more temporary installations of art such as the flower displays on Buchanan Street were ascribed with positive psychological effects (Amelia 28:44; Ava, 19:53). Ava and Amelia passed by these displays: “if I’m feeling stressed I like to kind of look at them and all the colours” (Ava, 19:53). Similarly, Sophie stated that colour “has a huge influence” (Sophie 05:02) on her feelings and sense of belonging, ranging from flowers to “those yellow stripes on the street” (Sophie, 30:00) signalling parking restrictions: “I just like the splash of colour. It’s something convenient and practical that serves beyond its purpose” (Sophie, 30:00). Isla reflects this sentiment proposing that “grey and depressing” (Isla, 31:58) buildings could “be pink instead” (Isla, 32:08) to insert colour into the built environment.

In conclusion, the interviewees showed an eye for small scale urban art interventions that would make the city a bit more colourful and inviting whilst also creating a positive sense of belonging.

### 5.2.3. Technology and the City

Rapid advances in technology, especially mobile devices and social media, have altered the way we perceive the city in a way that cannot be ignored. From the way we interact (with each other and the urban environment<sup>23</sup>) to GPS tracking and online shopping, our built environment is affected by technology. The emergence of smart city models that incorporate technology “to connect and collaborate and monitor and moderate participation and practices in cities” (Kalm, 2018: 112) indicates that the future will be increasingly digital. The previously discussed topic of urban safety has been addressed by technology, mostly taking the form of “of mobile geolocateive technology aimed at mitigating the sexual violence faced by women and girls in urban spaces” (Kalm, 2018: 112), and collective mapping of fear space and unsafe areas as it has been done in this paper. However, safety apps such as bSafe (“Never walk alone again”) Companion (“Empower your Journey”) or Women Safety (“Stay safe, stay alert”) and the Women Safety App (“my security, my responsibility”) (Appstore, 2018) portray “women as passive, potential victims” (Kalm, 2018: 115) that are in need of surveillance, and simultaneously responsible for their own safety. Such apps spread fear of urban space by implying that women cannot walk alone: gender constraints are not questioned, but accepted as normal. As discussed previously, this reinforces gender hierarchies which actually drives violence against women. Furthermore, Kalm suggests that the nature of these applications has “led to an increase in the use of online forms of control by partners or former partners of women” (Kalm, 2018: 115). Isla’s statement about GPS tracking services reflect this. She recalls having used GPS tracking to make sure her friend got “home alright” (Isla 21:38), describing it as “a little extra caution, a safety blanket” (Isla 22:02). She states that “It was just because she was the woman

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<sup>23</sup> Social media self-representation dictates what places are worthy posting – Picturesque and iconic sights increase perceived enjoyment of travel, social media strongly influences travel habits (Kang & Schuett, 2013).

walking home by herself at night” (Isla, 21:45), thus, she is aware of the gendered implications. Isla has stopped using these apps considering them “a bit creepy” (Isla 22:05). In conclusion, the current applications on the safety-market mentioned above cannot be considered empowering or effective in mitigating sexual violence.

Another intersection of technology and the urban is the widespread use of google maps to navigate the city, which considerably shapes the way it is perceived. Sophie remarks that although she is “very happy to have such an app” (Sophie, 48:28) to find specific places, it is limited to “the quickest route” (ibid.) and does not consider safety or pleasurable-ness of a walk – reflecting the sentiment that there is little focus on the actual walk or cycle: “You get to where you wanted to go initially, but that's it” (Sophie, 49:08). This shows that despite technology responding to problems faced in cities, there is considerable room for improvement in existing approaches. It also once again highlights the need to examine the actual journeys, which again demonstrates a potential application of mobile methods. Activists like Nea Jansma that made the news with her ground-breaking Instagram account @dearcatcallers show that social media can be used to empower women and dismantle the patriarchal structures present in cities, which is the first step towards equality.



## 6. Vignettes

The following will introduce three topical examples of the intersection between gender and the city in Glasgow. First, an example for the disadvantages experienced by women due to their biological bodies is given, linking to the literature in 3.3. Then, Kelvingrove Park and the walk from the West End into the city centre over/under the M8 will serve as examples of the aforementioned factors such as time of day, gendered fear and physical characteristics of the built environment.

### 6.1. Bodily Constraints: Public Toilets

Women urinate more frequently and many menstruate and respectively rely on well-maintained, publicly accessible toilets. A lack thereof is a hindrance to navigation of the city. Especially at night most public toilets are closed and women often find themselves in particularly vulnerable situations. Male city dwellers' opportunities to urinate expand to locations that in the light of day are socially unacceptable and due to their physical bodies men can urinate easily without drawing much attention. Sophie (33:00), Olivia (39:59) and Ava (08:10) affirm the literature by noticing a lack of public toilets. Especially for female toilets, maintaining public toilets to a usable standard (cleanliness, sufficient toilet paper, a bin) (Sophie 53:00, Olivia 40:57) is often challenging. Olivia describes feeling "a sense of panic when [she] realised [she] needed to pee" (Olivia 40:20), saying it is "stressful" (Olivia 39:26), "awful" (Olivia 40:49) and unsafe. Sophie says it is "not really pleasant" (Sophie, 33:20) for women, while for men it is easily dissimulated and "doesn't look like much, [enabling them to] virtually pee anywhere" (Sophie, 33:02). Apart from Ava, none of the women knew any public toilets in Glasgow. She recalls intending to use the public toilet pictured below but was advised not to by a homeless man because "people go in there to do drugs" (Ava, 08:16), stressing issues with policing and maintenance.



Figure 28: Public Toilet on Buchanan Street.

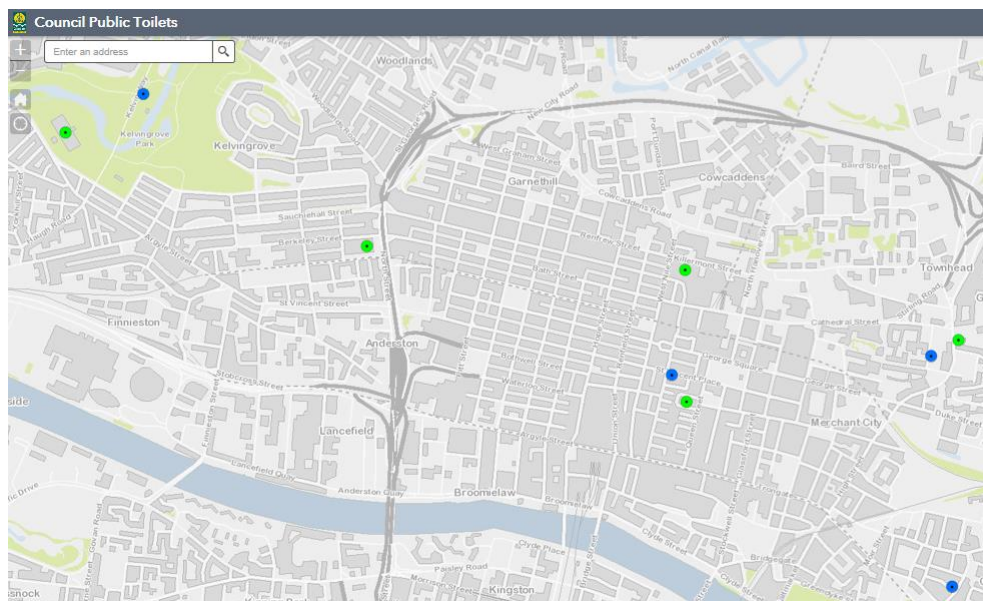


Figure 29: The locations of public toilets in Glasgow (GCC, 2018).

Only two of these toilets shown have 24 hour access – those incur a charge to use, and google reviews suggest that they “are frequented daily by substance abusers” (Breslin, 2018), while the other one is permanently closed.

In conclusion, publicly accessible, safe toilets define more than half the population's possibilities to use the city to the same extent as the other half merely based on their biological bodies. Another gendered aspect related to toilets is the fact that most changing facilities for babies are located in female lavatories, reflecting the innately gendered nature of care in society, and reinforcing gender stereotypes through "the taken for granted infrastructures of daily life" (Jarvis et.al, 2009:21). Instead of closing public toilets without providing alternatives, the German initiative "Nette Toilette" (*friendly toilet*), currently used by over 260 German cities (Nette Toilette, 2018) proves a successful model to the issue of maintenance and availability. Establishments receive a sticker they display in their shop windows allowing non-customers to use their services, thereby broadening the body's access to the city at no cost to the council. Such a scheme, despite being tied to opening times of the establishments, could potentially create a more equal access to the city by detaching the fulfilment of basic human needs from the privilege of being able to afford consuming something in an establishment in order to gain access to well-maintained services.

## 6.2. Kelvingrove Park

In daylight participants speak of green space (e.g. Olivia 00:36, Sophie 06:40; Ava 00:47; Isla 07:46) positively and half the participants directly link greenery to a heightened sense of belonging and comfort (Sophie 09:15, Ava 19:45, Isla, 08:26). Respectively, there is consensus about avoiding greenspace at night. The following will exemplify the creation of no-go-zones in Kelvingrove Park in relation to greenspace introduced by all Scottish participants. Olivia states that "if you're from Glasgow [...] obviously you wouldn't go to Kelvingrove Park at night" (Olivia 13.30). Interviewees do not limit the creation of this no-go –zone solely on time of day, but mention that there is "a lot of [...] stigmatism 'round the park" (Emily, 02:44) and it has poor lighting (Isla, 01:52). This shows the interrelation of the various factors mentioned throughout this paper, as during the day neither stigmatism nor physical characteristics of the park (lack of lighting) were thematised. Although all women state that nothing has happened to them or people they know personally (Olivia 13:44, Isla 01:52, Emily 05:56): The perception of

danger is purely third-hand experience: stories from “friends of friends” (Emily, 02:50) and the media, such as the well-known case of Karen Buckley (BBC, 2015, n.p), who was brutally murdered on Kelvin Way on her way home from a club (Emily 03:01). The danger of “getting pulled off the road into [...] bushes” (Emily, 03:35) is perceived as immediate. The resulting reputation and stigma turns the place that during the day is positively connoted into a no-go zone at night, causing the women to take detours (Isla, 01:27) or even pay for private transport (Emily 12:55) to avoid the area. Emily “tend[s] to take a taxi” (Emily 02:10) as there’s “no public transport available” (Emily 02:27) to avoid walking “past Kelvingrove Park” (Emily 02:31). This links the topic to the previously discussed lack of public transportation: Walking at night is always accompanied by “a wary fear” (Emily, 12:15). Emily’s parents offered to pay “4 to 5 pounds<sup>24</sup> to get home safe than to risk it” (Emily, 12:55). Olivia, Emily and Isla all acknowledge the gendered reality of the stigmatisation of both the park and the adjacent Kelvin Way: Isla says it is “especially for unaccompanied women, very scary” (Isla, 01:52). Olivia feels that while newcomers should be made aware of the dangers of the park, it creates an

“unnecessary hype, like perceived fear [...] targeted to a female audience [which] is kind of unfair, cause, what's been done to kind of, make it better for women? It's more like 'oh you should avoid these places' rather than like, making places better, or 'oh we will make these places safer, so you don't have to avoid them' “(Olivia 13:48).

This statement demonstrates the gendered nature of urban safety. The Guardian reports on the failed pledge by students to the City Council for the instalment of CCTV cameras on Kelvin Way (Urquhart, 2018) calling the lack of security measures taken to address the problem a “harmful message”(ibid, n.p.) to the public that “their safety (especially women’s) is not worth protecting” (ibid., n.p.). As shown in the policy analysis, sexual violence is highly gendered and in a mutually reinforcing relationship with gender inequality. To promote gender equality, instead of restricting female movement (Olivia 14:46), the council should implement the necessary “safety precautions” (Urquhart, 2018) to counteract Kelvin Way being “a black spot

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<sup>24</sup> If employed at minimum wage, a 5 pound fare to get home equals approximately 41 min of work for people aged 21-24, and approximately 38 min if aged 25 and over.

I guess for people that perhaps want to take advantage of that” (Emily 05:56). The gendered sense of fear described by the interviewees in respect to Kelvingrove Park is closely linked to the gendered nature of sexual violence previously discussed in this paper, intensified by time of day and physical characteristics (lack of lighting, high hedges).

### 6. 3. Crossing the Motorway

To individually varying degrees the women share similar perceptions of no-go-zones in their local area. Interestingly, Sophie who had never been to Glasgow before, had similar impressions of the area highlighted in 5.1.4. All women who crossed from the West End into the city centre would avoid (Olivia, 08:45, Sophie 25:30, Isla 21:02, Ava 01:55, Emily 27:48) crossing the M8. Ava mentions that “there's been a few rapes there [...] a few years ago now” (Ava, 01:55), therefore linking her avoidance to a fear of sexual violence. Olivia avoids it since “it’s Maryhill” (Olivia 08:45), ergo due to the stigmatisation of the area. Isla and Sophie base their avoidance on the physical characteristics of the urban environment: It is “creepy, twisty, and because it goes under the bridge it is so dark” (Isla, 21:02); it is “super sketchy and scary, totally shady” (Sophie 25:30). The lack of lighting and the abundance of litter send a message of neglect. Not only the walkway over the M8, but also the alternative underpass that links Maryhill Road to Cowcaddens Station, are ill-designed and turn the M8 into a barrier (Emily, 28:03) that divides the West End from the City Centre. The area is pictured in the following.



*Figure 30: The end of Maryhill Road.*



*Figure 31: Walking towards Maryhill.*



*Figure 32: Walking on New City Road towards the M8 underpass.*



*Figure 33: Underneath the M8 - Large concrete structures and litter.*



*Figure 34: Pillar below the M8 motorway reading: 'Touch me'.*



Figure 35-37: Walking through the underpass.





*Figure 38: High hedges and litter around the underpass.*



*Figure 39: 'Greenery' next to the motorway underpass.*



*Figure 40: VDL next to the M8.*



*Figure 41: Stairs to the bridge over the M8, characterised by litter and a lack of lighting.*



*Figure 42: Looking down from the walkway over the motorway.*



*Figure 43: Crossing the motorway at Charing Cross.*



*Figure 44: Underpass towards Cowcaddens Station from Great Western Road.*

Emily criticises the “connecting pathways between places” (Emily 22:47) without providing appropriate lighting or actually confronting the actual journey leading to a disconnection between not only the West End and the city centre, but also the city centre and other surrounding areas (Emily, 01:34) which can be traced back to the construction of the M8. The following maps unveil the impact of the M8 motorway constructed in the late 1960s (McDowell, 1990). Prior to the construction of the motorway, St. George’s Cross and closeby Charing Cross were busy and desirable parts of Glasgow (McDonald, 2017). As seen in the following map and picture of 1950, it was a well-connected, mixed-use environment and a major nodal point of the city, connecting the West End with the city centre.



Figure 45: Charing Cross in 1950 (McDonald, 2017).



Figure 46: Charing Cross and St. George's Cross in 1950 before the M8 (Digimap, 2018).

The M8 “motorway cut a swathe through [...] Charing Cross and effectively isolated the city centre” (Roger, 2004) breaking up the city. Today, the area is noticeably dilapidated: characterised by VDL, litter, abandoned buildings, and large concrete structures without connection to the human scale (McDonald, 2017). All these characteristics greatly contribute to the construction of no-go-zones, which might disproportionately affect women – as argued in the following. In 2005, car ownership was still highly gendered in Scotland: While 75.7% of men aged 17 and over held a full driving license,

this applied to only 56.4% of women in the same age category (National Statistics, 2016: 22). Unfortunately, no earlier data is available on gender, it is however safe to expect the number of women holding a driving license in the late 1970s was far lower than in 2005. In 2001, only 43.8% of households in Glasgow owned a car. Historically, this number has been steadily increasing (GCC, 2013b: 15), wherefore it is also expected to have been lower in 1970. In 1971, 45% of women, and 5% of men were unemployed – the main reason for unemployment was unwaged care work (McGuinness, 2018: 8), disproportionally carried out by women. Traveling to work by car was the dominant means of transport (National Statistics, 2016: 31). All of the above suggests that women were far less likely to drive, thus not profiting equally from the construction of car-based infrastructure. The construction of the M8 prioritised the needs of male, middle-class city dwellers likely to own cars over other residents. Evidently, not all and not only women were disadvantaged, however, the gendered access to cars persists today (National Statistics, 2017) and the visible car dominance in Glasgow prevails.

All Scottish participants criticised Glasgow's car dominated environment: Ava (16:27), Isla (05:13), Olivia (21:04) and Emily (10:22) consider Glasgow's traffic as dangerous. The car dominance can also create no-go-zones: "I'd never go to one of these coffee shops or anything, I think it's cars going everywhere" (Olivia 21:04). The physical infrastructure of motorway dominance negatively shaped the trajectory of place and encourages car use and thereby car presence, which in turn diminishes pedestrian use as the environment is less focused on the human scale – an aspect identified as hindrance to the navigation of women in space, as well as being a logical explanation for the continuous dilapidation of the areas close to the M8.

## 7. Conclusion

This paper explored the intersection between gender and the city. It showed the relationship between the underrepresentation of women in city planning and the resulting absence of gender in planning policies. The paper introduced the mutually reinforcing nature of gender inequality and sexual violence, as well as its interrelation with the gendered construction of fear and consequent creation of no-go-zones that restrict women's access to the city. Furthermore, it demonstrated the close links of gender inequality and persisting social gender norms as both a result and cause of the former. The focus of this paper was the city of Glasgow in Scotland. This paper has systematically linked the assumptions from literature to the results of the conducted walking interviews by uncovering how, when and where the interviewees construct sense of belonging in the city. In regards to Glasgow and its historic development, this paper has identified that male dominance and the reputation for violence disadvantages women in their navigation of the city. Physical structures and certain elements of the built environment in Glasgow are engrained with androcentric values due to an underrepresentation of women in planning, and the gendered construction of fear driven by its reputation and the media further restricts women in their movement. However, it has also identified that increasing awareness of the gendered nature of urban experience and a closer confrontation with the everyday experiences of citizens and their modes of travel can inform policy to counteract or retrofit the city by uncovering the patriarchal structures in both the built environment and persisting patriarchal societal gender norms. The walking interviews exposed a gender-specific heightened awareness when navigating the urban space that depends on factors such as time of day, experiences, stigmatisation of people and places, physical characteristics of the built environment and fear of sexual violence. This is constructed and normalised through gender stereotypes, gender violence, and gender inequality, which are all interdependent and mutually reinforcing to varying degrees, which correlates with the findings in contemporary literature. Silences in planning policies caused by a lack of gender perspectives in the built environment intensify this inequality such as the inattention to the actual journey, which has also been identified by the literature. However, this dissertation shows that organisations like Engender

are working to put gender equality on the map, and inscribe potential for a closer incorporation of gender equality into policy in the Planning Bill due before Parliament in 2019 in accordance with the UN Goals for Sustainable Development.

Both the literature review and the walking interviews have highlighted the importance of recognising gendered experiences of city dwellers and incorporating gender perspectives into decisions relating to the organisation of the city to identify, address and mitigate the constraints faced by inhabitants that diverge from the norm. While introducing small-scale urban interventions, this paper does not intend to propose universal solutions to these issues, it merely highlights the experiences and viewpoints of six women in Glasgow uncovering that these are in fact gendered. It suggests that gender is not the only factor influencing the urban experience – sexual orientation, age, disability, race and class should not go unnoticed, but have been excluded due to the limited scope of the paper. A closer investigation of the everyday experiences of marginalised groups and voices can inform about ways to encourage equal access to the city. The urban interventions introduced in the paper may encourage women to claim space, which, as argued in literature and the research findings alike, stimulates more female presence. Even small aspects that improve the physical environment such as making the city litter-free or inserting art and lighting can reduce stigmatisation, create a sense of belonging and improve the city in a way that not only benefits women. The interviews furthermore demonstrate a strong attachment to and pride of Glasgow that could potentially be channelled into more participation given that more easily accessible ways to voice concerns or propose ideas and get involved are made available. The potential of technology and social media in the realm of the urban, especially in a Western context where most citizens have access to a smart phone, could be further investigated. In regards to true inclusivity, more research would be needed as the elderly and the homeless might get more marginalised by internet-based methods of participation. This dissertation also repeatedly highlighted the potential and applicability of mobile methods to urban research, identifying a need to examine the experience along the journey. Since by walking, impressions of and reactions to the surrounding environment can be voiced



directly and qualitative data can be mapped to identify areas that most need intervention, not only city planning, but also transport and crime research can benefit from the implementation of mobile methods. In conclusion, this paper has challenged dominant perceptions of the built environment in Glasgow by showing that the city is experienced distinctly based on gender. It therefore an extent, matches the criteria of a gendered city introduced in the literature review. However, this paper also demonstrated that (and how) it is possible to create a city that promotes and incorporates gender equality, creating an inclusive environment offering equal access to the city beyond gender dichotomies.

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### Appendix A: *History and Gender*

decade	general history	year	Glasgow	Feminist History
	growth of the industrial city		main issues: sanitation and housing	
1880 - 1900			<p>Tobacco trade and cotton manufacture fully replaced by shipbuilding, engineering, coal and iron (Pacione, 1995, p. p.43- 63)</p> <p>Rapidly expanding urban area, spatial segregation between working class and “social elite” (72), established West End by 1830 (Pacione, 1995, p. 77), working class moves into city centre (Pacione, 1995, p. 86)</p> <p>Sauchiehall Street becomes primary street replacing Buchanan Street as “middle class flowed west” (Gibb, 1983, p. 177)</p> <p>Overcrowding, slum conditions</p>	
		1890		Establishment of the first branch of the SCWG (Scottish Cooperative Women’s Guild) (Breitenbach, Wright, 2014, p.407)
		1893		“first petition for women’s suffrage” (Breitenbach, Wright, 2014, p. 407) sent to government

		1900	Glasgow considered “world metropolis” (Pacione, 1995, p. 68)	
1990 - 1920	first world war (1914- 1918)			Guild is largest working-class women’s organisation in Scotland (Breitenbach, Wright, 2014, p. 407
		1903		“Women’s Social and Political Union formed in Britain by Emmeline Pankhurst” (Jarvis et. al, 2009, p.298)
		1915		“first international Congress of Women” (Jarvis et. al, 2009, p.298)
		1915	Rent strikes.	Women “played a leading role”(Pacione, 1995, p. 240), which along with rent strikes in other industrial areas of Britain, led to the Rent Act of 1915” (Breitenbach, Wright, 2014, p.407-408) and "resulted in remarkable turnaround in the city’s tenure structure” (Pacione, 1995, p. 158).
		1919	Strikes in favour of the 40-hour week (Pacione, 1995, p. 243)	“Sex Disqualification Removal Act in Britain allows women to enter the professions for the first time” (Jarvis et. al, 2009, p.298), first female lecturer at University of Glasgow
1920s			“Glasgow’s housing stock continued to be characterised by overcrowding, congestion and the prevalence of one-room dwellings” (Breitenbach, Wright, 2014, p. 408)	“By the 1920s the issue of birth control was being publicly discussed in Scotland” (Breitenbach, Wright, 2014, p. 411)

		1920		First female councillors elected (Breitenbach, Wright, 2014, p.406)
		1922		“Law of Property Act enables both husband and wife to inherit property equally for the first time in Britain” (Jarvis et. al, 2009, p.298)
		1926		"women’s organisations’ conference on housing" (Breitenbach, Wright, 2014, p.408)
		1926		“The Glasgow Women’s Welfare and Advisory Clinic” (Breitenbach, Wright, 2014, p. 412) opens
		1928		“Equal Franchise Act (UK) entitles women the vote on equal terms with men; women become ‘persons’ in their own right in Britain by order of the Privy Council” (Jarvis et. al, 2009, p.298)
1930 - 1950				
		1932	“‘Marriage Bar’ is introduced in the British ‘establishment’ (the BBC, civil service, teaching, post office) forcing women to resign from employment on marriage (not lifted until 1946-1952)” (Jarvis et. al, 2009, p.298)	
		1933		“Scottish Committee of Co-operative, Labour and Trade Union Women” (Breitenbach, Wright, 2014, p.407) is founded

		1935	first associations between the hard man and Glasgow (Young, 2007, 80)	
		1937		"The Scottish Federation of Mothers' Welfare Clinics was formed." (Breitenbach, Wright, 2014, p. 413)
		1938		"International Council of Women (ICW)" in Edinburgh" (Breitenbach, Wright, 2014, p.403)
	Second world war (1939-1945)		"1941 marks the year with highest population numbers in Glasgow, more than double of 1880" (Pacione, 1995, p. 110)	
		1945	Bruce Plans	
	Post War Era		Post war redevelopment, removal of large numbers of tenement buildings (Pacione, 1995, p. 88), efforts to redevelop slum areas (Jarvis et. al, 2009 162-166)	
		1951	"half of Glasgow's housing stock was 1 or 2 bedroom flats, which families shared" (Pacione, 1995, p. 93)	"23.4 per cent of all women employed in Scotland were married compared to 8.5 per cent and 5.3 per cent in 1931 and 1911 respectively" (Young, 2007, 72)
1960s			"irreversible decline (.), abandonment of docks and quays"( Pacione, 1995, p. 58)	Gendered employment: "95.4 per cent of the shipbuilding work force was male compared to 21.7 per cent in the clothing industry" (Young, 2007, 72)
		1961		Jane Jacobs publishes The Death and Life of American Cities



			Traffic plans opposed by environmental groups and budget restrictions (Jarvis et. al, 2009 213), collapse of the shipbuilding industry (Pacione, 1995, p. 132-137), failing attempts to rehabilitate it (Pacione, 1995, p. 137)	
	contraceptive pill goes on sale	1961		
		1964	massive demolition of dwellings in slum areas, and construction of high rise buildings (Pacione, 1995, p. 165- 171) such as the Red Road Flats (Pacione, 1995, p. 172); “Glasgow’s architectural and urban modernisation, which resulted, amongst other things, in the serial design of both modernist tower blocks and low-rise buildings, extensive ‘slum clearance’, motorway construction and the establishment of new towns in the wider area.” (Urban, 2018, 265)	Married Women’s Property Act
		1967	inner city decay and suburbanisation	“Abortion legalized in Britain” (Jarvis et. al, 2009, p.298)
				The “rate of economic activity of married women in Scotland was only two thirds that of the rest of Britain until the 1970s and was characterised by part-time, low-paid work”(Young, 2007, 72)

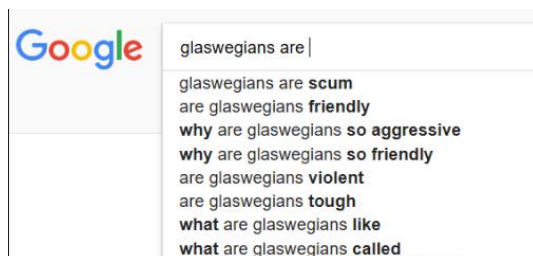
1970s			programme to rehabilitate structurally sound tenements for occupation (Pacione, 1995, p. 87), harsh deindustrialisation, failing modernist architecture and planning (Urban, 2018, 264- 266)	wave of feminist publications
		1971		75% of all working women active in "public administration, banking, nursing, teaching" (Young, 2007, 72)
		1973		"women are allowed onto the floor of the London Stock exchange for the first time" (Jarvis et. al, 2009, p.298)
		1974		The contraceptive pill is free of charge in Britain
		1976	GEAR introduced (Pacione, 1995, p. 145)	
1980s			rising unemployment (Pacione, 1995, p. 149) steady increase in longterm unemployment (Pacione, 1995, p. 150) pockets of multiple deprivation (Pacione, 1995, p. 227), high levels of ill-health, vacant and derelict land, unemployment, substance abuse, low education	
		1983	Introduction of Glasgow's Miles Better Campaign, place-based marketing	
		1988	Glasgow Garden Festival (Pacione, 1995, p. 250) marks beginning of event-based regeneration	
			Merchant City development as new financial district	

1990s			persistent economic stagnation and long term unemployment (Pacione, 1995, p. 150); neoliberal redevelopment: less focus on poverty, emphasise economic improvement and central city and Clyde waterfront	Third Wave Feminism
		1990	Glasgow is European City of Culture	
		1992	Internet available to home users	
21st century			rapid innovation in mobile phone technology Commonwealth Games strategic regeneration declining deprivation, but continuing problems with VDL	
		2017		the Domestic Abuse (Scotland) Bill and the Gender Representation on Public Boards (Scotland) Bill introduced

## Appendix B: *Reputation and Representation*

The following will briefly outline the representation of Glasgow in popular culture, as the reputation these representations are based on influences the image both residents and strangers to the city hold of Glasgow.

Evidently, the reputation of Glaswegians in film and television is influenced by the general portrayal of Scottish characters in the media. Often, these are limited to a general ‘being weird’ (*Fresh Meat*<sup>1</sup>, *Little Britain*<sup>2</sup>), or the stereotypically rough, grumpy kilt-wearing alcoholics (Groundskeeper Willy in *The Simpsons*<sup>3</sup>; Fat Bastard in *Austin Powers*<sup>4</sup>; Stuart Rankin on *Saturday Night Live*<sup>5</sup> to name but a few). However, the Glasgow-specific reputation does diverge from this image. It will come to show that the reputation of Glasgow is to this day continues to be influenced by its violent past, however, being voted the UK’s friendliest city, as well as the positive association with culture, music, and international sports events have altered the grim image of a city merely known for being riddled with crime. The resulting juxtaposition is reflected in the suggested searches when typing “Glaswegians are” into google, as pictured below.



Screenshot: Search recommendations for: ‘Glaswegians are’ (Google, 2018)<sup>6</sup>

Logically, the controversial reputation of being both friendly and violent is a favourite topic among comedians, who therefore produce a lot of related content. For example, the well-known Glaswegian Frankie Boyle in his 2015 Netflix Special *Hurt Like You’ve Never Been Loved* picks up on some of

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<sup>1</sup> *Fresh Meat* (2011). [Series] Netflix.

<sup>2</sup> *Little Britain* (2003) [Series] BBC: Netflix.

<sup>3</sup> *The Simpsons* (1989) [Series] Fox Broadcasting.

<sup>4</sup> *Austin Powers: The Spy Who Shagged Me* (1999) [Film] New Line Cinema: M. Myers and M. McCullers.

<sup>5</sup> *Saturday Night Live* (1975) [Comedy Show] NBC.

<sup>6</sup> Google (2018). Search for ‘Glaswegians Are’[Online] Google. Available at: [www.google.com](http://www.google.com). [Accessed 20.08.2018].

Glasgow's reputation (Boyle, 2015<sup>7</sup>). He characterises Glaswegians as violent, poor (Boyle, 46:32) and unhealthy, saying that "people smoke 120 fags a day" (Boyle, 33:42) and repeatedly mentioning violence (Boyle, 55:36; 55:23; 49:54). Interestingly, he also mocks Glaswegians for being unambitious and negative: "If Kanye would've been born in Glasgow, he would've been called No you cannae" (Boyle, 32:19). Similar jokes can be found on the *Comedy Roadshow*<sup>8</sup>, and *Mock the Week*<sup>9</sup>. They also regularly find their way into local comedy acts, e.g. at the Comedy Stand in Glasgow on Tuesdays. Not just comedy, but also official websites like Representing Communities (2014<sup>10</sup>) pick up on the mentioned by describing the city's intersecting reputations as follows:

"These include the city as a friendly, beautiful or a cultural city. So far so good, yet these also sit aside negative representations perhaps larger in the popular imagination; a dangerous, disconnected or sick city also competes with grandiose perceptions of a modernist or workers' city" (Representing Communities, 2014)

The aforementioned does not claim universality regarding the representation of Scotland or Glasgow in popular culture, it merely serves as brief analysis to demonstrate that certain reputations get propagated over others, and thereby a certain reputation dominates and actively influences the perception of place as it gets produced and reproduced through the media.

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<sup>7</sup> Boyle, F (2015). *Hurt Like You've Never Been Loved*. [Comedy Special] Netflix. Dir. J. Spencer. Available at: <https://www.netflix.com/gb/title/80082187> [Accessed 15.08.2018].

<sup>8</sup> *Comedy Roadshow* (2009) Episode 1: Edinburgh [Comedy Show] Netflix.

<sup>9</sup> *Mock the Week* (2005). [Comedy Show] BBC Two.

<sup>10</sup> Representing Communities (2014). *Cultural Representations of Glasgow & its East End*. [Online] Representing Communities. Available at: <http://representingcommunities.co.uk/dennistoun/2014/07/11/nobody-imagines-living-here-cultural-representations-of-glasgow-and-its-east-end/> [Accessed 15.08.2018].

Transcript 'Amelia'

16.07.2018, 12:00, George Square to George Square

time	interviewee	interviewer
00:16		How long have you lived here for, and in which part of town?
00:19	I got here in December last year, I live really close to here. I will show you the way I usually walk. So, when I got here in december I immediately thought this is a beautiful city, the buildings are.. Or seem really old, some aren't, but I like the style.	
01:00	in Mexico, the buildings and the houses are very different.	
01:27	Here, there aren't as many people and it seems like there is more order than in Mexico.	
01:38		Do you mean the street layout or traffic, or ..
01:39	No, I think there is more order for example when crossing the street. You have to wait.. Although I find people don't follow that rule all the time..	
01:54		It's not illegal here to just cross, in Germany they can fine you
02:01	What really catches my attention is that the drivers are, in my point of view, very adamantly following the traffic rules. They don't care too much about the people, for example, if someone crosses the street and there is no traffic light it's on the pedestrian. But I haven't seen any drivers run red lights or hit another car, I don't see any accidents happen.	
02:37	In Mexico, that's something.. Well, in Mexico you go outside and you feel like you're risking your life when crossing the street. Despite traffic lights and pedestrian crossings, despite all that stuff, if you're crossing the street and a car is coming, the car will go. It's very dangerous.	
03:03	It feels like pedestrians here have more priviledges. But it's also that the drivers are more kind, for example, if there is someone trying to cross the streets and there is no crossing the cars will let the person cross anyway. All in all, I think it is way safer to be a pedestrian here.	
03:29	And that's something I really like. For example, that guy over there looking at his phone, he can just keep looking at his phone and cross the street there cause it's a green light. Not that I'm saying it's good to stare at your phone but nothing will happen to him and he's able to do that.	

03:46		And you are very aware of that because you have the comparison to Mexico
03:50	When you come from a different place, the comparisons kick in	
04:00	Another thing I like about this place is the feeling of safety. I've spoken to people about safety here and it's not even anything they think about or are aware of to the extent I am used to. People here don't know what it is like to feel unsafe walking in the street.	
04:30		Day or night?
04:33	At any time!	And you feel like people here are less conscious of these issues?
04:38	yes, because there is no imminent threat as such, there is no danger. That was weird for me in the beginning. If you come from a place where at all times you have to be aware of everything, checking if someone is following you, or any other dangers that are constantly present.	
04:55	At the end of the day, what might happen? Someone might rob you, or hurt you, or some man in the street might say something inappropriate or catcall you. Here, everyone seems to be in their own worlds, and nobody just disrespects you, and that is something that stands out positively to me.	
05:24		And here you feel safe walking about?
05:25	I feel super safe. In the beginning it was a bit hard and it took me a while to relax and stop observing everything, but you adapt! It's just what you're used to.	
05:45		And you're mostly in the centre, in this area right?
05:46	Yes!	
05:49		Have you been to other parts of Glasgow, like the outskirts? Are there any places around where you felt less safe, or even more safe?
05:52	Here, yeah, there are parts. Just now we'll come up to a part where I observe the street more, where I am more aware of my own presence and everyone around me. It's a part with a lot of beggars, and that is something that makes me feel a bit more unsafe. But that's just that small part over there, just a very short strip.	
06:18	But in general, no. I feel super safe. Even at night, after 12. Even if it's dark, and I'm by myself and there is nobody in the streets, I feel very safe here. And that is something very positive for me.	

06:37	Sometimes in this part I take a bicycle. I like riding a bike if it's flat. It's a bit difficult riding a bike here though because there is no bike lanes. So I go on the sidewalk. I'm just still not used to the street markings and unsure about their meanings so sometimes when I try to go on the street I start doubting if I'm in the right place, so I usually go on the sidewalk. I mean I see a lot of cyclists taking the sidewalks anyway but I'm also aware of the fact that that's uncomfortable for the people walking. That sometimes happens to me too, I'd be walking somewhere and all the sudden I feel a bicycle going right next to me, super close. If I would make one weird move they would hit me!	
08:04		Yeah, for me, everytime I feel a cyclist pass me super close, I just think of the thieves in Barcelona that cut your handbag off you while they're on a bike
08:38	See that's exactly what I meant with the safety thing	
08:39	That is where I lock the bike!	Ah, you use the public ones!
08:44	Yes! I take one of those and just ride, I mostly just take one of those bikes down to Buchanan and then take the subway to wherever I need to go.	
08:56		I've never used one, I don't know why. I love riding bicycles though.
09:00	see when I got here I wanted buy a bike, that was my plan, but then when (my boyfriend) said well, Glasgow is all hills, not because they steal them or anything, and I saw those and they are super convenient. I mean they are convenient but for some reason they're never in the places you need them to be.	
09:36	They are a good idea but sometimes there aren't any spots, or no bikes. There have been times we wanted to take the bikes to save a bit of time or to be faster, but in those moments there aren't any bikes at that stop. Or maybe there are some, but it's one that is working and two that don't.	
10:05		So you walk a lot generally? In this part?
10:08	Yes! In regards to frequency, this is definitely the street I walk most often, and that one over there.	
10:17		What do you like about it, what don't you like about it? Or how do you perceive the urban environment here?
10:20	This sidewalk is great for walking, it's wide, and it feels safe. That other street over there seems a bit more dodgy to me.	



10:35	Talking about cycling, I live over there in that building. So one day there were a lot of those people delivering food on their bicycles. And I came from over there, and because the footpath is angled and there is almost no space to get through, the person was super fast, and if I hadn't literally pushed myself into the fencing they would've hit me. It was quite weird, but that happened just over there. And it just shows there needs to be bike paths.	
11:39	This street here for example has a lot of traffic, and sometimes I feel like it is a bit neglected. I don't know if that's the government or why, or if it's the habits of the people around .. Also I don't know for how long they were going to do something here, you don't see anything happening.	
12:25	The part over there on that side is very, like, lost. Abandoned kind of. I mean there is a supermarket over there so we sometimes walk that way, but it's so abandoned and lonely and neglected. There are huge warehouses that seem abandoned, and I'm not sure if anyone is using them but the look abandoned. But despite that I feel welcome, and in general here I'm just more worried about the cars than people that could potentially hurt me, I have to be more careful about the traffic!	
13:11	Oh and what I wanted to say earlier, something I find very, very uncomfortable here is the amount of litter in the streets. It seems like not even the owners of the bars and shops along here care or feel responsible for cleaning just what is in front of their place, and that sends a message of neglect and it's just very uncomfortable.	
14:05	So that street gives me the sensation of being kind of abandoned, not that I feel unsafe or anything, it's just a less pleasant walk. It's the beginning of the East End area, and yeah, everyone has a really bad image of the area, it's got quite a bad reputation. To me, it doesn't seem bad at all! Well, I'm also comparing it to areas of Mexico City that are considered dangerous, and to me it seems very beautiful in comparison to run-down places in my country. The only thing that really bothers me a lot is the amount of litter. My country is so much cleaner, and that is very strange for me. The people here take such good care of so many aspects in the city but they don't seem to care as much about the litter.	
15:24	And they leave their litter around and then the seagulls come and destroy everything, rats.	
15:33	There are also a lot of pubs on this road, and I don't know if that's because of the prejudices I have, but when people are drunk and coming out of those pubs screaming and acting aggressive, and that sort of intimidating behaviour, we usually try to avoid them and cross the street or we walk faster.	
16:00		Before coming to Glasgow did you know anything about the city? Did you talk to someone beforehand or did you get tips from anywhere?

16:15	No, not really. Well, we looked up th city online before deciding anything, and read some experiences. If anything, what we read was that it's very safe, and quiet, and we looked it up. And generally, nobody in the reviews mentioned feeling unsafe in any part of the city. And that's the image of Glasgow I had in mind when I came.	
16:55	I have a friend from Barcelona. Her partner, I don't know why, maybe to control her, had convinced her that it would be very dangerous if she left her apartment at night because people might rob her or rape or something else might happen. So when I met her she was really scared to go out at night and it surprised me so much because my experience was the complete opposite actually, I find the people here to be extremely friendly.	
17:27	If they see that you need something or are lost, they immediately come up to you and offer help and support you. And that is such a positive thing!	
17:42	So I told her afterwards, I said, look your fears aren't based on reality, look where we are walking right now, look at everyone here, look at the way they are walking, observe that, not what people tell you.	
18:45	A lot of the times you don't think about what might happen until someone warns you or you hear a lot about an area from people. For example here, people often tell me that 'things happen' or about something that happened some time ago, and that immediately makes you feel like it's dangerous there.	
19:05		Do you think that warnings of violence are more directed towards women
19:26	Yes, I think so, but my experience is different, probably because of where I am from. I mean here, women go out on the streets very dolled up, in miniskirts and, really, that is weird to me that nothing happens and noone says anything. In Mexico, that would be seen as a clear invite for men to say something or do something to them. So, I feel super safe here because of that (seeing women dressed like that)	
19:55		Would you say there are different gender roles there?
20:05	Yes, exactly. Different norms.	
20:25	This is the part I feel most unsafe in. Because there are so many closed shops, the litter, beggars, homeless. And I heard a story about someone who ws just behind that clock, about two months ago, there was a fight or something, and apparently they cut his cheek open. And that for me was like 'Okay, maybe I will avoid exactly that spot'. And thats it.	
21:44	I don't think this will happen to me, I have nothing to do with gangs or drugs. Okay, it might be dangerous, but it's just dangerous because of the time of day and the people involved, what they're involved in is dangerous and not the city. It's probably something to do with drugs, that would be plausible.	

22:06	But yeah, this area gives me feeling of, I don't know if it's feeling unsafe, it needs investment or something. And I just today said to my boyfriend, this part is so beautiful, or like, the buildings are super beautiful. So just seeing those beautiful buildings and some of them look so run-down or abandoned.. I don't know if that's the responsibility of the government, that they need to do something. It all has such potential.	
23:06	A beautiful building like this, so run-down, I don't even know if it's in use but it doesn't exactly seem inviting, does it? It kind of makes you want to flee instead.	
23:14	Or this, like, what is happening there? What is it? A park would be perfect there, but oh well, also in the night because of what this area is like, it might then at night just be used by homeless people sleeping there or doing drugs. So it might just be more dangerous to open it.	
23:40	This bit! Where that clock is, that gives me that slightly negative feeling, but all the other bits, from the very beginning, you just feel like you're in your city. You see the people, you see there's people from all walks of life and a lot of diversity, different cultures and I like that. And despite those abandoned bits, and the people using the street as public bathrooms (laughs)	
24:50:00	See the problems with homelessness and drug use, they are so complex and it's so complicated to find solutions for them. Because the government maintains them, and the people too, maintain the problem. And they don't see a way to end it, to get out of the vicious cycle. And if they give them the things they need without them having to do anything in return, why would they want to get out of their current situation.	
25:40:00	For example, this entire street is full of people, and the litter, and the smells...	
25:55:00	All that litter just causes the birds to spread everywhere and that just means that at some point you might find something unwanted has dropped onto you, (laughs) some seagull, you know. I mean look at all this. And it's, it's a question of mentality. People walk around eating something (points at crisp packaging) and they just drop it, they don't care. I don't know if the government could do anything about that, but	
26:43:00	The problem is that where they put them nobody uses it. There are a lot of bins and ashtray things, but there's cigarette butts everywhere.	
27:03:00	If they never really fine anyone nothing will change.	
27:08:00	Oh look, this is where all the bikes are. This one is overcrowded.	
27:12:00	In Mexico they have bikes like these as well, and they have people checking up on them everyday to redistribute them, and that's missing.	
27:33:00	And this location isn't very accessible, if you go that way you'd have to cross that street then go onto the sidewalk and there's a lot of people.	

27:44:00	And this is a street where they could easily put in a bike lane, but it's not there. They don't seem interested in that, or they don't think about that stuff.	
27:58:00	It is unbelievable how in so many aspects they are in control and then things like these that seem so obvious to me, they don't even try.	
28:10:00		Do you like this street?
28:14:00	There are a lot of people. It is strange, because in Mexico that really bothered me to be in crowded places, but not here. Here I actually like it.	
28:20:00		Why do you think that is?
28:24:00	I don't know, I think it depends on the people a lot. Because here I walk and I don't see people with long faces, or looking stressed. They seem more relaxed, and like they're enjoying themselves, and it invites to relax as well.	
28:44:00	I really like all the flower displays, and that's something I give them a lot of credit for, because they're beautifully arranged and well taken care of. And every now and again they get exchanged for new ones.	
29:06:00	I really like that there's always music	
29:33:00	See it's very different to have that one guy play that music and his show, and the people just begging for money and not doing anything.	
29:56:00	And many of them are so young! I mean they are people who have mental health problems, obviously, because they're not people that couldn't work. It's not people that have physical problems. Drugs, very likely. But they are people who could go and work, but the system isn't helping that. It's giving them food or through many people drugs, or whatever they need, I mean they are people that really have problems, but ...	
31:14:00	A lot of people wouldn't have access to medical services if it wasn't free. That's another thing I like here, that the difference between rich and poor isn't very distinct. And that here, you could work in an office, and live in your own flat and take care of a family, in many other countries that isn't possible, with bills and rent and all you'd be happy to make enough of a living for just yourself.	
31:40:00	Anyway, usually I walk all of this, sometimes I take the subway to get to classes but now I'm focusing on learning English, so I've been going to different classes around Glasgow, not far from the centre, so I use the subway to get there.	
32:05:00	I really like the subway, but it is a bit of a joke, right? Because it's just that little circle, and it seems touristy, like for tourists to see the centre but nothing else, that's it.	
32:27:00		Have you ever taken a bus?

32:28:00	Just to get to the airport, nothing else. But I haven't had to go further out so I haven't needed a bus. But it seems to me that they have a good system, the bus stops seem to be in adequate locations and they seem to go everywhere so it seems good. The trains as well.	
33:03:00	What is a bit strange to me is that during the hot days we've had recently the train tracks or something heated up and they couldn't use them, or whatever happened, with the heat.	
33:08:00	That's something I find surprising here, I mean, they are quite high up north, so you'd think they'd be more prepared for snow.	
33:15:00		Do you mean the storm, Beast from the East?
33:21:00	I mean, what are you expecting? Of course at some point you'll get this much snow! And it was funny because the first couple of days it was snowing, they had those machines out to collect the snow but they almost didn't do anything because there wasn't enough snow. But the days it was really snowing heavily, nothing was happening! Nadie iba al trabajo. That was curious. They're prepared for a bit of temperature differences, but not enough. That seemed very illprepared	
34:40:00	And it gets really slippery when it's wet, there's a part over there at the crossings, they have metal in the street with tiny bumps, I'm pretty sure it is for blind people to cross, but it's not very well thought through because they get very slippery when it's wet. And it rains so much here. The part you're standing on, next to the cars, is slippery, what's going to happen is that someone falls into the street!	
35:37:00	So these were all the streets I usually walk, although sometimes also Sauchiehall Street, but not right now cause it's all closed with the fires.	
36:51:00	One of my teachers told me a story about a girl that was drunk, coming out of a bar. And we asked him if there was a risk that she wouldn't get home, she went out with more people, like she wasn't alone but she was with just guys. So I asked him, is there a risk she won't get home? And he didn't understand the question, he said, maybe she could get lost, or faint or fall asleep, or what? And I said, no, she was with all those guys, you know? And he just didn't know what I meant so I asked him directly if any of the guys she was with would maybe rape her or take advantage of her situation and he just said, that doesn't happen here. It might that some time ago that was more common but now it doesn't happen anymore but he was 60, and he didn't even understand the question.	
39:08:00	There is something though, that I unfortunately experienced - in the classes I have been to there are a lot of people from everywhere, and many different cultures. And I do notice that in some cultures men are a bit more invasive towards women. It's unfortunate because I don't want to say anything, but one time a guy talked to me in the streets for a longer time and I didn't want to speak to him, and he asked for my phone number and it was very uncomfortable.	

41:00:00	It's a question of adapting to a place, if you're not used to it and you come here and everyone dresses the way they want .. And it's seeing the difference between being nice and saying hello, or smiling, and... for some people that might seem like an invitation. And that's not what it is.	
41:35:00	Or the looks they sometimes give you, men staring.. Or whistling at you. Those are situations and behaviours that provoke feelings of insecurity, of being unsafe.	
42:00:00	And guys don't even, it doesn't even cross their mind. But what really was an eye-opener was that conversation with my teacher, when he said that it wouldn't even cross someone's mind here to abuse that woman's situation, to take advantage of her vulnerability.	
42:30:00		But they all knew each other, right? They were friends?
42:34:00	Yes, of course!	
42:39:00	And I was like, but you know, it might cross one of their minds and another one stops him, or something, but his reaction showed me that it wouldn't even cross someone's mind and that is very positive to me, that that mentality is overcome here.	
42:50:00	I think in this respect society here is very equitable. I mean something might always happen	
43:03:00	I told myself that if I end up having children I won't have them in my country. I think this is a nice place to have children, it's safe, the education is good, the government sees them as investment and not as an expense.	
44.20	If you have kids here, you have a lot of kids, I really think some women here dedicate themselves to having children.	

Transcript 'Ava'  
Walk 24.06.2018, 14:20

Time	Interviewee	Interviewer
00:00:06		How many times do you walk this way?
00:00:08	Ehm, yeah, I walk this way quite a lot to be honest. It's like whenever I go to Tesco or into town this is the way that I always go. Ehm cause, part of it is that I can't be bothered going up the hill, it's like (laughing). The hills are like so steep. I don't really know what to say.	Oh, just if you like the street, or..
00:00:34	Oh yeah well just cause it's the most direct and there is some beautiful architecture on the way.	
00:00:40	That used to be an old school, it is so beautiful.	That is so nice!
00:00:47	Ehm, and sometimes I cut through the little park in Garnet Hill which is like, nice.	Do you do that during the day more than during the night, or ..
00:00:53	Yeah, I don't really walk that much at night time to be honest. But when I do, when I'm on Sauchiehall Street I will cut up ver the hill, that's quicker than going this way, but	
00:01:06	I never feel unsafe in Glasgow. I've never felt like there's been an issue with like, you know, walking about and feeling unsafe, really.	
00:01:20	I mean the only thing that I would say is that if i walked past, like, men, and they're staring at me, that I get uncomfortable, that's it.	
00:01:29		But nothing's ever happened?
00:01:30	No, nothing's ever happened	
00:01:40	I don't really think about it, I think I'm quite sheltered in this Garnet Hill, like, residential area. There's not really much crime, I mean there is the odd like, dodgy dealings, but apart from that, like, it's pretty quiet. Although I am mindful of the Charing Cross, ehm, you know where like the bridge is, there's been a few rapes there, (mumbling) like a few years ago now	
00:02:22	But yeah I've never, like, despite people saying, you know, Glasgow is so unsafe and it's like, stab capital or whatever, I've never felt like that, but I never really venture into the areas where there is more crime, like I'm quite sheltered. I'm in the centre, I'm in Garnet Hill, I'm in the West End, like, don't really have too many dodgy characters, to be honest.	
00:02:47		Which areas of Glasgow would you say you avoid, or

00:02:54	Ehm, I would probably.. Well do you mean by walking, or?	
00:02:57		Or just generally, like you just said you don't go into the didgy areas, like what are the dodgy areas for you?
00:03:02	Ehm, yeah, I would probably... So I do have to go there cause I have to pick up a dog there, but, it's very dodgy in Possil, and I would never really walk along the street there because, there's loads of, this might sound a bit judgemental, but there's loads of people, they, who obviously don't work, they just hang about outside the pubs like during the day, and it just makes me feel kind of uncomfortable, because I'm definitely like, the odd one out, you know?	
00:03:35		You feel kind of out of place..
00:03:36	Yeah I feel really out of place	
00:03:37	But I wouldn't say that I really feel unsafe so much during the day, I just feel uncomfortable, like I'm not meant to be there	And that's mostly just because of the people?
00:03:51	Yeah and see even silly things like all the shopfronts, it's just so, like the signage is so, like, horribly done, like it almost feels like you're in a foreign country, and it's a bit run-down, and whatever, so yeah, Possil	
00:04:08	Maryhill I don't find too bad, like, I don't think it's the worst	
00:04.18		Have you always lived in this area?
00:04:19	So we (lives with boyfriend) have lived in Garnet Hill for like, it'll be 4 years this August, and then before then I lived on Gibson Street near the Glasgow Uni which was really nice, I never felt an issue there. It's always like busy of uni students and that, so I never felt, you know, unsafe, or any sort of problem. And then in second year I lived in Finnieston, again, never had a problem. Soyeah, I feel like I'm pretty, I'm pretty okay with where i walk but like I said, there are places I would avoid.	
00:05:02	Like where [her boyfriend] works, in Drumchapel, it's really rough. It's right along Great Western Road like, past Anniesland, and stuff, really deprived area	
00:05:18	And,I mean I've walked a little bit into the East End, where my friend lives, in Dennistoun, and like, that's not the best area where she used to live	
00:05:32	I know it's like up and coming and stuff, but she had some dodgy neighbours and stuff like that	
00:05:38	And i remember like going into shop, and there was loads of teenagers hanging about outside and they were like really roudy and it made me feel a bit uncomfortable despite them being like, 10 years younger than me, actually more than that, but yeah	
00:05:51	I would just say the main thing is, men, to be honest	
00:05:56		So it's just like people staring



00:05:57	Yeah, so (very loud background noise) when I just walk past, if it's in a sexual way or not, I just feel very uncomfortable, and I start to like, think about the way I walk and I walk differently in a way, you know, when you start to like think about the way you walk cause you're not, I don't know	
00:06:24	There's always people, there's usually people sitting there, and it makes me feel kind of,... especially if there's more than one, I'm like, 'oh they must be talking about me' and I feel paranoid	
00:06:40		Do you walk home from the city centre at night sometimes?
00:06:42	Ehm, yeah, I mean I don't really walk that much now but if I'm on Sauchiehall Street I would walk up the hill on my own sometimes and I have thought 'why, why am I doing this' like this is pretty dangerous, but you just kind of think you're invincible, like, o this would never happen to me, like, you know, I'll never get raped bla bla bla, but I suppose i should be more mindful of that	
00:07:10		Do you feel like apart from safety, there's like, other things, (that make) you see the city differently cause you're a woman, or like, is safety the main thing?
00:07:25	I don't really know, I can't think of anything now apart from the safety thing	
00:07:35	I don't know if this is relevant, but one thing that I really hate in Glasgow is like the amount of rubbish everywhere, like that makes me uncomfrotable and a bit pissed off if there's like loads of litter laying about and that makes you kind of not want to walk down that street (street noise). I can't really think of any other reasons to be honest	
00:08:07		you obviously live really close to the city centre, (mumbling) so I don't know, when you're on your period and you're trying to like, find a bathroom that you don't have to pay for
00:08:10	Oh yeah! That's actually one thing I wanted to say that there's not really any public toilets about	
00:08:15		But would you use it?

00:08:16	Well, one time, I was down at George Square and they have the really old fashioned ones there, and you put money in them, and I was gonna go in and some like, homeless guy was like, I wouldn't go in there, my friend's in there. So I think people like go in there to do drugs and stuff. But apart from that there's not really anywhere to go to the toilet. Obviously there's old toilets at Charing Cross where the bike is, like opposite the post office, and then there's also some on Gibson Street where that café is now the Chaiwallah, those were public toilets, and it's kind of sad that we got to the point where we can't use, where we can't have public toilets because they're gonna get trashed or, you know, attract unwanted people and that makes you feel a bit frustrated cause you have to like, walk all the way to a shop and say, you know, go and buy something from a café just to use the toilet which i think is a bit ridiculous to be honest	
00:09:25		Walking down here, do you like it, or what do you like or what do you don't like about it?
00:09:26	I mean, today, it's absolutely stunning weather, like, it's nice and sunny, but I also like, always think about tourists when I'm here. Like on Sauchiehall Street, I always get embarrassed because of, I feel really bad, for the people that walk down here and the amount of litter. This is such an awful representation of Glasgow, like people are going to have these long lasting impressions, cause people always think about the negative impressions over the positive really.	
00:09:56	So like one thing I do to kind of counteract that is, when I always see a tourist that is looking lost, or like looking at a map, I'll ask them if they need any help and if i can help find a, you know find them where they want to go and, you know, I always want to do that so they have a good impression you know, and they feel like people are friendly and helpful. And that, will hopefully try and, you know, that Sauchiehall Street is really run down. The whole redevelopment and stuff like that, I mean it might be a good thing, but then I'm also thinking, it might be a bad thing because rent's gonna go up and a lot of vendors are not going to be able to keep, yeah it's all going to be chains, there's not going to be any independence. The whole economy of Sauchiehall Street is going to be affected by that.	
00:10:55	It's sad, like these units that change hands like every couple of months, there'll be a candy store or there'll be like a christmas shop and another tourist shop like all this sort of stuff is just so tacky, I don't know. And it's a shame	
00:11:10	because if you, like one thing I always say about Glasgow is you should look up.	
00:11:12	Like Edinburgh, people always say Edinburgh is the most amazing place, or like, architecture or whatever, but cause Glasgow is so gridlocked and like, you know, close together, you need to look up, like, the architecture in Glasgow is beautiful. Even like, the bottom of these shop fronts is so horrible but then look at that building there!	
00:11:31	Like honestly every time, like, I've lived in Glasgow for seven years, every time I come into town I'll notice a new building. I'm really into architecture, so I love looking at all the different types, or like, obviously this is very sad, (Victoria nightclub'?)	
00:11:50		It's so weird that that also burned

00:11:50	Oh I know, it's all very fishy, there's something in on that	
		(cutout personal part)
00:12:04	It's a shame cause Rennie Mackintosh is also just such a big part of Glasgow history and architecture, and now it's just like, slowly disappearing	
00:12:13		And even if they rebuilt it, it's not (...) the same
00:12:22	Do you know what I also find a shame, a part of all the little side lanes that are quite cute, like they're all kind of run down but I think they could do something with them, you know, have a cafe or like, something, you know, that would really help. People will want to go into like Sauchiehall Street, and footfall is like, slowly dwindling. Back in the day, like, apparently, it was like the place to be and it was so busy and it was the hub of the city, and now it's just delapidated. It's not good at all.	
00:13:02		They proposed to close all the lanes at night for safety along Sauchiehall Street
00:13:06	I kind of understand, that does make sense. It is like an accident waiting to happen. If you walk down there, something is going to happen, sadly enough. There is one that we walked past, near the Gregg, that's all gated now, like you can't get in there at all and they've completely shut it off, so I do suppose it is good.	
00:13:28		So do you prefer that or it being regenerated?
00:13:32	Even if it's just during the day, and then in nighttime it would be shut off	
00:13:41	I love Glasgow, I just love like,.. You know the layout is good as well. Because it's gridlocked, it's so easy to get about. There's two main, well, there's three main shopping streets, Sauchiehall Street, Buchanan Street and then Argyle Street. It's all so easy to walk about.	
00:14:05		Which one do you prefer?
00:14:06	Yeah I do thing Buchanan Street is the nicest one, with it being litter free and all presentable. And it's a wide street as well, so you have more opportunity to look up, and it's like, all nice architecture, whereas Sauchiehall Street is quite enclosed, and can be quite dark as well, so I think Buchanan Street is the nicer, .. and, so yeah, I definitely think Buchanan Street is the nicest and because it's the biggest one, and tourists go there so they have to make an effort with, you know keeping it clean. It's such a good like, atmosphere, you know, with like all the buskers, it's all like, everyone coming together, yeah I really like that atmosphere.	

00:14:50		Do you ever take busses, or like public transportation - obviously you live so close to everything, but
00:14:54	I used to get a bus up to like, Stobhill Hospital, and I mean, sometimes I'd feel a little bit uncomfortable, I would always be the person to like hope that noone would sit next to me. I don't like it, I kind of want my personal space, and I may like, get a bit freaked out when people like come close to me but ehm, yeah, it's not the nicest. There's all sorts of characters on the busses, you know, like, sometimes guys are like at the back of the bus smoking and I'm like, what is wrong with you, obey the rules!	
00:15:32	The bus routes round Glasgow are really good but it's also quite sad cause it causes so much pollution. Apparently Hope Street is the most polluted street in Glasgow cause all the busses go there	
00:15:46		Do you have a car?
00:15:47	I do! I have a van, so I do drive about. But I don't really drive that much in the city centre, it's more like in the West End, and to pick up the dogs and stuff. And then I'll drive out to like different parts of Glasgow like Coatbridge and Malngavie, parts of the West Highland Way and Paisley and Hamilton like, (...) So I'm on the motorway a lot.	
00:16:27	Yeah, yeah. One thing I would say is the amount of lanes on the motorway, you have to go right way to the right lanes, and right the way across it can be quite dangerous.	Easy to get around?
00:16:56	Even just looking at the shapes, you see the curved bit of that ' , you've got a bit of this and the old spiers, it's just such a cool mix of, you know, woodcuts and architecture, yeah I just love it	
00:17:20	I'm always very conscious in Glasgow to look up	
17:27	Yeah I always get a bit uncomfortable when there's like, loads of people on Buchanan Street, it gets a bit too intense sometimes	
17:44	And then, yeah, Argyle Street is pretty rough. See at St. Enoch's it's fine, but as soon as you get past it with the Marcs and Spencers to the left that's rough. And as soon as you go like, past the bank on the right, that's also .. It's weird, it's like no problem, and then all the sudden, everything changes. it's a bit more delapidated, it's a bit more ... like, the types of people change. It's also because all the bus stop routes there go to like rougher parts outside the city I reckon that's why it changes so drastically. (...) I think it's also the type of shops that are then there, so when you have the poundland, and on the other side you've got like poundworld, and argyle's got all the cheap like, toiletry stuff, it obviously attracts like a different clientel, and like	
19:03	I don't really focus on like being a woman, I just kind of go about, the only thing is sometimes feeling uncomfortable, feeling like people staring at me and I don't really like it (...) but as I said I feel safe, especially in this type of environment with loads of people around. There's always someone there who's got your back if something goes wrong, people are very helpful here, so if you need any help, someone will come over and assist you.	

19:47	I also think it's nice that there's a little bit of foliage (?), like I find that really nice, the contrast of buildings and trees, and then, I'm not sure right now but sometimes in the summer they have like really really beautiful flower displays. I'm quite, like I like to focus on them as well, and if I'm feeling stressed I like to kind of look at them and all the colours	
20:16		
20:51	See like, stuff like that when you can help, people who approach you and I think that's such a nice thing in Glasgow	
21:01		In other places you've been that's different?
21:02	No, Edinburgh is so different, and I feel like I can say that cause I'm not from Edinburgh, like I'm not biased. Also because Edinburgh is way more touristy, people obviously speak different languages and like, it's a bit, like, the culture is different. I would say generally people are not as friendly, and, there's not as much of a community spirit.	
21:54	I always say Glasgow is the place to be, like, it depends on the type of person you are, if you're into your music and your art, you know, modern rather than traditional, then Glasgow's the place. But I also feel like Glasgow's a good place to live, it's easy to live, it's cheap, but I do get why people prefer Edinburgh in terms of tourist attractions, I mean it does have more and it is the capital, but Glasgow's like, a lot more attractive to live, I think.	
22:19	Like when people come to Glasgow I'm a bit like, 'I hope you like it, I hope there's enough for them. But like, if you don't go out to clubs and you've not got friends, that can introduce you to people, it's gonna be a totally different experience.	
22:36	I felt like that when I was in Canada as well, if you've got someone you know, they're gonna take you to places that are super touristy, then of course you're gonna see a different side of the city	
22:41	How cute is this?	That is really nice, I've never seen that before.
22:46	O my god and they've also got a little teapot over there!	Is that new?
	No they've had it last year as well	
23:01	What I would say as well what I love in the summer, is that there is this, makes you feel like you're abroad and I also would say that there's definitely more tourists out then, say, like since the Commonwealth Games and there's more up and coming, and people are attracted to come here which is really nice, it makes me feel, makes me feel good and like flattered that people choose to come here over Edinburgh, or as well as, and yeah, it makes me feel proud even though it's not my birthplace, but I'm really proud of living in Glasgow. I'm really comfortable here	
23:41	It's definitely the place to be. It's cheap, it's friendly, yep it's a bit rough around the edges, but it's part of its charm and it's character. And it is, you know, a big melting pot of many different people, different working classes, you know, kinda get along and all, there's not so much of a segregation as like, Edinburgh. You know sometimes you see beggars, and it makes me upset and sad and I wanna give them money, and I mean even if some people are uncomfortable with beggars, you know, and I've never ... they're just normal guys	

24:44:00	I'd say the cycling lanes really have to improve, they need to have way more cycle paths, like obviously they'e planning to do that on Sauchiehall Street they're trying to make it like Copenhaguen or like Amsterdam which it is never gonna be, but they're trying, but I have a big fear of cycling, I wouldnever do it, it freaks me out, I just feel unsafe, like the way some people drive in the centre, and its so busy and I gt stressed when I see cyclists that are not wearing a helmet or are just cutting about, there's loads of cars, like I would never cycle in Glasgow unless it's like, out to a park or something	
25:36:00	I mean it's great that some people use it (bike as transport), it's healthy, it saves money, so I definitely think we have a need for more cycle paths in Glasgow so that more people are encouraged to live a healthier lifestyle,	
25:59:00	I used it yesterday actually, I usually dont use it (Subway) (...)	
25:59:00	My last job I used it everyday, it's good like, it's alright, it's nothing special but it's good that they've kind of redone the subway stations and that, like it's a bit more up to date now	
		Did you see how the stations were before that
	The stations were like really depressing, very 70s and like not very attractive and now ist better for tourists as well, I feel like they're a little more impressed by our transport system,	
26:31:00	And the same with, ehm, Queen Street station is getting done up as well, like the train station, so it was about time they did all that,the only thing is they have to have more subway routes though, it's not enough, Apparently they want to like, get a station in Finnieston, and somewhere else, so that would be nice, cause there are parts of the city that are quite neglected. Well also there is Charing Cross Train Station, but there's not many trains running through there, so it's really disconnected, so there's really only like busses and uber to get out of certain parts of the city	
27:24:00	But I guess if they get better transport the prices of the houses would rise	

Transcript 'Emily'

09.07.2018, 11:00, Dryborough Gardens to Buchanan Station

Time	Interviewee	Interviewer
00:00:08		How long have you lived here for?
00:00:11	So, I've lived here ... three years. And then I lived, for a year, a little bit further out towards Broomhill, in Glasgow. So I moved up here because my aunt and uncle own the flat, so it was like, cheaper, and it was closer to uni, and it actually felt like a slightly nicer area.	
	My old flat was a nice area but sometimes, to get home to it, from work or after a night out, it could feel a little unsafe whereas here I probably wouldn't mind, to a certain extent, like, walking home. Whereas up there, because of where it was, it was like right next to the expressway, it felt like a little bit isolated whereas here, because a lot of it is residential and stuff, it feels a little bit more secure. But because it's next to Great Western Road, there is still quite a lot of activity up and down, and at night.	
00:01:19		How long have you lived in Glasgow for in general?
00:01:20	So like Glasgow, four years. It's a nice city to live in.	
		what do you like about it?
00:01:30	Everybody is really friendly, most of the time... And it's quite an easy city to get around, with the subway, and all that. Although I would say that, in terms of walking permeability, it is quite rubbish. Like I do feel like there is quite a disjunction between like, the West End and the city centre, and the city centre and north, and the city centre and south etcetera - if you want to travel great distances it (walking) is not great but, in terms of the West End and walkability and the fact that I'm really close to Uni, I'm close to my work ...	
00:02:09		Do you generally like walking?
00:02:10	Most of the time, yeh, it's fine. I find sometimes at night that I'm, I tend to.. When I walk home alone at night I tend to, especially from work I tend to take a taxi. Really cause there's no public transport available.	
00:02:30		Where do you work?
00:02:31	Ehm, still work at the Butcher Shop by Kelvingrove, at the bottom of Kelvin Way. So I have to like walk past Kelvingrove Park, which is like the main thing, cause there's still a lot of, kind of stigmatism round the park.	
00:02:41		Has anything ever happened to you?

00:02:44	Personally, no, but I tend to try and avoid it because of the kind of perception round it, that there's a lot of people, not necessarily friends, that something has happened to them, but it's like, friends of friends. A couple years ago, there was like a girl, she was a student, about the same age as me and she'd been in that club Sanctuary, just off of, like it's on Dumbarton Road. So she was like, drunk, or whatever, I don't know what exactly happened to her, but there was a guy, he took her into a car, and then.. They think, they think he killed her in the car on kelvin Way, so that started creeping me out a little bit.	
00:03:35	And there's a lot of, like, people getting pulled off the road into like, bushes and stuff like that. So it's kind of, I think it has, there is a lot of work to be done to kind of, improve that. It's just the kind of stigmatism around, yeh.	
00:03:49	And I think as well, there is always the kind of perception, that, if you're like, a woman, by yourself, at night.. It's a lot bit more dangerous if you're a woman than if you're a guy. Like, I will walk home, sometimes.	
00:04:12	I do certainly sometimes, in terms of being a woman, you have to be a bit more perceptive. I think it's wrong society thinks that we have to be like that, you know, you see all sort of things, like, a woman gets attacked, and in the more, kind of, right wing newspapers, there are comments like, 'oh, she dressed inappropriately' or 'she drank far too much alcohol' you know like, 'she was... - and you know, people who, like, happen to be a guy, or you know, regardless of even sexual orientation, like, it tends to be, ... Everybody should be allowed to dress the way they want to.	
00:05:08	I think there's kind of like a perception, that, it's more likely for a woman to get attacked, because, you know, she can't really defend herself. Although, saying that, with Kelvingrove Park, which I didn't know until I moved to Glasgow, my mum was saying that actually, there's a prevalence of men attacking men in Kelvingrove Park, like, to basically, like, try and rape them. But I've never really, heard anything on a personal level, I just	
00:05:50	My mum went to Glasgow Uni, like, 10, 15 years ago. She went later on in life so, a lot kind of happened around that time. I know there is an effort to police the park and stuff like that. I think the lighting in Glasgow when walking home isn't the best, and certainly through the park. It is kind of a black spot I guess for people that perhaps want to take advantage of that	
00:06:24	I think as well, obviously, we're kind of a city with a massive night scene in terms of Scotland, not like compared to like Central Europe or .. But, you get lot of people that are traveling home at night and stuff. And I think like, you could end up really tired, and not paying attention, and stuff like that. and there is a kind of, reluctance, that it is a massive problem that there's limited public transport at night. Especially, having this, kind of, night industry, I think its one of the massive barriers to it and to like, make people safe.	



00:07:10	I know a lot of people who work in bars and restaurants, who aren't happy with, especially women or people who consider themselves perhaps in the more vulnerable categories, I mean.. So there's a bar/ restaurant group on facebook that I follow, it's mostly kind of Glasgow based, and there was a girl on that who was actually attacked on her way home. She luckily got away and escaped, or she managed to go into like, i don't know if she actually got attacked, but she was being followed, and obviously been followed. She put a massive post about it, saying 'this cant go on' and I totally agree with the fact that, you shouldn't, you know, regardless of your sexuality, or your gender, or however you identify, you shouldn't have to .. Case you always have to kind of police yourself. I often think, oh I shouldn't go there, and I do think there is a certain perception, of like, policing yourself if you do not fit into, the kind of stereotypical, societal, patriarchy. If you're not a white man then basically you have to police yourself in what you do, and that does play into, yeh. And I guess it's down to an individual level how much you take that into account but, I certainly think that, myself, and the people I work with, and my friends, people who do kind of fall into these categories we do kind of police ourselves and think... It's quite difficult I find.	
00:09:05	If I'm out with other girls, I find, and we're going home by ourselves, we know, make sure we're safe. Like, 'let me know when you're home' or you know, 'text me when you get back', and let me know you're home okay, whereas, like, I don't really see any of my male friends doing that so much.	
00:09:35		Maryhill Road! Obviously, this is quite a different built environment compared to the residential area we've just walked through. Is this the normal route you take to the centre?
00:09:44	I'd probably take this way, it's definitely not the nicest way to go, but it's the shortest, so. I tend to take this. When I'm in hurry, most of the time, as I said before (the interview), if I'm commuting into the centre I would normally probably get the subway, mainly because, I think that the M8 does kind of act like a barrier. Further along we're going to go pretty much under the motorway, and it's not the most well-lit area. I guess if I were on my own, I wouldn't really want to go that way especially at night.	
00:10:22	I mean it's one of the busiest roads in Glasgow, but in terms of pedestrians, I guess it can be quite intimidating at times, the pavements are pretty narrow at points, but then it's also got the positives that it's quite a lot of commercial components. Not necessarily after midnight, but there's people about at kind of, all points throughout the day. It feels like relatively safe to walk up and down	
00:11:35	I think if I was going for a walk, for lik pleasure or leisure, I would not necessarily walk down this way	
00:12:03		Would you walk home this way at night?

	It depends, like, obviously [mutual friends] live on this road so.. It depends. And most of the time, to be honest with you, I don't really walk home from clubs. Especially when you come home on your own, there's always that kind of wary fear, and you're just kind of.. So I'm 26 now, and I've lived away from home since I'm 17. And I've lived in cities. I've lived in Edinburgh and I've lived here. And my parent's were always kind of like, to me, you know, 'if you're short for money I'll help you, like we'd rather pay you 4 to 5 pounds to get home safe than to risk it'	
00:12:59	Like I think it's good, back in the kind of residential area, I don't mind that so much because, you got a lot of students walking about at night as well, it's one of the main roads between the student halls and the university, so at night, as well, especially during freshers week, you get a lot of footfall. That's pretty good.	
00:13:27		Compared to Edinburgh, do you prefer Glasgow?
00:13:36	You know, that's such a traditional thing, if you're scottish, you have to choose, you either have to love Glasgow, or love Edinburgh. I'm kind of like, stuck in the middle.	
00:13:54	I went to Edinburgh when I was so young, 17, first time I've actually been away from home, and it's just such a beautiful city. I know you probably don't appreciate it so much when you live there, but it's so much, culture and there's museums, and I have to say the public transport system in Edinburgh is, despite not having a subway and I lived there before the trams were implemented, I still think it's ..The busses there are still a million times better than busses in Glasgow, and that's because there's like because it's partially, or fully, publicly owned.	
00:14:40	First Bus is like a joke. The busses in Edinburgh are so much cleaner, nicer, they have night busses. It's not like for here, there are night busses but they maybe only run fridays and saturdays. I work in a bar and I don't.. Or, I'm a student I dont necessarily go out only on the weekend	
00:15:25	Here, obviously I haven't lived in Edinburgh for a while now, but it seems to be a lot more expensive here in terms of public transport.	
00:15:41	Even on the busses, there are certain aspects.Maybe it's just me, cause I've always been the kind of nerdy kid that wasn't like sat around with a cigarette when I was 12, but I feel like to a certain extent you have to police yourself on the bus.	
00:16:06	If it's a doppeldecker bus I tend to, you know, not sit upstairs, I try to not sit in the back unless it's the only place I can sit, and especially at night as well, you have to do a quick sweep and evaluate other passangers and be like, 'which one of you is like, less likely to be a crazy random person..	
00:16:27	Glasgow is a very friendly city, and you're gonna meet people that are gonna want to talk to you and that's fine, but then you get like, the occasional drunk or drugged-out maniac, and you're just like 'please stop talking to me'	

00:16:42		I only took a bus once to go from my place to the east end, and it's the same busline that just goes through from Maryhill to the East End, and I got on the bus and I didn't understand the bus driver very well, cause it was my first week here, and he was just like, 'go upstairs, sit right next to the camera'. And then he drove me directly to where I had to go, I had told him the street and he drove me directly there. And all the people on the bus were just like, kind of, freaky? (laughs nervously). I was just so aware of not fitting in.
00:17:27	And I hate that that has to be a thing, that as a girl it is so engrained in society that is is normal. And like, I never think, I mean my family wouldn't be like, 'Oh it's your fault that something happened' but the fact that you have to do that is rubbish.	
00:18:04		Is there places in Glasgow you would avoid?
00:18:15	To be fair, I mostly stay in the west end and centre, and to be fair, that's not because I avoid anywhere, it's just because of where I work and where I live and where I go to university and stuff.	
00:18:36	Sometimes I do, like, there's a thing called the subcrawl, and it's like, you go around the entire subway and it was, it's been a while so I'm trying to remember exactly where it was, but sometimes, like especially in the east end, like I worked in the east end for a bit and it's fine but there's a heightened sense of awareness especially in the area of bars and such a thing, it's just near Celtic park in the east end, it's near Ibrox in the west, and it's all a kind of heightened awareness -	
00:19:34	Also probably off topic, but that was [her boyfriend]'s old flat.	Was that not really noisy?
00:19:44	It wasn't actually that noisy but it was really cold. Like it was double glazing but in like two separate windows, and like, you'd open both, so like it was just so cold.	
00:20:09	There's like stereotypes and perceptions I've grown up with	
00:20:24	Especially when you're in areas that you don't know very well, cause you don't go there all the time, it's different to when you're in the west end where I go constantly	
00:20:38	If you're more familiar with an area, you do feel kind of safer	

00:20:43	You feel like a sense of security, whether it's a false sense of security or not, it doesn't matter	
00:20:59		Do you think the main difference between being female or male when navigating the city is safety?
00:21:12	I do think it is almost certainly, to a certain extent. But you know, you never really think about how different people experience different spaces. I think especially, having grown up.. Or now, especially, living with my boyfriend. There's places that he would like, walk, and I'd be like, 'really? By yourself?' He won't hesitate, he would just be like 'no it's fine I walked home' and I'd be like, 'why? why did you not just get a taxi?' For me it's such an alien concept, like when he'd be like 'no, I walked home, it's fine' and that kind of comes into.. I never really realised that part of the concept until that kind of came up.	
00:22:09	Even this way now. When we first started dating, and I would come back to his, or he'd come to mine, we would walk this way. But I would never walk this way by myself. Even during the day. I bet, especially at this kind of point, because it's all, like, you're underneath the M8, something dodgy happens or weird you just don't know. And it's not really well lit this bit at night.	
00:22:47	It's like a lot of Glasgow, they kind of put these connecting pathways between places and it's like, 'ohh, yeah, this is fantastic, let's, everybody use sustainable transport!' and they're like, actually, see if you'd put some more lights in, or just like make a bit more of an effort to kinda make it a bit more friendly. They are doing it with certain parts like a lot of the murals under the subway tunnel I think that's nice, and I suppose it makes people want to go there and look at them and that makes it feel a bit safer.	
00:23:34	There's so much talent in Glasgow (graffiti/murals/street artists). And especially in areas where they have massive concrete infrastructures, for example that bridge we're going underneath.. As much as I'd like them to rip that out and put like a garden bridge or something like that in, I'm very much aware of public financial constraints.	
00:24:04	But see, like this one, you can't see anything, like nobody can see you here and it's just.. Imagine coming through here at night, it's just	
00:24:28		Maybe with a bike, but..
00:24:30	No, I would probably cycle this way	
00:24:38	Because of all the high hedges and stuff, you have a feeling of being enclosed, like, not to sound too much like a planner, but there's no eyes on the street. If something went wrong - I'm not even necessarily saying, oh, you've been attacked, or something like that, but if you like fell over or tripped, or something like...	
00:25:07		or fainted
00:25:08	yeah exactly! Nobody is going to know about it in a long time, or for quite a while.	

00:25:25	This is like, a really weird area, cause you have the warehousy type - that's a really good chinatown- but if you look behind you, you've got like, really beautiful buildings. Like that has been here for like ages.	
00:25:53	I've heard they like, wanted to do this area up; make it a bit more friendly, and obviously, put some more houses in, like that,	
00:26:06	It must have obviously been, like, someone's house, cause you can see all the carving an the detail	
00:26:25	It's such a juxtaposition of places, cause you've got these really old beautiful buildings that Glasgow is famous for, and then you kind of got - that. Kinda like new stuff that's been put up, right next to a really ...	
00:27:14	It's been a little while since I've been here, but let's go that way.	
00:27:30		what's something you'd like to change about Glasgow?
00:27:49	I think they've got a lot of local great ideas, in various neighbourhoods in the city. They've got kind of pathways and efforts to make waking, and sustainable transport, and cycling a much more available thing whereas I think the problem with Glasgow for me personally is the lack of connectivity between areas. So the M8 is obviously a massive barrier. There aren't really motorways that go through any other cities in scotland, but here they do.	
00:28:42	I mean it's just affected so many parts of the city, people don't necessarily realise, people don't wonder why the east end is underdeveloped and the west isn't, because like,since the 60s, people were like, 'oh maybe they're gonna build a motorway there' and cause of that aren't necessarily going to invest hundreds of thousands of pounds in building something to just have a three lane motorway go past	
00:29:10	See this is what I mean, just like, a bit of graffiti art. I don't know why, but, maybe cause you've got the lights and stuff like that, but it just feels like somebody cares about the place.	
00:29:34	Just like the quality of connections, you see, we've just walked that way, and I can't really imagine you comng this way if you were in a wheelchair, it's not necessarily the easiest going terrain. That just puts people off I guess, and makes them more likely to get a taxi.	
00:30:25	That's the problem you'll get. But it's still kinda cool. Someone thought and designed that and made an effort	
00:30:41	It's even stuff like handrails and that, if you've got a disability.. Sometimes I think it's really narrow-minded how they do planning and it's very much for able-bodied people.	
00:31:09		Do you think that's a problem of representation?
00:31:11	Yeah! Definitely! I worked in the council for an internship, and obviously there are invisible disabilities, but I only saw one person that relied on a wheelchair. I mean, there are obviously many kinds of disabilities and some are not visible, but people who have obvious difficulties getting around.. I think as well, a lot of design in glasgow hasn't thought about (disabled people) in the past	

00:32:03	I mean, you've got a pavement, a cracked pavement, and then this raised pavement. And there's no colour differentiation, and this is really cracked and worn and it's not necessarily the easiest thing to get a wheelchair or a pram across	
00:32:28		Even in my street, with the big bins it is really hard to push like a baby buggy around
00:32:50		Do you like the city centre?
00:32:52	I like the gridlock in terms of permeability, it's easy to get around, like you nver have to walk a long way, or take a short cut, as in other cities. I think there's obviously some issues. You've got all the long roads, and then the often locked lanes. They're trying to change the uses of lanes, cause they tend to be really dark, stingy, little, limited lighting, often used as a bin store area, and they're trying to kind of create something like Melbourne- used lanes, think of like, Ashton lane, or that in the west end	
00:33:36		Oh like the one we went to the other day with the jewelry shop you showed me
00:33:36	yeh! With those wee lanes, i think the council wants to open up that space and further utilise it and make them places to go. Put cafe's in some alleys like that, it can be a little intimidating on your own if you're going and you can't see, or you don't know, or it's a really uneven surface, and they're inclined to change that, but...	
00:34:12		Didn't they also propose to kind of, close the lanes?
00:34:29	Yeah, that was also an idea, but I don't think that's the best idea, it's not necessarily addressing the cause of the problem and gives you a sort of, half-arsed, rather than going 'okay what's the problem?' and it'd be like, okay they're a lot of illicit deals and you can't feel safe, why not put some lighting down it, and things like that. It definitely doesn't have to be constant lighting, like they were talking about doing motion detect and that sort of stuff. They were trying to make lighting safer and were talking about making lights right around the centre attached to sound, so like a normal level and turn at night, but then if there were a fight or a riot, the noise would increase, so that would then trigger the light to increase. That was like the idea of, it' be safer, cause you wouldn't necessarily fight someone you see in broad daylight cause you could be identified in like, a theft or something like that.	
00:36:38		There's so many security cameras everywhere
00:36:39	The thing is like half the time when people are being attacked or stuff like that and they find that they're not on or are not carded or something's gone wrong	

00:36:55	The lanes like, I like the idea of opening them up and using them but i also see it from the other side, the business side. A lot of these are bin areas, or storage areas or access points for businesses and it's been a massive problem. We've not got room to store these.. I think there's a way of getting around it, like, building bins, I think there's gonna have to be a compromise between waste management and safety.	
00:37:30		Do you like Sauchiehall Street or, Buchanan Street, or if you go to the centre to get stuff, where would you?
00:37:41	Probably more like, Buchanan Street. Obviously given the current fires and stuff, Like with this block being shut off and having to go round. I also feel sorry for it, I think a lot of traders up this end struggle a bit more to get footfall, you can see it a lot in terms of the quality of the shop, like a lot of charity shops or like poundlands. I'm not slacking them off, they're great. But it's a lot of the kind of low-end retail market. But then if that is what satisfies the location.. But i think definitely with the fires and this part shut off that ha been an obvious depreciation of Sauchihehall sStreet which is a shame cause it used to be a nice shopping street	
00:38:59	Like if you walk around Glasgow and look at street level, it's horrible, but if you look up you can see that these each are very ornate buildings that, okay, have been built by profiting off the slave trade, but they're really beautiful, like there's one a little bit further down here that is a white builing that is abandoned, and they wont do anthing to it	
00:39:32	I think a lot of it is the cost of building, or like, maintaining some of thes proeprties like maybe they've been listed.	
00:39:45	What you'll find the lot of them will do is, they'll kind of hold off by until ist at a point where they're able to persuade the council or the council take the stage or whoever owns it will go, okay ist economically viable to tear this down and they'll build like a wee bit a newer style thats cheaper and easier	
00:40:12	I don't think that's good, like you're tearing down the city's heritage, build the buildings that are rally pretty but then.. I think there's also a compromise in it too, you can't be like 'preserve everything to the cost of new development', but it's just kind of weird. it's such a mischmasch of architecture, and new grey horrible buildings, or kind of box-stuff like that. Or that, that's been build to replicate. The ones that kind of mimick the victorianesque kind of style look pretty good, but it's the ones that look like a square grey box ..	
00:41:23		Even on Buchanan Street, one of my favourite buidings has a TGI fridays in it.
00:41:28	I think cause Glasgow is traditionally the "city of the empire", I used quotation marks there cause it's fuckall now, so. Like, a lot of Glasgow used to have banks and stuff ..	

00:41:59	That's one thing about Glasgow though, they're always looking for ways to kind of change, whereas Edinburgh has got a very romantic attachment to its built environment so maybe less would change, whereas Glasgow. No, it's not always done successfully, but at least they try. (both laughing)	
00:42:23	I mean it is hard I guess, it's not a big city, and with the grid system there's a lot of streets to kind of remodel, and all.	
00:42:43	I think like everybody, I think like, Glasgow, maybe because it's always changing and there's building work going on somewhere, that people kind of develop the 'not in my backyard' or like, oh, changing that.. But it's for the better! Or like, would you rather have an empty abandoned building? Compared to most other cities I've been to or live in Glasgow definitely has the highest amount of abandoned or vacant buildings. People think Glasgow's like, massive. And I mean Bath street has come up by itself over the past couple years, then you've got Sauchiehall Street, Buchanan Street, Argyle street and maybe Ingram street a little bit. But other than that.. And I guess it's focused too much on retail, and obviously, we're changing the way we shop.	
44:09:00	It's just taking a bit longer than it should to realise, shit, we can't have endless rows of shops, we need to have a more diverse approach to the city centre. I think that's going to happen across the board in Scotland.	
00:41:44	I'd say Buchanan Street is the centre for me, like further down a bit. And I'd say, even though we don't really have a high street, I would say it's like, Glasgow's high street. It's the busiest, it's great it's pedestrianised, that's nice to have. Especially in Glasgow, where people drive like, (makes swish noise)	
00:45:18		Do you drive?
00:45:18	No no, I'm learning to do, but more as a necessity for work rather than..	
00:45:43	Imagine like one of the big murals on there, that would be absolutely stunning.	



Transcript 'Isla'

09.07.2018, 15:00, University Library to Buchanan Subway

Time	Interviewee	Interviewer
00:20	This will be my fifth year living in Glasgow, I've lived kind of, all over the West End at this point. Started out in Maryhill, then lived on Renfrew Street next to the Art school, then I moved to Kelvingrove street right next to Kelvingrove park, which was my favourite out of all of the flats, and then I live North Woodside now, but spend most of my time at my girlfriend's place, which is West Prince's street. So kind of all over the place.	
00:44		That flat you said you liked most, next to the park, was that because of the flat or -
00:51	Definitely because of the location. We were right next to the entrance of Kelvingrove park, and had to walk through, everydy, to get to uni. And it made for a really uplifting morning walk that i really enjoy. It was just so much more aesthetically pleasing and nice and green. I'm definitely the kind of person that needs a bit of greenery to not feel stair crazy (?).	
01:13	So I really enjoyed that, that was a really nic place to live.	
01:25		In regards to Kelvingrove park, it's a bit stigmatised, how do you feel about that?
01:27	At night I wouldn't go through there, I wouldn't touch it at all. Even in the middle of winter when it's getting dark at 5 pm, even though it would be 5pm, I would take the longer route, and take that road, what's the road next to Kelvingrove Park?	
01:40		Kelvin Way?
01:41	I would much rather walk down Kelvin Way than walk through the middle of Kelvingrove Park at night. It's too scary, too, too scary. Definitely because of the stigma attached to it, I think.	
01:50		Has anything ever happened to you?
01:52	Nothing in Kelvingrove Park has ever happened to me, just cause of the reputation i think, and because of the fact there is no lights. You can't really see where you're going and noone is there. And that is quite a scary prospect, especially for unaccompanied women, very scary.	
02:14		Do you generally feel like a sense of fear is attached to walking at night because of your gender, or

02:20	Absolutely, definitely, 100%. Especially as a more, like, androgynous- presenting queer woman, that is, there is definitely a constant fear that someone is going to say something to you. I feel uncomfortable walking through some streets at night, holding my girlfriends hand. That is a scary prospect.	
02:37		Has anything ever happened to you in that respect, like verbal harassment?
02:43	I've definitely had verbal harassment before. More in the like Maryhill areas I would say. Not so much in there like Kelvingrove west end parts anyway. But definitely, at night, we would be scared to.	
03:04		That is very depressing (laughs nervously)
03:12		Are there any areas you specifically avoid?
03:15	I don't spend so much time across the river to be honest. I don't know if that's because of where I've lived or, there is more of a reputation for, or especially along the river, for a kind of scary things happening. Also I think it's more, nothing is ever happened to me when I've been there so I guess yeah maybe it is more of a perception that something might happen	
03:40		Do you think that the production of such perceived fear is more directed towards women, from like, the way it's presented in the media?
03:50	I think so, especially, all the stories you hear about, you know, the problem of rapes in Glasgow and it's all the horror stories you hear, you know, you never see a story in a newspaper, 'oh a woman walked home at night and was perfectly safe'. It's always the horror stories. Even though, nothing that bad has happened to me, nothing to scare but just enough to have that hypervigilance.	
04:25		Do you generally feel in place in Glasgow, do you feel comfortable?
04:26	I think I do, especially, maybe not when I first moved here, Because I was 17 when I first started living in Glasgow, but I think in the time that I've gotten to know the city I think it's a very accepting place and people here are really friendly. During the day I wouldn't have problems walking about in the street by myself, or, like, holding my girlfriends hand- during the day absolutely fine. Just during the night it gets a little bit more sketchy. But I love it, I definitely feel in place here.	
05:03		What's your favourite place, or like, do you enjoy walking here?

05:13	Yeah, I think Gibson Street is nice, I just think it's a bit, it's quite a busy car Street. I find that sometimes is a bit oppressive. When you're in the nice West End, and there are so many pretty buildings and stuff, you don't necessarily get to appreciate them because there are so many cars. See, there are all these nice restaurants but it's not really cohesive. I wouldn't say it's the most beautiful part of the West End. Whereas where I lived in Finniston I thought it was absolutely gorgeous. It seems like there's a bit more of an effort, or not and effort, but it seemed more streamlined all the shopfronts and that just a bit more boogie, pretty	
05:56		Do you drive?
05:57	No, I don't drive. Much to my disappointment, and my parents' disappointment. I'd love to drive though, quite a few of my friends have cars, but it's quite difficult for them to find parking I think. That, and the rubbish drivers in Glasgow, but, there is really no point in bringing a car into the city, there is seriously no parking anywhere. If you can't have a parking spot in front of your flat, why would you bother? So I don't feel too hard done by for not having a car in Glasgow.	
06:52		It's such a nice day!
06:53	I know, it's absolutely gorgeous.	
06:56		How much do you generally walk?
07:01	I think I walk most places, unless... I work in Hyndland, so are usually, in the morning, because it takes me about half an hour to get to Hyndland, and it's half the time to get the subway. So I always choose the subway, unless on a Sunday morning, when I have to walk from my flat to Hyndland, but actually that's my favourite part of the week, that walk. So should maybe do that more often. It's always a really nice walk, it's really quiet, because I need to be there for eight in the morning, So I'm pretty much alone, in the middle of a big city which is bizarre. So I really enjoy walking I think it's important of my day is going outside and seeing some greenery. I grew up on the countryside and I definitely miss a bit of greenery when I am back in Glasgow.	
07:56		Do you think Glasgow could do more in that respect?
07:58	Yes, absolutely. Kelvingrove Park is the only Real big bit of greenery in that area. And kind of in between that and the necropolis there is no greenery. You have this whole strip of the city centre and there is no green free space.	
08:13		And there is so much land they could..
08:17	I know they're kind of adding trees on Sauchiehall street and all that. So, they're trying, they're trying. But, no it's not.. like, compare to other European cities, Glasgow really could try harder, come on. Imagine on a day like today, just like little pocket parks, I would love that.	

08:30	Yeah!	Or even just the lanes with the green in the middle
08:48		Do you cycle?
08:50	No I don't cycle. I've thought about it but I've never taken the step and got a bike. But I'm like, I would love to cycle around. I don't know what's stopping me. Like, maybe the lack of proper cycle lanes. For anyone who hasn't cycled in a major city it's scary.	
09:13		Do you think it's easy to walk around Glasgow?
09:14	yeah, I think for the most part it's pretty easy. Maybe not so much down Sauchiehall Street at the moment, cause it's all completely closed off because of all the fires and stuff	
09:26	I was walking down there the other day to get to Tesco on Sauchiehall street and I had to go around the whole block to, that was annoying.	
10:12	Let's cross over here. Hmm, why not.	
10:22		So you know this area pretty well?
10:23	Yeah, yeah, yeah. I used to walk down Woodlands Road all the time, to get to my flat in Renfrew Street from uni so I walked down here a lot. I absolutely love, the part of Park Circus up there, I think it's the most beautiful part of Glasgow. It is so nice! That would be the dream to be able to afford to have a nice flat in the park. That is lovely	
10:48		It's this green, kind of suburban feeling in a blob in the west end.
11:10		(mumbling) features of the built environment you enjoy?
11:14	Mixed-use is definitely better, it gets a bit boring if it's pure tenements all the time. I think West Princes Street is very boring to look at because it so long and it is just the big old tenements. It might be broken up by a cat in the middle but that's about it. They do have a nice community garden though I think that's very pretty. It's really big. And they put so much effort in, that's nice.	
12:00		It's so hot, I'm literally melting.
12:02	I know, it's making it so hard for me to do anything.	
12:55	I like the ones on great Western Road, they look nice, they're all lit up at night.	
13:16	I viewed a flat down Arlington Street A few years ago and it was when we were first looking for first student flat. And we were like oh my God it is so beautiful here I absolutely love this it is so nice. Oh and we all going to the pub all the time, looking beautiful. But then yeah, they didn't want us. it's not even that nice of a straight but when you first come here, it's so cute.	

14:25		Any anecdotes about how it is to be you, in Glasgow?
14:26	It is quite nice, I do enjoy it. I don't know, that's a hard question about feelings.	
14:39		We're just on a normal walk, just if there's anything you like or dislike? Some have mentioned litter
14:47	Oh yeah, the litter can be really frustrating sometimes. Especially when I walk to work on a Sunday morning past the Uni when hive is on just outside on the street that's really gross, not very nice	
15:12		It's a difficult thing to change, it's like in the mentalit of the people
15:13	Yeah, people are just lazy. Where's effort	
15:17	One thing that is quite annoying over at my girlfriends flat, they they always sort the recycling all out, really nice, but the recycling point is so far out and away from the flat and there's only one recycling point for, I don't know how many flats. So it's always either absolutely overflowing, so it kind of defeats the purpose of them getting the recycling altogether, because the council is not	
15:57		I have to walk my glass to Lidl! That is like, next to David's flat,it'sa 7 to 10 minute walk.
16:05	How many people are realistically going to do that? I mean, you do, because you're passionate about that stuff. but people who aren't are just going to be like, fuck it.	
16:22		In Germany they don't pick up your trash if you don't separate it.
16:25	Oh really? . Punish people, name and shame.	
16:35	Have you seen this little thing, the community room. It's like a little community hub thing. And when they first put it in, I thought, realistically who is going to use it. But every day, there is people doing yoga, Scottish country dancing, and so forth. It's really cool. It's just so nice to see people actually using something like that. See, there's people in there now, there's always people	
17:15	We're almost at [Luisa]'s flat. We'll go past the community garden as well, it's beautiful.	
17:21	One thing that actually does annoying me is that, there is a garden up here but it's a private garden for which you need a key. So only if you like to live in this building or the corner buildings around the corner and maybe these guys as well they get a key but no one else. And it's so beautiful, like on a day like today, I would absolutely take my work and go sit and work in there. But you just can't get in. I think it's really unfair to have private garden space here.	

17:50		
18:19	And yeah, that's the community garden. It's so gorgeous, It is so nice. And there's always people doing stuff in it, it's always changing it's always getting prettier.	
18:34		If you had something like this in your neighbourhood, would you participate?
18:34	I think so, my mum works for a horticulture charity, and that's always been something she's been really keen on, community gardening.	
18:53		This is awesome, it probably used to be just a vacant lot .It's just like that stuff like that requires a lot of people to participate. And before, you never know how many people are actually going to take part. You need an awareness in the community as well, it kind of needs to be a part of people's mentality too.
19:12	This is all students, basically.	
19:16		Like in Berlin you have to be on waiting lists to get spots and community gardens. It's actually a sign that you're really from Berlin, having an allotment in a community garden. Sometimes it's like a three year waiting list or like a four year waiting list. Maybe it's also to do with provision like if it happens more people see it as more normal maybe, I don't know.
19:35	That is so nice, imagine people here were that passionate about gardens.	
19:42		I always just come around that corner and never saw it
19:53	Oh no, you gotta expand your walks! You're stuck to your routinised walk	
19:57		Do you like to vary your routes?
19:58	I don't really to be honest. I stick to my paths, but sometimes, I like a new.. I like it when I walk in the rain. I think that's very fun.	

20:08		You like walking in the rain?
20:10	In the sun I'm just too oppressed I don't like it. This is Luisas flat. There you go all the cigarette butts there. Looks like a shit hole.	
20:27	We'll keep waking into town	
20:45		So I've walked this way with a couple of people, and, yeah, you can just describe the environment, or like, if you're feeling comfortable, cause this is kind of also a green area,...
21:02	Yes, no, it was definitely, I would not come down here at night for sure. It is this creepy, twisty, and because it goes under the bridge it is so dark. Again, nothing is ever happened there, but it is the fear That something might that is a bit scary.	
21:23		I read this article about mobile technology, there like these apps that you can download, onto your phone and people can track you when you're on your way home. Would you use that? Or do you think something like that might create more fear, because it makes you feel like you have to have one of those. What do you something like that?
21:38	See, me and my friend [Carla] used to do it all the time when we were like in fourth year she used to live about a 15 minute walk away from mine and we would stop at mine first and then she would go home. But then there was never anybody to walk back home with her, so I always felt like a bit responsible for what would happen to her, but having the little tracker thing... See if I check that before bed and check that she's back home, for example when she forgot to text me or something, there's always that element of is she okay? Did she get home alright? And again I would never, I don't see that with any of my guy friends. It was just because she was the woman walking home by herself at night, on quite a small road, it's just a little extra caution, a safety blanket, in case anything would happen, just in case. But I don't ever use it any more, so I don't know if the novelty wore off, or because it's basically a bit creepy.	
23:00		Yeah, there's no lighting here at night whatsoever. I used to still walk here all the time until people were like, do not.

23:09	That's so weird as well that you thought it was fine. But because somebody told you, this isn't that safe,...	
23:47		And after people said that to me, I was very aware of strangers. Even if before, people were looking at me, now I perceived to be potentially dangerous.
23:58	It is scary, like, you never know. Even in the west end, in West Princes Street is pretty much all students. But the other night Luisa went out for a cigarette, and this guy, who was like super drunk saw her and, ran up the stairs and was trying to get into the front door. And that is the main door to the flat, so if you got in he would be right in the living room. And she was like shouting at him to go away for like 10 minutes and then they phoned the police. So even, having a flat, that opens up to the street is quite scary because, The streets can just come inside. There is no barrier. But now she scared to kind of sit outside her own flat and have a cigarette because she thinks that something terrifying is in the street.	
24:46:00		I think as the drunk person, or mostly, as the drunk male, they don't really realise how such behaviour can affect someone. I do I feel like if they knew how something like that can affect someone, it was just, I don't know.
25:02:00	There were these two guys at my work yesterday, and they were very clearly, still coked up from the night before, we've got these little outdoor seats and they were sitting there. They weren't buying anything, but they were so kind of aggressive when they were shouting add people on the street, and I was working by myself. I had to trying to tell him to go away and had other customers come out, it was just this kind of toxic masculinity, "i'm just angry with everything and I love the football". And had to go to try and deal with them whilst also being nice to my other customers, and I just think you shouldn't be like that. Don't inflict yourself into the world.. i'm just trying to do my job. I am getting paid minimum wage to deal with you idiots. It was so annoying	
26:02:00	Is that building empty?	
		I don't know! It does look like it. There's so many empty buildings everywhere. But the windows look new, like the upper two floors.
26:37:00		Do you walk home from clubs at night, or like, to Luisa's flat?



26:41:00	Yeah, yeh I think so. We'd get some chips on sauchiehall street for the walk. It depends on drinks, when I'm not too bad I'll walk home by myself. But if you're walking back,sober, just aware, then, that's where the fear sets in.	
27:00:00		So you have to be drunk, to walk home.
27:05:00	It is weird, because growing up in a small village, it is nothing you would ever have to Think about. And then, yes, I think some of the horror stories you get told, you go to high school, and your older sibling tells you you'll get your Head flushed down the toilet, everybody says oh yeah that's what's going to happen, it's very scary, there's loads of junkies everywhere. But actually, it's never that bad. I mean there have been occasions where I get a bit freaked out in the street with the people, but most of the time it's fine. It's normal to have a lot of fear in a big city.	
27:58:00		Is there a place you feel really 'out of place', or like you don't belong?
28:00:00	Sometimes, when I take the subway back on the day that there has been A football match or something and everyone there is into football, then I feel very eerie. It's not something that's on my radar at all, too much heterosexual energy. It's all a bit much. I will never be that passionate about anything in my whole life. And it's so boring I don't understand. I think that's the only time I'm like, this is not me at all.	
28:45 etc		
30:37:00		Do you use the subway often, or like busses, or any public transport?
30:39:00	I never ever use buses. I don't really know why, They seem quite expensive for quite a long journey as well. Because when I lived, like, in Finnieston, to get a bus into town it's almost as long as walking. so there's no point.	
31:00:00		So if it is those two options, you'd always walk?
31:01:00	Yeah, definitely.	
31:10:00		Do you enjoy the subway, or, does that suit your needs?
31:11:00	Yeah, I enjoy the subway. apart from, it is annoying that it closes so early on a Sunday. Because if I'm working on a Sunday, I have to clean like an absolute maniac to make The last subway because I can't be asked to walk all the way home after a very long shift. But for the most part it does serve my needs.	
31:58:00	So grey, and depressing (buidlings)	
32:04:00		Do you think it wouldbe better to get some colour in?

32:09:00	I definitely love a bit of colour, I always feel like if you visit any other European countries, I don't know do you have a bit of blues and pinks just on the buildings, and we never ever do that. Why, why not? Why keep this horrible parking lot not be pink instead? or just a bit more, I don't know. Maybe because it rained so much, it would get washed down. It's just sad.	
32:45:00		But then there's so many murals and stuff, Glasgow has so many graffiti artists.
32:50:00	I do like proper murals, I think they're super cute. There's just not really any in the west end, that I'm aware of.	
33:20:00		That would be so good though, if they would make a competition for like empty walls.
33:55:00	It's just weird, in a, such a busy city, to have big buildings, vacant, every 20 feet or so, that is bizarre. are used to work in Edinburgh a lot when I was in school and I used to be there all the time. So I knew it quite well, and it's just not, it is definitely not the same at all. It's just so much more, I don't know, they seem to just take care of so much more, to fill space if it's better than Glasgow does. Bit more money I guess.	
34:59:00		It is so hot, this is insane!
35:01:00	I am so over it, I hate heat.	
35:07:00		So you don't think that the good weather influences your answers in a positive way?
35:11:00	No, I don't think so. I think you'd get more positive stuff out of me in the middle of winter.	
35:25:00		That was like, one of the criticisms of walking interviews. It releases endorphins people are way too positive.
36:12:00		This is interesting, like, the old buildings, and those disgusting, what is that?
36:18:00	Tallest cinema in Europe!What great fame	
36:28:00	See that such an ugly building, but I had a job interview in there, and it's so nice! You had a great kind of plain guy. But it was so nice inside, so why is it so ugly?	
37:35:00	We are viewing flats at the moment, and we are looking at merchant city. Just for a change! But we are going to end up having to share a room. That makes it feasible	
38:38:00		
39:55:00		What would you say is like the centre?

40:01:00	I guess, George Square. It is nice, it is next to the station, it is next to Buchanan Street, that is where I would consider the, is like a nice focal point. It makes sense you know, it is a square. and a square is very, centre. What does everyone else say it was?	
40:18:00		You're the first one who says that and it's literally what I think.
40:18:00		
40:26:00		This, like, where Buchanan Street meets Sauchiehall street.
40:33:00	Yeah, I could see that as well. I just think two shopping streets is not necessarily enough to be a centre. I think, George Square is nicer, it's impressive.	
40:56:00	And also Sauchiehall street doesn't feel like a centre shopping street if you know what I mean. Buchanan street, yeah that is fine. but Sauchiehall street is a bit rundown, it needs a bit of effort to be made more exciting. Or to match Buchanan street, just because they are on such different levels.	
41:47:00	There's loads of empty apartments above these shops, yeah, lots of stuff up here is just totally empty. It's super weird, cause I guess, I don't, I wouldn't want to live on Buchanan Street I don't think.	
42:00:00		But imagine you were like a tourist, and you're staying for a couple of days, or like a week
42:05:00	Oh, it would be perfect!	
42:54:00		Do you feel in place here?
	Yeah, I do, I feel it's kind of nice. Like, while it is annoying, it's nice that people are playing music on the streets. There's always people around, like, no matter what time of the day, someone is or someone else ..	
43:16:00	There's always, kind of, weird people around, it's nice, it's so wide, it's fully pedestrianised	
43:27:00		So you like wide streets?
43:27:00	Yeah, definitely. Unless it rains, that can be a bit slippery and unsheltered.	
43:47:00	I do like Nelson Mandela Place. It's nice - is it a church? That's really pretty.	

Transcript 'Olivia'

22.06.2018, 19:00, Raeberry Street to Buchanan Street Subway Station

Time	Interviewee	Interviewer
00:00:12	I used to walk this way all the time, this was my way to work from my other flat. So this is a very familiar way for me, especially up Sauchiehall Street, that is definitely, sort of, engrained in my head.	
00:00:25	It is one of those walks that, sort of, takes longer cause I've done it so many times.	
00:00:36	This bit is lovely, I like the green space. I think especially behind our flats as well, there is so much. That is my favourite thing about these flats, it's like, there is so much green, there's so much space as well.	
00:00:50	This street as well, there is so much.. It is so wide.	Do you prefer wide streets to narrow streets?
00:00:56	Yes, definitely. You can't really notice the fact that we're, sort of, looking into other flats at the other side of the road, cause all the trees.	So is it more like a privacy thing or...
00:01:15	Well yes, privacy, but also trees. Just trees.	
00:01:21	we can cut down one of these (streets) actually.	Just whatever you prefer.
00:01:30	Yeah cause, Maryhill Road is a bit dodgy, so I would avoid that.	
00:01:40	Yeah so apart from like, going to Lidl. And my circus class was across there, so there is no other reason for me to come on to that street. And you do definitely notice a difference in, oh this is going to sound terribly classist, but there is a difference in, safety basically.	
00:02:00	Like, I've been approached a couple of times by like, sort of, not threatening characters but sort of, dodgy.. Asking me weird things, like sort of weird questions like, 'oh, what time is it?'. Actually, this wee boy on a bike, every time I go to Lidl pretty much, he like hangs about and starts asking you what time it is and as soon as you start telling him the time he starts asking you for money, it's quite sad.	
00:02:54	Cause I don't drive, it's not really something I'm tuned in on. I don't know much about like, how the parking is, that's like, so over my head. Well it's not over my head, I can understand how parking works, I can understand it, but, ...	
03:13	It's weird cause, this is nice but I would never come here. I don't know, I mean it does seem like quite a nice.. I've never really seen it in use	
00:03:51	So these are all, kind of, run-down looking, which kind of gives you a feeling of, not...	

00:04:45	Maybe as well, living in Glasgow growing up, my mom, being from the West End, I care so much about it.. Nothing necessarily has happened to me, but I still sort of, avoid it (Maryhill Road). Actually, someone got shot in Maryhill Road like 3 weeks ago. But, it's definitely, no one I know has had any problems, but it's sort of, stigmatised as a bad, sort of, place.	
00:05:15	Look at all this litter! This is like, this is not nice.	
00:05:33	Great Western Road is nice, although the traffic there is disgusting.	
00:05:58	I always feel safe there, cause there's always someone around, cause it's a busy street, in that sense.	
00:06:03	I don't think the busyness bothers me, because it is a busy street, so see in rush hour- actually that does bother me.	
00:06:35	I wouldn't want to live in Great Western Road for that reason, just really cause the noise of traffic and I obviously understand that people have to get where they're going but, obviously, I'd prefer to be away from the cars.	Do you cycle as well?
00:06:50	I did (cycle) but then my bike got stolen.	
00:07:15	But when I did cycle, I didn't really know road safety, I didn't realise you weren't allowed to go through red lights on a bike, I always just kind of went through it, strange crossings (laughs) which is really stupid now, I thought there were like different rules..	
00:07:37	But yeah, my brother cycles, cause he does like Deliveroo and he's been hit. He got hit by a taxi on Great Western Road actually, he gets hit all the time, like, not like major incidents but rammed or pushed off the bike.	Do you prefer walking or cycling?
00:07:56	Depends on where I am going in the city, I think, if it is somewhere that has a lot of main roads I would avoid cycling, cause I'm not that good at roads. But, I did prefer cycling, cause it's faster and more fun.	
00:08:18	I don't know if cycling at night feels safer as well, cause you're kind of like, whizzing,	
00:08:45	I've walked home this way from clubs a few times, not so much recently, but it's not something that has ever faced me that much. There's bits that I would avoid, like that St. George's cross bit we're coming up to, just because of that sort of underpass, and it's Maryhill, so I'd avoid that. But even, I don't know if it's just that I'm drunk and I feel like it's fine, but I wouldn't consider it that unsafe really.	
00:09:38	I'm from the Southside, so when I was living there at home, in first year, there was a couple of times that I walked home from the centre, which is ridiculous anyway cause it's like an hour walk, but that's through Govanhill and stuff, and after the times I did that, in the morning, I was like, that was so stupid. It just feels like a completely unnecessary risk, cause that's like, I think that's sketchy. Stuff happens there.	

00:10:10	And I think that is different (if you were a guy) I know that like my brother doesn't think twice about these things, I don't think many guyfriends I know think about these things, like I know that that's such a, like, female thing, like 'oh text me when you're home', guys don't ever do that at all. I don't know if they don't need to or they just don't but it's not the kind of thing they would do.	
00:10:43	I was walking home to the Southside one time in broad daylight, and that was the reason this didn't bother me. There was a guy walking behind me for quite a while, for quite a substantial amount of time. I had clogged the fact that he's behind me, he was really dodgy looking. He eventually disappeared, and a car pulls up to me and the guy was like, just the sort of sketchy looking man, and he was like 'Oh there was a guy following you all the way out of town, just like, watch out, I can give you a lift if you want?' And that was so weird because like, how can you tell someone's following someone from like, driving past them, like it just doesn't make sense! Nothing added up. There was a lot of rapes in the area, eventually like two weeks later I phoned the police. And the police man who came around was like 'well to be honest you shouldn't be walking that way during the day, or any time of the day actually, I can tell you a hundred stories that would make you want to never walk anywhere in Glasgow on your own again' and I just thought, what kind of response is that? So that was that.	
00:12:15	That experience in itself, that did not really.. I guess because nothing happened, and it wasn't like a definite threat. Maybe there was something weird going on there.	
00:12:30	If there was someone behind me at night, I would probably phone someone straight away.	Do you take detours sometimes? Like what would make you walk a different way?
00:13:08	Like, obviously safety is an issue at night. I don't think it is, during the day, I'm not sure why. I'm not sure if I would take a detour for aesthetic reasons, but I definitely chose to walk through Kelvingrove Park during the day, I would never walk through it at night, so.	
00:13:30	I feel like that's another thing, if you're from Glasgow, like, obviously you wouldn't go to Kelvingrove Park at night!	
00:13:48	Not much happens, but there is so much hype, all the time. I mean, I do think it's good, cause there are so many students in the area, and so many people moving to the city that don't know anything so they kind of have to up and scare people a bit for them to take notice but it also creates this, sort of unnecessary hype, like perceived fear. And it's definitely more targeted to a female audience, which is kind of unfair, cause, what's been done to kind of, make it better for women? It's more like 'oh you should avoid these places' rather than like, making places better, or 'oh we will make these places safer, so you don't have to avoid them'	
00:14:46	It's your responsibility to not walk there at night, if you do, it's kind of your fault - like that's how the police man made me feel. Like all in all, that situation was ridiculous.	
00:15:27	I quite like it (here), it's quite charming. Although it is quite run-down.	

00:16:08	I hate this bit, it smells, it's next to the motorway, it's noisy - bad smells as well.	
00:16:22	I remember going into the pool club up here once, with like some friends, who really wanted to go play pool, and I don't know why we thought that was a good idea. And the guys inside were so adamant that we should not be there, although it's open to the public. Don't know, but that was weird.	
00:16:43	And there's like a PureGym up here, and this isn't the kind of - actually, up this end is a wee bit more okay. But like, the PureGym up here, you can go 24 hours a day. I always think these places can't be that safe.	
00:17:18	Just walking next to the motorway doesn't feel nice.	
00:17:29	I think some nicer places are opening up	
00:17:57	Well obviously, the environment (in Glasgow) has changed a lot. I remember like, when I first went to uni, the bus ride I took was through Shawlands, and that was when, when I was young as well, Shawlands was kind of a dump. The Arcades were awful, like the most undesirable place to be. And then, when I first went to uni, I saw like coffee shops opening up on my bus ride and thought, 'that's new!'. It's definitely been gentrified, and I think that's massive. And you've got, obviously, a lot of people moving in now.	
00:18:28	In terms of like, how I feel about the city, I think I like it the same amount. I think I went through a phase of being like, proudly Glaswegian, and that has kind of faded. I don't know why, but I've seen stuff, and, I kind of don't want to be that proud of being from anywhere.	
00:19:08	Oh no, that's bad. Oh my god! Actually, as well, once we get to Sauchiehall Street, cause that's the way I used to walk to work, and that was the first time I was like, so aware of how many homeless people there were ... It's a really contentious issue but I always kind of, am on the side of sympathy with those people, like sympathetic towards it, but -	
00:19:54	I always nearly get run over here	
00:20:24	I always find it really embarrassing when cars toot at you, I always get such a fright	
00:21:02	This is like a passing through space, like I'd never go to one of these coffee shops or anything, I think it's cars going everywhere.. I think it is unwelcoming. I know they tried to make it look nice with the trees, but it's unwelcoming.	
00:21:40	I guess you can't have priority everywhere (as a pedestrian)	
00:22:10	It's like 3 or 4 months at a time in Glasgow where the weather is pleasant	
00:22:21	Cycling this bit is hellish, if you have to. I always just went on the pavements, just cause.	
00:22:28	And it is not aesthetically pleasing at all, it's such a shame that like the nicest building in this part of Glasgow, burns down	

00:23:28	This is so normal to me, but what does strike me about this part is, A, the homeless people, which actually I don't see any tonight. But there was always some, cause I used to like, stop here to get a drink or something, and there was always someone outside, and it's the same faces all the time so that was like, not nice. But Sauchiehall street, cause it's so busy, I guess, feels safe, even at night. But I know that there can be trouble, so I don't know if that's naive. See the thing is, I never.. I don't know if I'm being like overly cautious cause I've heard so much, or if you'd be naive to expect something to go... or to be safe or something.	
00:24:37	I think once someone said it (an area to be unsafe) as well, you're like 'oh, I've been told', like 'I've been warned of this'	
00:24:49	When I was in Stockholm, there was like, I guess it's a safer city, probably, but I would be in places that were probably,... like on my own in subway stations at night and stuff, never felt that like insecure and stuff cause I didn't really know the reputation of the place, but once you start hearing about it,	
00:26:05	See with the police, Friday Saturday night, police in Sauchiehall Street, the presence is massive. It's like 50:50 people partying and police. And I actually think this is the kind of place where guys are less safe than girls, cause it's quite an aggressive environment from like guys starting stuff with each other. So i think that happens less with girls.	
00:26:39	Actually, [her boyfriend] and his friend [name changed to Patrick] were out last weekend, and a guy started at [Patrick], and then actually, after ages of putting up with it, [Patrick] punched him back and as soon as that happened, police pulled up and took the other guy aside and they got fined 40 pounds for like, fighting	
00:27:04	Oh look, everything has been diverted into those lanes. I wouldn't go through here though	
00:27:21	My work used to back on to one of these and there was always like, I never saw them, but my boss always talked about the needles like, an stuff he found. I never found them, so maybe he was being very over dramatic	
00:27:55	You see the guys on Sauchiehall Street, or not just there, but sometimes you just see people who got that expression in their face, obviously like, high, I don't know, like a glassy eye look	
00:28:14	I remember like getting the bus out East and there was always a couple who got on who were obviously junkies and she was like completely incapacitated, he like carried her on to the bus and then	
00:29:34	Now people are obviously going to be diverted through these lanes at night as well, which is weird, like I wouldn't feel comfortable at all	
00:29:57	I've got busses quite a lot in my life, I always feel.. Weird stuff has happened to me, like I used to get late busses home, like night busses home, when I was living at home, and like weird stuff would happen, but it's never like, threatening. I alwaysfelt unsafe on them when I was young though, it was always like, older kids picking on you	



00:30:14	Actually, see the subway is a bit.. It depends,the closest I've ever seen to like a full battle in my carriage, was Celtic and Rangers fans, one guy was so close to like, bustling another. So the subway, cause you're in like, close compartments, I always think about that, you could get stuck with... Like I'd only move if I get stuck in a carriage with like, one weird person at night.	
00:31:18	I'd say the actual centre is where Buchanan Street meets Sauchiehall Street. I don't know what it is, there's nothing even nice there	
00:31:48	It feels here like they've made some sort of effort with it	
00:31:56	They're going to keep doing stuff, cause this, I just don't think it's aesthetically very nice. But obviously these things take time like, if trees were bigger. This is kind of like, forgotten, I think it's the shops, the're kind of shit, like there's all these christmas shops or like, scottish souvenir shops	
00:32:43	This is quite out of place	
00:33:25	My mum went on a walking tour of Glasgow, which is weird cause she's from Glasgow anyway, but she was like 'Oh I want to learn more about my city' and it was all about looking up, and realising.. Cause that's a beautiful building, but look, it's got one of those shitty shops on the bottom on your eye level. Cause look, it's lovely that one and it's got an I heart Glasgow	
00:34:26	I'm always quite in my head, and not that aware of my surroundings, although you have a sort of, more awareness at night. During the day you can h'just kind of have your head down and chill out. Which is probably not that good, you should always kind of, have your head up.	
00:35:00	It's a lot quieter, there used to be always, sort of sad-looking people on these benches all the time, which is awful, it's terrible like ' get out of my city centre with your misery'	
00:35:36	That's probably quite a terrible thing to say, but part of what I hate about Sauchiehall Street is kind of those strange-looking, miserable people. It's so terrible to say that you don't like a street with people on it, but you kind of want to forget about.. Being aware of people being so unhappy, it's kind of, not nice. It sort of makes me ashamed of Glasgow I think. That bit of Sauchiehall Street I used to think about that a lot, the bit with the tourist shops and stuff. If I came here as a tourist, I'd hate it.	
00:36:47	It's weird how I always take the same route, like when I used to walk that every day of the week, I knew every step so much that it like pains me to do it every day cause I just knew how long it would take me to get home and I was so tired. But I feel kind of weird with everything closed on Sauchiehall Street now, like my biggest tile, like this massive bit is just closed	
00:37:41	But see, safety wise, I wouldn't worry dduring the day at all. Nighttime I probably feel fine around here as well	

00:38:11	See on Buchanan Street actually, see if you, cause it's like one of those shopping, like, everyone's like dressed up to go out, sometimes like I'd go in to town, to get something, like, hair scraped up, like, feeling terrible, and it's like, oh, I feel so like, frowned upon, you know like... Which is weird cause I'm not the type of person who would dress up to go shopping, but like, I start feeling like maybe I should have made an effort	
00:38:46	The shops are like, I don't know, I always feel like it's so depressing	Like, social pressure to look a certain way?
	yes! And I don't even like how it looks	
00:39:21	It is an issue. Cause I've had to do that like a few times, and it's so stressful. I don't know, is there any public toilets here? I mean other than like ... to use..	Walking home from clubs, like, obviously, as a guy, that's different, I mean regarding peeing as well
00:39:59	In the middle of the night, genuinely, you just have to walk up an alleyway to do it.. Which I have done	
00:40:10	That's not a nice experience actually, cause a couple times I was walking home from the climbing centre, like, and needing the toilet so badly cause it was like after the, it would be on like a Sunday night. Subway is closed, and it would be such a long walk, and it was honestly like a sense of panic when I realised I needed to pee. I'm going to have to pee in the street somewhere and this is not a very safe place and ... I don't know .. It's just awful.. But I don't know how that could be	
00:40:57	Cause there's loads of public toilets where I'd rather pee outside to be honest	But it's like no issue for guys
00:41:05	Except when they occasionally get fined, which happens like once in a blue moon	Oh really?
00:41:11	Yeah, like, a police man can fine you for public urination	That's so funny, like, what am I supposed to do?
00:41:13	Ye.. Actually, yeah! Like (chuckles)	
00:41:42	It's so weird, like those edges of the buildings. I quite like that!	
00:41:48	See if that was Barcelona, there'd be (positive) graffiti all over it or something	

Transcript 'Sophie'

21.06.2018 Braeside Street to Buchanan Subway Station

Time	Interviewee	Interviewer
00:15		
00:25	For some reason I enjoy the dark red, brownish tone of the bricks these tenements are constructed with	
00:40	and the fact that the color tones are similar in all buildings on the block. If these streets were narrower, it would seem a bit oppressive; but this way, you have these massive buildings to each side but as the streets are wide I feel comfortable, which is impressive.	
01:00	I actually really like having the school building in the middle of this residential block, apart from waking up to screaming children in the morning of course. I like knowing that children can play and be around a neighbourhood, it makes it seem more friendly and lively and I really like even hearing children's voices during the day when I'm walking around, which is why I feel very comfortable in this street.	
01:25		regarding the street parking situation here, how do you feel?
01:35	Seeing open parking spots and parked cars shows that it is an area where it seems to be quite easy to get a parking spot, not a desperate parking situation. I don't like seeing cars parked everywhere, for me I just think about how annoying it would be to get around in the car and it also feels more car dominated. This street does not have too much traffic, there's not a lot of cars driving by all the time which would be very loud and annoying. As I own a car I am primarily noticing the good parking situation, as I've lived in a city before where parking was a nightmare and I had to walk up a hill to my car, despite extreme weather conditions of 37 degrees or even -7 degrees, but you had to do it cause otherwise you can't get around!	
02:30	These houses with their private gardens out front seem much more suburban, and somewhat stuck-up, middle-class to me. But it's not that extreme here cause the gardens at the same time don't seem very tidy and groomed, which for some reason I feel is cute.	
03:00	It's definitely not as cool as the tenement buildings, but I don't feel negatively about them	
03:16	I do feel quite welcome, there are sidewalks, and there are even less cars than in Dalmeally Street just now, so it feels more focused on the pedestrian, and you don't have to wait for ages to be able to cross the street. You can just quickly cross over to the neighbours, which is pleasant.	Do you feel welcome here?
03:55	At night it would feel different in such an area without much traffic, in such a calm environment. Everyone that lives here would be asleep, and as a woman, at night you generally feel a bit less comfortable, and especially in these cul-de-sac places, I'd feel much less comfortable at night when nobody is around.	

04:19	<p>However, at night, I prefer a calm residential area to a calm industrial area, which for me would be the worst-case scenario. What would definitely make me feel better about walking through a residential area at night would be knowing it by day, or generally knowing how the people are that live there. Generally knowing an area I always feel more comfortable than if I have no idea about the area at all. Although I probably find it scarier at night to walk through an area where everything looks the same and colors are all dark and... Color generally has a huge influence on how I feel and if I feel welcome in an area.</p>	
05:12	<p>For example, that house across the street has a different color than what we've seen so far, and I think that one is absolutely ugly. I mean it's trying to copy the tenement buildings but it's a completely different style, and is not as dense as the tenements, and there's just something about that building style (60/70 style) I really don't like.</p>	
05:51	<p>It definitely influences me to know that Maryhill is not the best area, cause seeing the sign for Maryhill Road I just associate that name or connect it to an area that is not the best, and that information just pops up in your head and you're aware of it. Even if right here it looks fine.</p>	
06:12	<p>I generally like having such a big road closeby if you're living in a residential area, where there is more life if you want to have more life you can immerse yourself in it.</p>	
06:40	<p>This green strip in the middle.. I generally like this, it is not done specifically well, it looks a bit loveless, like someone went 'we need to put something green here', and it's not very well maintained, and you can't really access the green cause it's fenced off, but I still generally think it's cool to have a strip of green in the middle of a road. I really like it when the two directions of the traffic, the two lanes, are seperated. Just cause this way the cars don't directly race past each other, and you have to watch both sides at a time.</p>	
07:23	<p>So that stuff over there, where that block of houses suddenly ends, the run-down bit - I actually quite like it. Because it's a bit of a mess, and it's not perfect, but there's suddenly color - it's not a beautiful graffiti, but it's not one of those stupid, smudged-on phrases, or ACAB, or something. It looks more like a children's drawing there, and that completely broken garbage bin, so I don't know why but it's got something. I think it's a cool street corner. Of course, just if it's every now and then, if everything was like it I wouldn't enjoy that, that would seem run-down. But this way, it's a nice disruption.</p>	
08:41	<p>See some people might not like this, the contrast between that old community hall building and the flats in the background, but that to me is cool, the disruption, the chaos of the city. However, those houses over there, the bad 70's copy of the tenements, that's a bummer to me. It's the same colors and stuff, but just having the old building next to it, makes them seem like an ugly copy.</p>	

09:15	See if an urban grid is interspersed with little pocket parks, no matter what kind of area it is, that to me really makes a difference when you're walking, it makes me feel much more comfortable. See, during the day I would definitely take a detour to pass through a tiny park, but yes, just during the day. In the evenings not at all, then I would avoid such spaces. If I had to pass, I would probably run through that part. I generally speed up if I don't feel comfortable, definitely. I mean during the day such parks... Well I always walk quite fast, even if I'm not in a hurry at all.	
09:55	I even had the situation were, I was showing a city to my parents that I knew very well, to just show them around the city and at some point they were just like, 'can you slow down please, we're not late for anything, we don't have appointments' and I did not even notice.. So a park like that is something that makes me slow down a bit, it calms me down. I walk much slower then cause I don't really want to leave it yet, cause I would love to just walk through the green for longer.	
10:31	I love streets where small shops and little cafés are next to each other, and a bakery there, an italian restaurant here, an asian food place there, I don't know. If there are a lot of cafés and stuff, I prefer the street to be purely pedestrianised, cause that way it is nicer to sit outside, but this street here, I don't mind the traffic, and the shops need it, and it would be more ugly if it would just have that car dealership and the giant Lidl..	
11:40	The people here themselves don't seem like they're scared or stressed or anything, they don't rush through, they're moving completely normal, some slower some faster, that girl over there is brushing her hair completely relaxed on the street, which makes me feel good as it's just normal life. This older lady, who is dressed perfectly normal, I like seeing that, not like yesterday.	
12:15	Yesterday in that area in the south I noticed every second person on the street stared at the ground and walked super fast and seemed like they wanted to pass through as quickly as possible and not make eye contact with anyone. And that just gives you a badd feeling, especially when you don't know the area or city.	
12:45	I always wonder with those houses, from the outside they don't look like much at all, but I've experienced that a lot of the time to the back they've got amazing balconies or gardens and, thinking about that makes a walk more interesting.	
13:30	See this, I mean surely it has an impact on how you perceive the city, but for me.. I lived in Barcelona, and in the Ruhrgebiet where I grew up in parts we have stuff like this too, so I don't notice it much cause I am used to it.. So I mean obviously I don't think it is nice, but it does not make me feel any different.	
14:00	Obviously, if every second door looked like that and you see everything is going down the drain you think, what is going on here, but every now and then, it is completely okay and normal to see that. I mean I am sure there are people that would perceive this right here as super dirty (the street), cause there is a considerable amount of garbage on the street, even more than where I live in Germany, but it does not really molest me much at this point, but it should not be much more than this, more would not be cool.	

15:00	What I am noticing right now, I think it is super nice to see seagulls flying around here, that is beautiful. They are usually super annoying and sometimes poop on you, but for me.. I associate them with vacations, with something, fresh, I don't know. I've never really seen them in a city, it's a really cool contrast for me right now. I like that.	
15:25	Something like this I think is super nice, a little crossing street with that is framed in trees, generally, streets framed in trees are always really nice to see in a city, and having less traffic in such an environment makes it seem more friendly immediately. Generally, natural elements, depending on time of day, make an area seem more friendly.	
16:00	That is hilarious! Again, a street cone put onto something	
16:30	That building is extremely ugly, and does not fit in well. The blue white building there.. Why.. Makes you think, 'oh god, please take that out of my sight, that is terrible', really disturbs me.	
16:55	It's a bummer, cause buildings like that kind of destroy the image of the city. If I wouldn't have to, I would not walk past it. Just makes you think, 'are those run-down social housing flats, what does that imply for the immediate surroundings' and I think it has an effect on the streets from where you can see that building.	
17:40	I like bus stops.. Well I don't like bus stops, haha, but I like, well how do I put this? I think, similar to the primary school building, they give me a feeling of life, like there are completely normal people around who are just going about their daily life, and I just like that more than being in a street without any public transport. It makes me feel like, if necessary, I could get away from this area quickly, and I'm not really having to walk. Especially if I don't really know a place, I like walking more if I know I have different options to get around.	
18:37	It's noisy here, see I wouldn't want to look for a flat in this area if there were other options, but I mean every city needs streets like these, it's normal. It would be terrible if you didn't have the choice or opportunity to get on the highway in your car, so it's necessary to have such streets and nodal points.	
19:20	now that I really dislike. The weird, derelict land there, with a weird house there. I would definitely not walk through that without really knowing the area, and without being 100% sure I have to go through that. Although there are a lot of people kind of walking over through it, but despite that, it seems a bit suspicious to me.	
20:13	It does not really go anywhere nice, the thing you see as focal point is a highway bridge, and it shows signs of neglect. It's not completely run-down, and I can't really pinpoint it or describe it, maybe that weird fence in the background, the fencing.. I don't know, it's just not that cool. I can't really say what causes that feeling.	Why does it seem suspicious to you?
20:45	Often when I walk somewhere I get a gut feeling of discomfort for a certain street or area but I kind of question that, because I think to myself, 'now why is this, you'll be faster taking that route' or, 'come on nothing will happen there now, it's 30 metres, and I can walk faster and I'm quick, I mean I can run really fast'.	
21:05	now seeing those two guys there in the yellow vests, they kind of look like traffic people. It makes me feel like maybe my worry was not irrational, but justified, otherwise they wouldn't be there. But it also makes me think that they've got it under control and they could interfere if something were to happen.	

21:35	see these highways, they're necessary, but for walking it isn't very nice. The noise, being the slowest object, even cyclists attempt to adapt to traffic speed, it's just not a very pedestrian friendly environment. There are traffic lights cause otherwise you can't cross at all, but you have to wait. And you can't really just walk up the street 100 metres and try to cross there. But as i said, you can't really avoid to have places like these.	
22:45	If I were to walk home at night from this point, that wouldn't be too bad for me cause you don't have to take small roads you can just walk up Maryhill road along the big street, and then you feel at home in the part around your neighbourhood, and it's not scary or anything. But this part here, with the highways bridges and crossings. I mean you know that at night homeless people often stay under bridges, and usually they don't do anything, but you never know, and it's just uncertainty. So at night, it really depends on the other people in the streets.	
23:30	So sometimes I don't really know which I would prefer, (having people in the streets or no people). What i definitely like most is seeing people where it is obvious that they are people my age and they are also walking home from a night out, just to know that I'm not alone in this situation.	
00:24	This is waht I mean, you have to wait. You're definitely not a priority here.	Why do you walk?
24:30	That's a hard question. If it is a routine like the way to uni or work, I like to find different transportation than walking. Mostly the bycycle, but for cycling the city really needs to have the necessary infrastructure. In Essen, cycling is not very easy cause there are very few cycle paths, drivers are not used to it and honk at you and do not want you there, and pedestrians do not want you there either, so in that case I would probably walk because that is super annoying. But I think it is nicer to take the bike if I have to go some place a bit further, or I'd take the bus if it's even further. It depends on the weather though.	
00:25:30	So in general I think right now I like getting away from the street a bit, but right now it's bright and sunny, thi path at night is definitely super sketchy and scary. Totally shady. I'd come exactly here if I wanted to take some drugs. There's garbage everywhere, it's just nowhere I would want to stay for a long time.	
00:26:30	If at night I was alone here and one man would walk behind me, even if he's acting completely normal, I would walk significantly faster, I would turn my head, I would definitely not listen to loud music, but kind of listen and pay attention if he's speeding up, yeah, until I get to a brighter street	
00:26:55	You could almost imagine it's the sound of the ocean. This is insane! It's got something though, don't you think? If we just stop here for a minute. Cars are racing everywhere all in different directions, but for some reason it is kind of fascinating, and you feel so small, but it's not scary cause we're above, and it's bright daylight and it'ss sunny. It's somewhat interesting. At night I would hate this. And yes, after a while the noise is super annoying.	
00:27:40	Ah, and then this can happen. I hate that (sound of ambulance). Because ambulances, in general, always put on their sirens right next to me. And weirdly, since I have started driving myself, I am much more scared and jumpy when it comes to traffic, even as a pedestrian. I just don't trust cars that much.	
00:28:20	I generally feel safer if at busy streets like this one they have rails that seperate the sidewalk from the street	

00:28:35	Huh. This is cool! I like this, and the tiny stairs going up, I like tiny pathways when they look nice and not run-down. These green bushes really contribute to that a lot, I think these are super cute. It's a completely different atmosphere from the highway bridge, you turn around and bam! completely different feeling!	
00:29:00	This is great! I love it when streets kind of end in the sky, reminds me of San Francisco here. I would take a detour to walk through something like this, unless I had to walk it daily, then I would rather avoid a steep hill like this because it is exhausting.	
00:30:00	What I really like as well are those yellow stripes on the street, I know they're just traffic signage, but I love the fact that they are yellow and not white like in Germany, they have the yellow in the U.S. as well, and I just like the splash of color. It's something convenient and practical that serves beyond its purpose,	
00:30:30	And again here, the screams of the seagulls. It's so crazy! Reminds me of the seaside. I haven't had that in such a big city.	
00:30:45	The sidewalk here is not well maintained, which bothers me. It also just sends a message of neglect, kind of like, 'this used to be a really prestigious area, but is past its prime'	
00:31:20	Wow, super beautiful. First thing I am noticing is that beautiful old building, with trees in front, seems bourgeoisie. Church tower to the left, nice buildings to the right - what a beautiful little street corner!	
00:32:00	I like these buildings, these massive houses - they really frame the street nicely. There's flowers, and you're walking towards that church tower.	
00:32:30	And the parking restrictions here are placed very smartly just on one side. It's so cars can pass through but on the other hand, it is way nicer to walk than if there were parked cars on both sides. You have a wider field of vision, the street seems bigger, and I would definitely always walk on the side without cars, no matter what time of day.	
	At night too, since there could always be someone sat in between the cars..	Peeing
00:33:00	Well I would pee between these cars. Not if I had a choice, but as a woman, you sometimes don't have another choice you know? Guys can just stand in front of a hedge, and it doesn't look like much, they can virtually pee anywhere. Often they'll go 'what about it, I'm just peeing in the garden, no harm done, doesn't make a mess'. Well as a woman, you're having to squat in between cars and you're making a puddle on the asphalt, it's not really pleasant, is it? But what can you do? At night, in an area like this, there's no cafés open where you could quickly ask to use the toilet, or a restaurant.. no chances at night! Maybe a McDonalds.. What do you do then? You should've gone at the club before leaving, but sometimes the walk home can be quite long, or you didn't think it through, and then it's really unpleasant, sometimes unbearably so.	
00:34:00	If I'm by myself at night and know the area to be a bit sketchy, I'd really try to hold it as long as I can but, probably then wait for an area with bushes or something.	
00:35:00	Yeah I really like this street, I feel very comfortable walking here. It is really quiet, but you notice that there's life around you. You can still hear the highway a little bit, and you're up here but you also know you can walk down there at any time and be in a very lively area.	



00:35:30	Now that can disappear, please. What is that? This is such a nice street, all old buildings, and then this modern block just dropped into the landscape, I don't like it. It doesn't fit in at all.	
00:36:00	And a little playground, which I like seeing.	
00:36:55	Now this fencing here, the stuff that is usually around football pitches or playgrounds sometimes, I really don't like that. I don't even know why, cause mostly it's just fencing off a football pitch or something, but it's just off-putting and unwelcoming, kind of not permitted, reminds me of a cage or being trapped.	
00:37:35	And it's just well known that these places attract youths that hang out there, that are super bored and looking for trouble. Or at least that's the case where I'm from.	
00:38:00	I really like this, it's nice that the streets kind of wind up and down, you're sort of floating on the streetscape.	
00:38:40	What I'm noticing here is that the sidewalks are often completely destroyed, which is quite the hindrance when walking. It wouldn't keep me from walking places, but it definitely makes the walking experience a bit worse.	
00:39:15	It smells completely burnt here, so crazy that happened.	
00:39:40	So that office block, it isn't nice, but it's different from the social housing buildings we saw earlier. It looks more like offices than cheaply-built housing, and the glass facade is a bit more inviting and friendly than super small windows,	
00:40:10	I think that is really beautiful, if old cinema's are kept like that, interspersed in the urban grid. Just feeling the past when walking through, and really noticing different centuries at play.	
00:41:20	Now this is one of those typical shopping streets, no cars, wide, some little trees in the middle.. Something like this is definitely necessary in a city, those streets are usually super crowded - a bit too much for me usually- I don't like that type of environment in between masses of people. I would never sit on a bench here, although a lot of people do.	
00:41:45	I think old people really like that, because they enjoy watching the lively, busy activities on the street, whereas I would prefer looking for a quiet side street or a park to sit on a bench.	
00:42:00	But those are the things that signal to me that I'm in the centre now	
00:42:50	What I like here are the trees, hearing street music ... (interruption by street promoter)- this is annoying to me now... but I mean it just happens.	
00:43:13	So for example in Seville, you'd be bothered every 5 minutes by a promoter, and I had to cross the city centre to get to work every single day, literally cross the whole centre twice a day- and that was really exhausting, and annoying.	
00:43:45	Street music really belongs in a city centre. In general, having music while "flanierst" (verb of flaneuse in german) that really makes a difference.	
00:44:15	I generally feel in place here during the day (guy pukes in background) unless just one of those guys pukes in the middle of the street, but I think that is not pleasant for anyone.	

00:44:25	Just generally, if there is a lot of homeless people in an area that look really done with life, that really brings you down. You just always have to think about how you cope with that, how do you act? It's just difficult.. It's just more pleasant if there are less homeless people. It just, I feel sorry for them and it makes me feel bad but at the same time what can you do?	
00:45:25	Generally, if there is a lot of construction disrupting the cityscape, that's a pity.	
00:46:07	Oh, what is this? Completely dirty and neglected, who is maintaining this area? I wouldn't walk through here (chuckles) unless I had to, during the day, get to that other side quickly and take it as a shortcut.	
00:46:50	That would not make me feel safer, it just shows that there is a problem and it would probably just shift the issue to the main street and not get rid of it	Proposal to close lanes off at night
00:47:44	It's not nice to see a vacant building in the centre, with those smudged windows, just a bit disturbing.	
00:48:15	I really like walking and strolling through cities I don't know, it's the best way to experience a city and get a first impression	Do you use maps?
00:48:28	If I don't have another option, I do rely on google maps heavily and I'm very happy to have such an app. However, I trust technology way less than actual humans, and if I sort of know the place a bit I just go for it and find a route myself. I prefer it much more to know a place than to rely on a machine. It can't know that maybe, at the next crossroads, you'd love to stop by at a small park. It just takes the quickest route, and, mostly not the safest either, just the shortest. You get to where you wanted to go initially, but that's it.	
00:49:15	Often, i use google maps to just get a feel for the cityscape, I explore the names of the neighbourhoods and look at their locations and the street names so I can ask people for the cool parts and recommendations, and I'll have a broad overview and can grasp connections. I then use that as a basis to discover and explore the city by myself, in my own pace.	
00:50:00	These massive newer buildings, in contrary to the old dense buildings, really do not appeal to me. For me, that is the embodiment of capitalism, of the human hybris. The capitalist obsession with consumerism, everything is large and modern, I kind of prefer traditional buildings.	
00:51:15	According to google maps, this is the centre.	
00:51:35	I felt like the statue of the Duke of Wellington with the cone on his head, in front of the MoMa, that was more centre-like than this here. Just cause multiple large streets were crossing there, there was a plaza... This feels more like, maybe it used to be the centre but now..	
00:52:16	Some cities do have a certain point as a centre, but other places, like Berlin, it has so many smaller centres. Both I like, I mean in Berlin if it had one dominant centre, there would be so many people all the time, but that way it's a bit more diffused.	

00:52:40	<p>What I am just noticing now as well, because it is quite imminent at this point - I now have to think about where I could go use the toilet here quickly, especially because I am on my period right now. And I can't just tell myself, 'I'll hold it for half an hour', but you don't want to use a run-down toilet that most likely does not have toilet paper, or no bin. So I really need a decent toilet, which forces me to pay and most likely consume something as well, because it does make me feel bad sometimes to.. Well I ask nicely and, but sometimes they look down on you or you can tell they don't want you to... Well i have to say, in that regards, it's not made for women, but it is like that everywhere I have been in the world. Someone should think of that, us women we need a decent toilet every now and again.</p>	
00:53:45	<p>Now this does look centre-like, it's a very long, wide street, with a lot of people. You can tell that a wide array of different people are present here.. You've got street music, a street cleaner, people trying to sell things, cyclists, a lot of pedestrians,... Walking around this corner, I'd say yes, this is the centre.</p>	