URBAN GEOGRAPHY Volume 45.9 / 2024

Urban Geography

ISSN: 0272-3638 (Print) 1938-2847 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/rurb20

# Trading crime for culture? Activating territorial stigma through cultural regeneration in Paisley

Conor Wilson

**To cite this article:** Conor Wilson (2024) Trading crime for culture? Activating territorial stigma through cultural regeneration in Paisley, Urban Geography, 45:9, 1661-1680, DOI: 10.1080/02723638.2024.2333698

**To link to this article:** https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2024.2333698



Published online: 23 Apr 2024.

URBAN GEOGRAPHY
2024, VOL. 45, NO. 9, 1661–1680
https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2024.2333698

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group



# Trading crime for culture? Activating territorial stigma through cultural regeneration in Paisley

Conor Wilson

School of Education and Social Sciences, University of the West of Scotland, UK

**ABSTRACT**

Discourses of cultural regeneration have proliferated in recent years. Culture, it is argued, provides a means of revitalizing the social, physical and economic fortunes of towns and cities facing myriad challenges in the post-industrial epoch. Aside from the associated economic value attached, it is often assumed that cultural regeneration can improve the reputation of stigmatized places by harnessing positive media representations. However, the ability to challenge stigmatizing discourse sits in contrast to research which implicates media representations of violence, crime and post-industrial decline in the (re)production of territorial stigma. Drawing on Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA), this paper explores this tension in the context of the Scottish town of Paisley. Interview data, online workshops and newspaper representations are utilized to explore how "stigmatizing" discourses of Paisley as blighted by illicit drug use, violent crime and (sub)urban decline are invoked to legitimise cultural regeneration strategies to challenge the town's negative reputation. This underlines the political utility of territorial stigma in producing a reputation gap whereby cultural regeneration provides an opportunity for the local state to juxtapose visions of a "regenerated", gentrified Paisley with stigmatizing discourses of post-industrial decay.

**ARTICLE HISTORY**
Received 26 April 2023
Accepted 21 February 2024

**KEYWORDS**
Territorial stigma; cultural regeneration; discourse analysis; Wacquant; gentrification

## Introduction

This article bridges two strands of urban scholarship that have proliferated in recent decades. The pace at which culture has been absorbed into contemporary debates about urban regeneration has continued unabated (see Evans, 2005; Miles, 2020; Miles & Paddison, 2005; Oakley, 2015; Richards & Diuf, 2019). Cultural regeneration has emerged as "a panacea for the ills of the contemporary urban condition" (Miles, 2020, p. 210). Setting aside the anticipated economic value, cultural regeneration is often sold on its perceived ability to recast stigmatized places in a more positive light (Garcia, 2005, 2017). However, cultural regeneration has amassed substantial critique. Cultural regeneration has been increasingly positioned as a by-word for art-led

**CONTACT** Conor Wilson conor.wilson@uws.ac.uk School of Education and Social Sciences, University of the West of Scotland, Paisley, UK

gentrification and displacement. Zukin (1989) captures the "artistic" mode of production whereby art and artists can be leveraged by real estate capital to produce gentrifiable neighborhoods by appealing to middle-class cultural consumption. Pritchard (2016) argues that artists are enlisted as "foot soldiers" of gentrification as their cultural capital is extracted to launder the image of stigmatized neighborhoods and stimulate gentrification. As such the emergence of new cultural facilities such as museums and art galleries, street art and "boutique" coffee shops have become symbols of gentrification as cities seek to utilize cultural regeneration to "bolster" their image to stimulate gentrification (Comunian & Mould, 2014; Groadach et al., 2016; Mould, 2018).

As with cultural regeneration, territorial stigma has risen to prominence in contemporary urban scholarship. Territorial stigma – as originally articulated by Wacquant (1993) explored the "blemishes of place" whereby negative perceptions become attached to specific neighborhoods, thereby reinforcing socio-spatial inequality and recasting inhabitants as "urban outcasts". More recently, Larsen and Delica (2019) contend, territorial stigma has come to occupy a more refined position in urban sociology and geography. Territorial stigma has come to be understood as the collective demoralization of residents of stigmatized places by drawing on Goffman's notion of "spoiled identity" and Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power (Larsen & Delica, 2019; Wacquant et al., 2014). Territorial stigmatization, therefore, closely aligns with how area reputations are *produced* – at least to some extent – by newspaper and broader media representations of stigmatized places. Myriad scholars have pointed out how media (traditional or otherwise) is implicated in the (re)production of territorial stigma (Crossley & Slater, 2014; Kearns et al., 2013; Schwarze, 2022). Additionally, there has been some link between urban regeneration and territorial stigmatization whereby stigmatizing discourses provide a rationale for "fixing" denigrated places through state-led gentrification (Kallin, 2017; Kallin & Slater, 2014; Paton, 2018; Paton et al., 2017).

Despite proliferation of critical research that has amassed on both strands of urban scholarship, little scholarly work has explicitly explored how attempts to implement cultural regeneration to revitalize area reputations can (re)produce territorial stigma. This article addresses this gap by exploring how discourses of cultural regeneration (re)produce territorial stigma in the Scottish town of Paisley. This article examines how discursive practices that foreground stigmatizing discourses of violent crime, illicit drug use and post-industrial decline become embedded within cultural regeneration discourses. In this sense, images of crime and decay are used to legitimize cultural regeneration that is promised to improve the town's poor reputation. However, in doing so, stigmatizing discourses provide an opportunity for the local state to articulate visions of a gentrified Paisley populated with independent boutiques and luxury coffee shops.

This article begins by exploring both cultural regeneration and territorial stigma in greater depth. I outline the need for greater scholarly engagement with cultural regeneration as an arena in which territorial stigma is activated. I then outline Paisley's association with violent crime, illicit drug use and (sub)urban deprivation. Consideration is then given to methodology – outlining an approach informed by semi-structured interviews, digital workshops and analysis of newspaper data, analyzed using Foucauldian discourse analysis. Finally, this study will conclude with an empirical discussion of territorial stigma in Paisley, which cannot be easily circumvented merely by leveraging positive media representations via cultural regeneration. In doing so, I argue that further study is needed at the intersection of crime, stigma and cultural regeneration in post-industrial towns and cities.

## Territorial stigma, urban decline and cultural regeneration

To begin, this paper will seek to bridge two emanant strands of urban scholarship, territorial stigma and cultural regeneration. The emergence of cultural regeneration reflects an emergent truism within urban and cultural policy – that arts and culture are to be at the vanguard of urban renewal. Russo and van der Borg (2010) argue culture-led economic development surged in popularity as part of a new "cultural-economic" paradigm in which cultural institutions and a class of mobile "creative" workers have become the symbolic mediators of the post-industrial "knowledge society". Richard Florida's influential brand of hipster urbanism (2004, 2018) contended that the contemporary urban environment must utilize culture and creativity to be "open", "diverse" and "bohemian" enough to attract the much fetishized "creative class" of workers. Other frameworks that foreground culture in economic development center on constructing "flagship" cultural landmarks and facilities – such as museums and art galleries to redevelop formerly disinvested areas (see Comunian & Mould, 2014; Richards & Wilson, 2006). This is exemplified by the so-called "Bilbao effect" whereby urban managers sought to replicate the alleged success of the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao (Patterson, 2020). Finally, other models of cultural regeneration foreground hosting sporting and cultural events to bolster area reputations, leverage physical transformation and boost the visitor economy (Cunningham & Platt, 2018; Richards & Wilson, 2006).

What is clear, however, is that cultural regeneration has amassed considerable academic critique. Cultural regeneration strategies have become associated with the gentrification of formerly disinvested areas (Mooney, 2004; Oakley, 2015; Zukin et al., 2009). Art and culture have long been used to launder the image and reputation of so-called "undesirable" urban locales whereby culture prompts both the *physical redevelopment* and *symbolic reimagining* of place to make it appear as more desirable for wealthier residents (Paton et al., 2017; Pritchard, 2016; Zukin, 2011). Harvey (2019) demonstrates how art is used to increase land values to extract monopoly rents. This suggests, therefore, that culture can be used to inflate land values, property costs and rent by exploiting local differences, cultural variations and aesthetics of place. In such a reading cultural redevelopment emerges on the frontier of gentrification precisely because such processes can be used to produce elaborate urban spectacles and manage area reputations to make cities more amenable for capital accumulation.

The emergence of cultural regeneration aligns with what Harvey (1989) called "urban entrepreneurialism". Urban entrepreneurialism reflects a shift in urban governance towards "selling the city" to create space for inward capital investment. As a consequence, the city has to "appear as an innovative, exciting, creative and safe place to live or visit, to play and consume in" (p. 9). In sum, the city that emerges in the epoch of entrepreneurialism is an "image-driven entity" (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Miles, 2020). It is not difficult to see how the emergence of urban entrepreneurialism connects with both the emergent popularity of "creative city" cultural regeneration strategies and the problem of gentrification that such strategies engender. The imperative to make towns and cities more externally desirable can be read as an expression of competitive neoliberal logics, whereby stigma serves the political function of legitimizing gentrification (see Kallin, 2017; Kallin & Slater, 2014).

Additionally, cultural regeneration, is intimately linked to notions of decline and de-industrialisation. Mould (2018), for example, argues that culture-led economic development leverages discourses of decline and absence to produce public support for gentrification. Indeed, Florida (2018) invokes discourses of violent crime and urban crisis to legitimise a version of "creative city" gentrification. Indeed, Florida frequently invokes the "urban crisis" that enveloped from the 1960s onwards:

> As cities lost their core industries they became sites of growing and persistent poverty: their housing decayed; crime and violence increased; and social problems, including drug abuse, teen pregnancy, and infant mortality, escalated. (Florida, 2018, p. 5)

Florida's diagnosis of urban decline foregrounds certain social pathologies and moral decay in the decline of inner-city areas, without considering the broader political economic production of advanced marginality (See Larsen & Delica, 2019; Crossley and Slater, 2014). This belies a notably underexplored tendency within discourses of cultural regeneration in that moral panics about, to use Florida's example, crime and violence in the inner city have been implicated in political discourse that foregrounds individual misbehavior to elide broader comment on the systemic nature of urban inequality (see Handcock & Mooney, 2013; Crossley and Slater, 2014). This reflects, additionally, what Wilson and Heil (2022) have called "decline machines" whereby "decline" becomes a powerful discursive resource which animates urban political discourse. As such, decline is not an inert or passive description of discarded physical entities or decaying spaces. Rather, discourses of decline propel economic development strategies that project the logic of gentrification onto "declining" or "decaying" urban spaces (Wilson & Heil, 2022). Proponents of cultural regeneration, therefore, creatively (re)imagine gentrification as a solution to the blight post-industrial decline. It is also clear, therefore, that the political potency of "decline" in cultural regeneration becomes intimately linked to the process of territorial stigmatization. To that end, it is important to explore the political utility of territorial stigma in legitimizing cultural regeneration.

## The politics of territorial stigma: cultural "regeneration", reputation gaps and gentrification

Territorial stigma, originally advanced by Wacquant (2008, 1993) had the somewhat broad aim of exploring "blemishes of place" and the negative reputation of specific neighborhoods as sites of urban deprivation. Territorial stigma, therefore, reinforces socio-spatial inequalities and (re)produces the "symbolic dispossession" of inhabitants of stigmatized places, recasting them as "urban outcasts' while depriving them of their representation and identity" (Wacquant, 1993, p. 368). Larsen and Delica (2019) argue territorial stigma has, more recently, come to be understood in broader terms. In *Urban Outcasts,* Wacquant (2008) develops the concept further by drawing on Goffman's account of stigma and the management of "spoiled identity" with a Bourdieusian account of symbolic power. From this perspective, we might understand how to understand how the "the blemish of place impacts the residents of disparaged districts" (Wacquant et al., 2014, p. 1270). Schwarze (2022) argues that this revitalized discourse of territorial stigma goes beyond the mechanics of stigma production, to map the impacts of

stigma in the everyday lives of whom it impacts – residents of "stigmatized" spaces. From this perspective, contemporary debates about territorial stigma seek to bridge the subjective individual experiences of stigma with the broader socio-political conditions which produce it (Larsen & Delica, 2019).

Wacquant et al. (2014) point out how specialists in "cultural production", including journalists, academics and politicians play a key role in the production and management of territorial stigma and *advancing* marginality in the neoliberal epoch. Additionally, numerous scholars have specifically implicated "media representations" and newspapers more specifically in *both* reflecting and (re)producing stigmatizing discourses (Devereux et al., 2011a, 2011b; Kearns et al., 2013). This is unsurprising in that newspapers are not politically neutral, independent actors which can be detached from broader political economic forces (Devereux et al., 2011a). To that end, it is important to locate newspaper reporting and media representations within the broader political economy of stigma production (Schwarze, 2022). Additionally, it appears that media representations that produce a public fear of "crime" and "anti-social behaviour" are integral to the production of territorial stigma (Jahiu & Cinnamon, 2022; Schwarze, 2022). However, newspapers and media representation of disparaged places cannot be reduced to merely reproducing stigmatizing discourses of violent crime and anti-social behavior. As I have discussed, generating positive newspaper representation has accrued increasing importance in the epoch of urban entrepreneurialism. In sum, a tension emerges in which media representation is presented as both the cause of, and solution to territorial stigmatization.

Territorial stigma, therefore, has specific socio-spatial and political functions in the epoch of urban entrepreneurialism. As with cultural regeneration, territorial stigma has become intimately liked to notions of "urban decline" and "post-industrial" stigma (see Emery, 2019; Hinks & Powell, 2022; Nayak, 2019; Pattison, 2023). Pattison (2022, p. 3), for example, notes that "deindustrialisation is central to the context of territorial stigma". Wacquant et al. (2014) argue that the "spatial taint" of territorial stigma directly connects with de-industrialization and the triumph of neoliberalism over Fordist-Keynesian production. Territorial stigma is useful, therefore, insofar as it (re)produces individualistic and anti-welfarist neoliberal values (Handcock & Mooney, 2013). Crossley and Slater (2014) argues that a familiar litany of social pathologies, such as worklessness, welfare dependency, antisocial behavior and teenage pregnancy in post-industrial areas are invoked by policymakers and moral entrepreneurs to "manufacture ignorance" about alternative ways of addressing advanced marginality. Pattison (2022) notes, therefore, post-industrial communities have been disproportionately impacted by neoliberal austerity policies that territorially stigmatizing discourses of pathologically "workless" and "welfare" dependent places work to legitimatise. In this sense, it is important to examine the political usefulness of territorial stigma in producing forms of urban policy and revitalization that are compatible with the spatial politics of neoliberalism.

Territorial stigma has become increasingly implicated in debates about urban regeneration whereby stigma becomes a mechanism for producing gentrifiable neighborhoods through an urban politics predicated on attracting more "desirable" residents (see Kadioglu, 2022; Kallin, 2017; Kallin & Slater, 2014; Paton, 2018; Slater & Anderson, 2012). Kallin and Slater (2014) explore how urban regeneration is often performed with the logic of gentrification in that the aim is to attract more affluent residents. In this

sense, urban regeneration and territorial stigma have a symbiotic relationship in which stigma becomes rationale for fixing a stigmatized place. Kallin (2017, p. 102) argues, on this basis, that "reputational devalorization of space can pave the way for its economic revalorization". Building on Smith's (1979, 1996) influential "rent gap" thesis, which posits that gentrification is most likely to occur when there is a sizeable "gap" between present and potential land values cat, Kallin (2017) argues that the state opens "reputation gaps" to facilitate state-led gentrification. Reputation gap theory positions the state as a key node in activating stigmatizing discourses to widen rent gaps which, in turn, facilitates gentrification. In sum, it appears that territorial stigma directly implicates "processes of gentrification and destructive urban renewal" (Larsen & Delica, 2019, p. 540).

There is, however, a hitherto lack of research which theorizes the link between cultural regeneration and territorial stigma. However, it is not difficult to see how discourses of cultural regeneration might invoke territorial stigma to open reputation gaps that, in turn facilitate gentrification. For example, Florida (2018) explicitly foregrounds familiar social pathologies and urban decay in articulating his version of creative utopia that can be fostered by the clustering of middle class "creative" professionals in de-industrialising places. In this article, I explore the mutually re-enforcing discourses cultural regeneration and territorial stigma in Paisley, Scotland. I argue that stigmatizing discourses of violent crime, drug (mis)use and post-industrial decay are (re)produced to legitimize culture-led economic development to challenge Paisley's tarnished reputation. The next section will discuss Paisley as background context for this research.

## Paisley, decline and cultural regeneration

Located ten miles from Glasgow city center in the west of Scotland, Paisley is Scotland's largest town, with a population of around 77,000. At the beginning of the twentieth century Paisley had a thriving manufacturing economy, centered around the weaving and textile industries, specifically the world-famous Paisley Pattern and the Paisley Shawl. However, following the closure of the town's thread mills between the 1960s and early 1990s, Paisley has suffered from a protracted period of de-industrialization. More recently, discourses about town center decline in Paisley have become increasingly prominent. Paisley town center has been said to have declined from the "hustle and bustle" of the 1970s/80s to become a local "disgrace" (Threesixty Architecture, 2020, p. 8). Away from the town center, socio-economic inequality has proliferated in the town, with peripheral housing estates like Ferguslie Park consistently featured among the "top 5%" of most "deprived" areas in Scotland – at least according to the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) (Scottish Government, 2020).

Alongside myriad socio-economic concerns, the impact of post-industrial decline has also had a substantial reputational impact on the town. Indeed, Paisley has come be articulated with reference to violent crime, illicit drug use and post-industrial decline. While there has been little in the way of academic research that engages with Paisley's seemingly negative area reputation, even a cursory examination of newspaper representations of Paisley reveals persistent narratives about "violent crime" occurring at a rate allegedly higher than New York. During the 1990s, Paisley was dubbed "terror town" as a result of the proliferation of drug related organized crime within the town

(Wilson, 2022). In this sense, Paisley appears as an archetypal example of a stigmatized place, as outlined by Wacquant (2008), specifically the stigma associated with "post-industrial" peripheral geographies (Pattison, 2022, 2023). It is unsurprising, then, that Paisley has long been the target of various forms of urban regeneration. For example, the Ferguslie Park area of the town has been targeted for "urban regeneration" as one of twelve "Community Development Projects" in 1979, and again under "New Life for Urban Scotland" in 1988 (Robertson, 2014).

In recent years, however, local policymakers and politicians have become increasingly concerned with utilizing cultural regeneration to change perceptions and generate more positive media representations (see Wilson, 2022). A baseline for the emergence of culture-led strategies can be see with the publication of *Paisley: The Untold Story* in 2014, where the local authority announced that investing in cultural and heritage "assets" should play "an important role in the economic regeneration of the town centre" (p. 1). Heritage "assets" include Paisley Abbey, the Coats observatory, Paisley town hall and Paisley Museum – which houses a collection of paintings and artwork, as well as a collection of objects and documents relating to the town's industrial history. As a result, Paisley bid to become the 2021 UK City of Culture (UKCoC) – a titled awarded by the Department of Media, Culture and Sport, to build on the "success" of Liverpool being designated the 2008 "European Capital of Culture" (Cunningham & Platt, 2018). The UKCoC bidding process is intimately tied to notions of cultural regeneration insofar as the bidding process, and selection criteria, explicitly calls on host cities to draw on the potential economic and social impacts of the event by demonstrating a commitment to developing the "visitor economy" and the "creative industries" (Cunningham & Platt, 2018). In Paisley, the 2021 UKCoC bid connects with broader notions of cultural regeneration insofar the bid aimed to use culture-led initiatives to grow a new dimension to Paisley's economy, "radically" change the town's reputation and develop the visitor economy.

While the town's UKCoC Bid was unsucessful, the local authority (re)affirmed its commitment to a £120 million redevelopment of "flagship" cultural assets, such as Paisley Town Hall, the construction of a new "learning and culture" hub in Paisley town center and the redevelopment of Paisley Museum. The redevelopment of Paisley Museum, as discussed below, has been specifically foregrounded as a means of developing the visitor economy, and thereby the economic fortunes of the town more generally. When taken together, the (re)development of Paisley Museum and town hall resembles models of culture-led regeneration whereby the construction of "flagship" cultural facilities is used to "bolster" the economy and reputation of stigmatized places. In Paisley, this forms part of a move to "transform the town's image and reputation" as part of an over-arching project of cultural regeneration overseen by the local state.

I argue, however, that in attempting to "boost" the town's reputation via cultural regeneration, there is a notable tendency to reproduce stigmatizing discourses of post-industrial decline and violent crime to legitimise the implementation of large-scale cultural redevelopment. In this sense, cultural regeneration emerges not as a panacea for the ills of the contemporary urban condition (Miles, 2020), or an arena in which stigmatizing discourses may be challenged, but rather as an expression of neoliberal (sub)urban development to make spaces more amenable

to capital accumulation. To expand upon this, the next section will consider the methods used to conduct this research.

## Methodology

This study utilized a qualitative methodology to explore the conditions of possibility that produce discourses of cultural regeneration in Paisley between 2014 and 2020. This research was informed by principals of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA). As an epistemic project, FDA can be utilized to situate subjectivity as produced and mediated by discourse, as well as the complex entanglements of discourse, power and the self (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017; Foucault, 1981; Hood, 2001). FDA outlines the tools for identifying discursive formations and the ideological regularities located in the language used among people that produce discourse (Foucault, 2002; Hewitt, 2009). Sharp and Richardson (2001) argue that FDA contains certain core elements such as a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge, sensitivity to historical and cultural specificity and understanding knowledge as a process bound by power.

The principals of FDA were applied to data collected from newspaper articles, semi-structured elite interviews and online workshops with local residents. In doing so, this research aimed to locate the historical conditions – or the "history of the present" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982) – in which discourses of cultural regeneration materialize. All data from this research was stored and analyzed using NVivo. The primary role of NVivo in FDA is thematic coding, which can be achieved through detailed reading of the data (Araujo et al., 2018). Soft anonymity (see Ellersgaard et al., 2021) was given to "elite" interview participants whereby name and professional details are "blurred" as opposed to anonymised as doing so would strip data of necessary context. Participants in online workshops have been fully anonymised when presented in this research.

To begin, newspaper articles relating to cultural regeneration in Paisley were analyzed. This is important as newspapers are commonly cited as arenas whereby discourses of territorial stigma are enacted (Devereux et al., 2011a; Schwarze, 2022), but also where urban policy makers seek to challenge negative representations (Garcia, 2017). Informed by Foucault's concept of subjectification (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017), newspaper reporting was used to identify how discourses of cultural regeneration in Paisley were constructed. Newspaper articles were identified using the *Gale OneFile: News database*. Searches were limited to stories published during the study period (between 2014 and 2020), and to stories specifically relating to cultural regeneration in Paisley. A total of 150 newspaper articles were selected for inclusion in this research, spanning 14 different publications across local papers such as the *Paisley Daily Express,* Scottish national papers such as *The Hearld* and *The Scottish Sun,* UK national papers such as *The Guardian, Financial Times* and *The Times* and international outlets such as the *New York Times*. Newspapers included in this research denote a variety of levels of political and cultural influence – from large circulation broadsheets (such as the left-leaning *The Guardian)* and tabloid newspapers (*The Sun)* to local publications such as the *Paisley Daily Express*.

Sixteen elite semi-structured interviews were conducted with local politicians and stakeholders involved in cultural regeneration in Paisley. The purpose of interviews was to

locate how, and by whom, discourses of cultural regeneration were produced. Thus, if newspaper analysis could identify the construction of the discourse (cultural regeneration), then interviews could identify and trace the subjectivities of local decision makers. Drawing on Foucault's concept of power/knowledge (Foucault, 1982), the subjectivities that emerge from research interviews both produce, and are produced by, discourses of cultural regeneration, stigma and decline. Finally, workshops were held with a total of seven local residents. The purpose of workshops was to locate how "dominant" discourses about Paisley materialized at a local level. In doing so, one could ask whether local resident discourses of cultural regeneration, decline and stigma challenge, subvert or reproduce the dominant discursive practices identified in newspaper reporting and in elite interviews.

Analysis of newspaper, elite interviews and local resident workshops acknowledges that subject formation takes place in varied, often contradictory, ways and at multiple discursive locations (Turken et al., 2016). This research explored the discursive tensions that emerge between the "official" accounts of cultural regeneration as produced for public consumption, as identified in newspaper reporting, as well as how discourses were constructed by local decision makers and received by local residents. As Sharp and Richardson (2001) acknowledge, conducting an FDA of "spoken" utterances as well as newspaper coverage and other documentary sources presents a view whereby different sites of analysis can be viewed as overlapping, yet divergent, discursive arenas in which subjectivities are constructed. In the analysis that follows, I explore the process of territorial stigmatization in Paisley, and the way in which the "blemishes of place" are invoked to legitimise the implantation of cultural regeneration strategies that reflect the competitive logic of neoliberal political economy.

## "Knife fights are not uncommon": violence, drugs and stigma in Paisley

There has been no academic research that has explored Paisley's area reputation or how it is constructed and reproduced. However, there was a unanimous belief among local decision makers that Paisley had a negative reputation. More specifically, respondents expressed the belief that Paisley had a reputation for being "dangerous", with high-levels of violent crime and illicit drug use:

> Because in the decades before (cultural regeneration), the story for Paisley had been about deprivation, drugs and violence and crime. And it was a place that you probably wouldn't want to go out in, never mind visit (Respondent 2, Director of Communities and Housing at Renfrewshire Council)

> That was undermined by quite a lot of crime, there will be narratives about the relationship of that to the drug problem that emerged in the town in some of its more deprived neighbourhoods. (Respondent 3, Regeneration Manager at Renfrewshire Council)

From this perspective negative media representations which foreground violent crime, specifically related to organized crime and the supply of illegal drugs through Paisley, were believed to consolidate Paisley's negative reputation. More specifically, this was believed to be consolidated by sensationalist newspaper reporting that dubbed Paisley "terror town" as a result of the town's historical connection to organized crime:

> Terror town was how it (Paisley) was described and perceived. In the early 90s there had been a spate of violence, shootings, stabbings … But it became headline news because it was, erm, because it was drugs related (Respondent 1, Former Leader of Renfrewshire Council)

It is clear, therefore, that local decision makers focused on violent crime and drug use not as an empirical "problem" that could be addressed, but rather as a representational issue – part of a narrative or a "story" that furthers stigmatizing perceptions about Paisley as a dangerous place. Indeed, respondent one emphasizes how Paisley was *discussed* or *perceived* as a result of alleged organized criminal activity and concomitant violent crime. Such discourses, therefore, delineate the framework through which "regimes of truth" (Foucault, 1982) about Paisley are produced insofar Paisley becomes articulated with reference to stigmatizing discourses of violent crime.

In addition to drug use and violent crime, post-industrial decline was also invoked as a site whereby Paisley's negative area reputation is solidified. More specifically, the notion that Paisley had become the "poster child" for post-industrial decline emerged among local decision markers:

> The phrase that is often used is that Paisley became the poster town for industrial decline, for poverty and for town centre and retail high street decline. (Respondent 6, Former Strategic Lead of Cultural Regeneration for Renfrewshire Council)

> People in Paisley definitely had an opinion on Paisley high street, and it wasn't a good one. And people outside had an opinion of Paisley high street as well. And it's partly because it became the poster boy, poster child, of urban decline (Respondent 6, Former Strategic Lead of Cultural Regeneration for Renfrewshire Council)

In addition to the view of local decision makers, it is clear that local residents involved in workshops were of a similar view that Paisley had a tarnished reputation characterized by violent crime, poverty and post-industrial decay:

> I do think just because of socio-economic problems, there's a lot of poverty in Paisley and, you know, people assume we're all neds and stuff (Respondent 2, Workshop 1)

> I think it's (Paisley) got a bad reputation to be honest. Like going by example of the Paisley Express paper, I call it the Paisley depression because it is just full of bad news. 90% of everything in that paper is bad news. I think maybe it's not so bad now, but when I was younger it was all the knife crime, I know there is still knife crime and that, but Paisley was the worst place to live because you were always getting hit with something (Respondent 2, Workshop 2)

> I don't think Paisley's portrayed the way it should be … Because obviously we've got all these buildings, we've got the Coats Memorial, we've got the Observatory, we've got Paisley Abbey, Sma' shot, we've got loads of stuff, loads of lovely buildings and all that in Paisley, the Paisley Pattern. But it always seems to be 'violence', that's the way I see it, know what I mean? It's always violence that's spoke about and negative towards us when it doesn't need to be, as I've said last time it's the minority of people that give it a bad name (Respondent 1, Workshop 2)

Respondent two directly implicates the local press in the (re)production of Paisley's negative reputation. More specifically, respondent two feels that the most prominent local newspaper, the Paisley Daily Express, contributes to negative, stigmatizing perceptions about Paisley by focusing on "bad news" and specifically newspaper reporting about "knife crime" as a stigmatizing discourse that is produced through newspaper reporting.

This is reflected in the newspaper reporting about Paisley, which directly discusses knife crime, drug use and violent crime more generally:

> The main street of Paisley, Scotland, looks like that of any struggling, post-industrial town just south of the border with England … Child poverty is high, and knife fights not uncommon (*New York Times*, 16 March 2017)

> Although it has been shaking off its reputation as a hotbed for violent crime with murders, assaults, drug and knife crimes all falling in recent years, the stubborn scars of deprivation have been slower to heal. (*The Hearld*, 27th September 2015)

> If there was ever a town with image problems it is Paisley, the former textile powerhouse just outside Glasgow that for decades has been a byword for drugs, deprivation and high street decline … A wave of crimes involving heroin and prescription Temazepam tablets known as jellies in the 1990s saw Paisley dubbed Scotland's "drugs capital" — a title that locals insist was unjustified but which scared off visitors (*Financial Times*, 29 December 2016)

This reflects the spatial politics of territorial stigma insofar as newspaper reporting about violent crime (re)produces stigmatizing discourses (Devereux et al., 2011a, 2011b; Schwarze, 2022). This links, also, to Foucault's (1998a) concept of subjectification, or the process whereby the subject is constituted as an object for himself, insofar newspaper discourse belies the capacity to objectify a subject. In Paisley, representations of Paisley as a "terror town" blighted by violence, drugs and decline shapes Paisley's "blemished" reputation. Where Wacquant (1993) outlines territorial stigma as the "Blemish of place", subjectification allows us to situate the "Blemish of Paisley" by which discourses construct perceptions of the town.

Discourses of "violent crime", "drug use" and "post-industrial decline" in Paisley connects not only with the not only emerging literature on territorial stigma in post-industrial towns and cities (see Pattison, 2022, 2023), but also with renewed scholarly interested in the productive capacities of "decline" as a political imaginary (see Hackworth, 2019; Vitale, 2015). Wilson and Heil (2022) point out that, far from being a passive description of neglected or decaying spaces, decline animates political discourse as a discursive resource which produces how places are understood, as well as legitimates forms of economic development that proliferate in "declining" places. They chart how notions of decline are projected onto *places*, *populations* and *actions* to demonstrate how decline functions as a discursive resource that constructs shared understandings of urban spaces. This reflects the Foucauldian position adapted in this paper insofar discourse *produces* the conditions through which it is possible to understand the contemporary (sub)urban condition. In the context of Paisley, it is clear that notions of decline have been projected onto specific *places* such as Paisley town center and peripheral neighborhoods like Ferguslie park, *populations* such as "neds" and the "minority of people" who tarnish the towns reputation and *actions* like drug use, as well as gang-related violence and knife crime. In doing so, decline-infused discourses (re)produce territorial stigma while legitimizing cultural regeneration, which will be discussed in subsequent sections.

## "Trading crime for culture": cultural regeneration in Paisley

In this section, I will build on the previous discussion of stigmatizing discourses that recast Paisley as a "by word for drugs and decline" (Dickie, 2016) to discuss the type

cultural regeneration strategies that have been implemented to revitalize the town's reputation. It is worth noting that discursive practices that juxtapose crime with cultural-led renewal are not a new invention. Stigmatizing discourses of Paisley as a violent and dangerous place have been historically utilized to legitimise attempts to change perceptions of the town:

> A town with one of the most tarnished images in Scotland is about to swap crime for culture (Glasgow Times, April 16th, 1997)

Culture, in such a reading, is useful not only in transforming Paisley's "tarnished" image, but also as a direct substitute for "crime". What remains to be seen, however, is the *type* of regeneration strategies that can be legitimized through discursive practices that foreground violent crime. Cultural regeneration in Paisley is positioned as a solution to the decline brought about by de-industrialisation. This is most clearly seen in the discursive weight placed upon the potential economic and reputational impacts of redeveloping "flagship" cultural assets like Paisley museum and Paisley town hall. In newspaper reporting, the redevelopment of Paisley museum is constructed as a source of economic regeneration, by providing a platform to put the town "back on the map" and provide economic regeneration by developing the visitor economy:

> The refurbished museum is expected to attract 125,000 visitors a year – almost four times current numbers – when it reopens its doors in 2022 … And it's estimated that it will create huge amounts of visitors to Paisley town centre, as well as a £72 m economic boost over 30 years. (Paisley Daily Express, 22 November 2018)

> The legacy of this process is that Paisley has been put on the map. A lot of people in Paisley can lift their heads higher because they put together a fantastic bid. (The National, 8 December 2017)

The notion that cultural regeneration will put Paisley on the map and develop the town's visitor economy is consistent with much discussed approaches to top-down culture-led regeneration. As Baffour-Awuah (2018, p. 336) points out, the phrase "on the map" has become an "overused buzzword" in regeneration discourses. The notion that cultural regeneration will put a place "on the map" reflects the neoliberal imperative to produce urban spectacles "worthy" of external validation and affection by packaging the axioms of inter-urban competition into a presentable soundbite. Additionally, the focus – as illustrated in the *Paisley Daily Express* – on the alleged economic impacts of the redeveloped Paisley museum constructs cultural regeneration in ways which are compatible with neoliberal governmentalities. Governmentality, for Foucault (1998b), reflects the "conduct of conduct" that produces subjectivity. In Paisley, discourses of cultural regeneration reflect neoliberal governmentalities insofar as they (re)produce the logics of marketization, urban entrepreneurialism and economic development via cultural investment.

Discursive practices that center the potential economic impacts of cultural regeneration have a tendency to foreground "flagship" cultural redevelopment. This reflects the so-called "Guggenheim" model culture-led regeneration in which the construction of cultural landmarks can be used to inflate land values and produce gentrification (Mould, 2018). Interviews with local policymakers suggest that the focus on "flagship" cultural facilities reflects a focus on economic regeneration and image rehabilitation

whereby flagship (re)developments serve the dual purpose of revitalizing Paisley's reputation while boosting the local economy:

> So that's where doing this stuff on culture immediately translates into money, and jobs … it's the whole idea of tourism, you give you something to come and see, advertise it properly, tell you about it, make you interested and make it dead easy for you to come. And when you do come, somewhere for you to stay, and other things for you to buy. Yeah it was the one thing with culture that I could then directly translate that into a financial benefit for Renfrewshire (Respondent 1, Former Leader of Renfrewshire Council)

> … utilising the assets they had whether that's in the town hall, or the abbey or the refurbished museum building as *centre pieces* I think is really important (Respondent 8, Technical Bid Advisor, emphasis added)

In addition to this, bidding for the UKCoC competition was also discussed as a way of developing a regeneration strategy that showcased the "positive" aspects of the town, challenged Paisley's negative reputation and generated economic revitalization:

> So, I think the key people who were driving this (UKCoC Bid) as an initiative, they were looking at a year of culture as a catalyst for change. So, a catalyst for changing the economy, a catalyst for changing perceptions and so on and so forth (Respondent 15, Engagement Manager UKCoC bid)

> I think the message from Paisley really is that we've got a real solid base to build on. The 2021 (UKCoC) bid highlighted that and gave us internally a wee bit of belief that we're from a decent place and it could get better, and projected out the way that that place Paisley is not bad by the way (Respondent 16, Local Community Activist)

This illustrates discursive practice that emphasized the impact of the cultural regeneration in fostering civic pride and recasting Paisley in a more positive light. In this sense, it is clear that the broader "blemish of place" attached to Paisley directly informs investment in culture-led redevelopment of the town center and the broader local area. As Respondent 16 outlines – culture becomes a mechanism through which stigmatizing assumptions that Paisley is a "bad" place can be challenged. This was explicitly reflected both in the UKCoC bid campaign and the subsequent launch of *Future Paisley* to oversee Paisley's regeneration. Indeed, changing Paisley's area reputation has remained an underlying strategic aim driving all cultural regeneration activities within Paisley since 2014. Cultural regeneration is, therefore, inextricable from the broader stigma rooted in discursive practices that foreground violent crime, town center decline and drug (mis)use insofar as it provides the basis on which discourses of cultural regeneration proceed. This reflects a Foucauldian perspective in which power is productive – it delineates the conditions of possibility that enable or constrain certain discursive practice to materialize (Foucault, 1982; McHoul & Grace, 1993). Stigmatizing discourse becomes the conduct of conduct (Foucault, 1998b) – a mode through which new subjectivities about Paisley are produced. The final section will focus onexploring the link between territorial stigma and cultural regeneration in Paisley.

## Activating territorial stigma through cultural regeneration

In previous sections, I have outlined how territorial stigma is produced in Paisley, as the town has become articulated in terms of violent crime, drug use and post-industrial decline. I have also discussed that "transforming" Paisley's reputation is a rationale

which underpins cultural regeneration. In this final section, I will discuss how cultural regeneration becomes as site through which discourses of territorial stigma are activated. I will discuss how Paisley's tarnished image has been used to create a reputation gap which legitimizes an approach to cultural regeneration that refracts the axioms of neoliberal urban development. In line with Kallin and Slater (2014), I suggest that cultural regeneration becomes a site whereby territorial stigma is activated by providing a rationale for a vision of urban redevelopment that elides the structural causes of advanced marginality.

Myriad scholars have shown the paradoxical activities of the local state – whereby urban regeneration is enacted in response to stigmatizing discourses that are produced, at least in part, by the state itself (Kallin, 2017; Kallin & Slater, 2014). In Paisley while the UKCoC bid, and cultural regeneration more generally, were viewed as a way of projecting positive messages about Paisley, local decision makers also acknowledged that socio-economic inequality and Paisley's "unfortunate" reputation could be productive insofar as they could generate public support for the bid and be used to gain a competitive advantage in the UKCoC bidding process:

> There's nothing like a good competition to get people going. That we've had an unfortunate reputation but that should be different, that it's time to tell the world how brilliant and amazing Paisley is. (Respondent 9, Cheif Executive, Community Organization)

> Listen in the (UKCoC) competition, let alone outside the competition, but for the competition there was no there was wins to be gained by erasing how much you needed this investment or that title (Respondent 13, UKCoC bid director)

Far from being a hinderance to either Paisley's UKCoC aspirations or the broader project of cultural regeneration, Paisley's stigmatized reputation is politically and strategically useful to local decision markers in that Paisley's "unfortunate" reputation provided an opportunity to demonstrate why cultural investment was needed within the town. Cultural regeneration, then, can be utilized to produce a "reputation gap" (Kallin, 2017). In Paisley, reputational *devalorization* – as we have seen – is achieved through discursive practices that emphasize violent crime and post-industrial decay to legitimise Paisley's economic *revalorization* through cultural regeneration.

For Kallin (2017), reputation gaps place an emphasis on the *articulation of potential*. In Paisley, cultural regeneration allows the local state to articulate the potential of a "regenerated", gentrified future Paisley which can be juxtaposed with Paisley's stigmatized, decaying present. This vision is seen most clearly in interviews in which respondents projected an idealized vision of Paisley as a "cultural town" that could be linked to developing a "coffee shop culture" of independent businesses, boutiques and cafés:

> in my head, what I see Paisley being is a town that's known for its creative, it's heritage, cultural heritage, but also it'll be small, independent, family run businesses that will make Paisley revived … you know the revival of Paisley. (Respondent 10, Local Artist)

> You know, a number of businesses that, like the café, that were opening up. So, I think that for another demographic within the town. It was like, 'oh actually, we don't always need to go into Glasgow', or there is the option of, you know, hanging out here or those wee artisan this and that. (Respondent 13, 2021 Bid Director)

> even in kind of basic things like the town centre which I know is quite often part of the chat from kind of like big businesses being there to being more of a kind of boutique, small

> business, entrepreneur's kind of springing up and the coffee shop culture. (Respondent 4, Create Paisley)

There is a clear link, here, between the vision of Paisley town center populated by boutiques, independent coffee shops and small businesses and the vision for the town center articulated in the *A Vision for Paisley Town Centre 2023* report commissioned by Renfrewshire Council (Threesixty Architecture, 2020). The vision of a reimagined and repurposed Paisley town center, articulated throughout the document, outlines how the town center might re-attract the private sector with residential development and the rise of, presumably independent, restaurants and cafes (Threesixty Architecture, 2020, p. 21). The vision of a "regenerated" and "cultural" Paisley town center reflects an archetypal articulation of the gentrified creative city with a focus on independent coffee shops and boutiques (Peck, 2005; Zukin et al., 2009).

As a cautionary note, the production of a reputation gap populated with visions of a gentrified Paisley does not necessarily represent an explicit will to class-based social cleansing on behalf of local decision makers. Rather, this reflects the gentrification of subjectivity itself insofar as gentrification is no longer, as Smith (1996) observed, a dirty word, but rather a sign of healthy economic present and future for cities. As Slater (2006) argues, the *image* of the hip, bohemian, cool neighborhoods with street-level spectacles, trendy bars and luxury coffee supersedes the actually existing reality of working-class displacement and rent increases. This image, it seems, carries substantial discursive weight insofar as it has clearly infiltrated the subjectivity of local decision markers in a peripheral, (sub)urban places not usually associated with the frontiers of gentrification such as Paisley. To return to Foucault, therefore, local subjectivities both *produce*, and are *produced by*, discourses of stigma, gentrification and decline insofar is discourse produces the historical conditions which delineate the boundaries of acceptable knowledge (Foucault, 1981; McHoul & Grace, 1993). Discourses of cultural regeneration are, therefore, inextricable from gentrification and decline insofar as they provide discursive frameworks which animate (sub)urban political discourse in Paisley.

In sum, discourses of cultural regeneration in Paisley construct a reputation gap through which a vision of a "gentrified", creative Paisley is articulated. In this sense, discourses of cultural regeneration are inextricable from stigmatizing discourses that can be leveraged to implement a vision of regeneration that is compatible with the axioms of inter-urban competition and neoliberal urban development. It is difficult to assert, therefore, that cultural regeneration can exist as a vehicle for transforming area reputations via securing positive newspaper reporting (see Garcia, 2005; Richards & Diuf, 2019) without considering the spatial politics of attempting to make places more externally desirable to stimulate gentrification. In line with Kallin and Slater (2014), I suggest that cultural regeneration can provide a rationale for "fixing" Paisley by opening a reputation gap which legitimizes cultural (re)development – such as Paisley museum and Paisley town hall – and presents a vision of a gentrified, creative Paisley.

## Conclusion

This article explored the production of territorial stigma in the context of cultural regeneration in Paisley. Despite the proliferation of critical scholarship that explores both

cultural regeneration and territorial stigma, little scholarly work has explored the intersection between these two strands of urban scholarship. This paper has addressed such a gap by exploring how cultural regeneration can become a site whereby territorial stigma is activated. I have explored how discursive practices that foreground violent crime, illicit drug use and (sub)urban decline have been leveraged to legitimise the implementation of cultural regeneration within Paisley. In Paisley, attempts to generate more positive newspaper representation via cultural regeneration creates a zero-sum game in which territorial stigma cannot be subverted or resisted by discursive practices that produce a reputation gap between discourses of crime and decay and visions of a "creative", gentrified Paisley. If, as Foucault (1981) suggests, discourse produces new subjectivities then the discursive practices of territorial stigma cannot be easily subverted simply by producing more positive representations of stigmatized places. Indeed, the conditions of possibility that enable discursive practices of cultural regeneration reflect the entrepreneurial tendencies of urban neoliberalism to make towns and cities appeal more desire to external audiences (see Harvey, 1989). In Paisley, images of Paisley town center as a hotbed of violent crime and as a "poster child" for (sub)urban decline prompt culture-led interventions that are compatible with the axioms of neoliberal urban development that produce gentrification.

Discourses about violent crime are foregrounded in the symbolic defamation of stigmatized places but are also central to legitimizing attempts to challenge stigma through cultural regeneration. These findings prompt criticism of what has emerged as a truism in urban political discourse in recent decades – that cultural regeneration can challenge territorial stigma (see Garcia, 2005; Richards & Diuf, 2019; Richards & Wilson, 2006). In line with previous research, this paper suggests cultural regeneration is implicated in the symbolic valorization of place and reproducing the conditions of advanced marginality (Gray & Mooney, 2011; Mooney, 2004; Paton et al., 2017). What is needed, therefore, is scholarly engagement that is sceptical about the claims that territorial stigma can be challenged by the discursive "branding" opportunities afforded by cultural regeneration. It is essential then, that an analytic cartography which generates new modes of engagement with the inter-linked theoretical trajectories of cultural regeneration, crime and territorial stigmatization is produced.

## Acknowledgements

Thanks also to the editor and two anonymous reviewers for their insightful feedback and comments which helped develop this work.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## ORCID

*Conor Wilson* http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9461-641X

## References


Araujo, C. L., Do Carmo, E. A., & Fraga, R. G. (2018). Describing the experience of young researchers in interdisciplinary qualitative research based on critical discourse analysis (CDA) using NVivo. In P. Costa, L. Reis, & A. Moreira (Eds.), *Computer supported qualitative research. Advances in intelligent systems and computing* (p. 861). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-01406-3_1

Arribas-Ayllon, M., & Walkerdine, V. (2017). Foucauldian discourse analysis. In C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (2nd Edition). Sage.

Baffour-Awuah, R. (2018). Does this place exist? Identity making in the royal docks. In A. Duma, D. Hancox, M. James, & A. Minton (Eds.), *Regeneration songs: Sounds of investment and loss from east London* (pp. 335–350). Repeater Books.

Brenner, N., & Theodore, N. (2002). Cities and geographies of actually existing neoliberalism. *Antipode*, *34*(3), 349–379. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00246

Comunian, R., & Mould, O. (2014). The weakest link: Creative industries, flagship cultural projects and regeneration. *City, Culture and Society*, *5*(2), 65–74. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ccs.2014.05.004

Crossley, S., & Slater, T. (2014). *Benefits street: Territorial stigmatization and the realization of a "(tele)vision of divisions"*. Values and Value. Retrieved September 21, 2021, from https://values.doc.gold.ac.uk/blog/18

Cunningham, I., & Platt, L. (2018). Bidding for UK city of culture: Challenges of delivering a bottom-up approach 'in place' for a top-down strategy led scheme. *Journal of Place Management and Development*, *12*(3), 314–325. https://doi.org/10.1108/JPMD-01-2018-0005

Devereux, E., Haynes, A., & Power, M. (2011a). Tarring everyone with the same shorthand? *Journalists, stigmatization and social exclusion. Journalism*, *13*, 500–517. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884911421698

Devereux, E., Haynes, A., & Power, M. (2011b). At the edge: Media constructions of a stigmatised Irish housing estate. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, *26*(2), 123–142. https://doi.org/10.1007/S10901-011-9210-4

Dickie, M. (2016, December 29). Paisley hopes City of Culture bid can change pattern of decline: Scotland's largest town has struggled with drugs and deprivation since closure of mills. *Financial Times*. Available: https://www.ft.com/content/650f8664-cd2c-11e6-864f-20dcb35cede2

Dreyfus, H., & Rabinow, P. (1982). *Michel Foucault – beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*. Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Ellersgaard, C., Ditlevsen, K., & Larsen, A. G. (2021). Say my name? Anonymity or not in elite interviewing. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *25*(5). https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2021

Emery, J. (2019). Geographies of deindustrialization and the working-class: Industrial ruination, legacies, and affect. *Geography Compass*, *13*(2), e12417. https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12417

Evans, G. (2005). Measure for measure: Evaluating the evidence of culture's contribution to regeneration. *Urban Studies*, *42*(5/6), 959–983. https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980500107102

Florida, R. (2004). *Cities and the creative class*. Routledge.

Florida, R. (2018). *The new urban crisis: Gentrification, housing bubbles and what we can do about it*. Oneworld.

Foucault, M. (1981). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*. Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. *Critical Inquiry*, *8*(4), 777–795.

Foucault, M. (1998a). Foucault. In J. D. Faubion (Ed.), *Aesthetics, method and epistemology: Essential works of Foucault 1958–1984*. The New Press.

Foucault, M. (1998b). *Security, territory, population: Lectures at the College e France, 1977–78*. Palgrave MacMillian.

Foucault, M. (2002). *The order of things: Archaeology of the human sciences*. Routledge.

Garcia, B. (2005). Deconstructing the city of culture: The long-term cultural legacies of Glasgow 1990. *Urban Studies*, *42*(5–6), 841–868. https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980500107532

Garcia, B. (2017). 'If everyone says so … ' Press narratives and image change in major event host cities. *Urban Studies*, *54*(14), 3178–3198. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016674890
Gray, N., & Mooney, G. (2011). Glasgow's new urban frontier: 'Civilising' the population of 'Glasgow East'. *City*, *15*(1), 4–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2010.511857
Groadach, C., Foster, N., & Murdoch, J. (2016). Gentrification, displacement and the arts: Untangling the relationship between arts industries and place change. *Urban Studies*, *55*(4), 807–825. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016680169
Hackworth, J. (2019). *Manufacturing decline: How racism and the conservative movement crush the American Rust Belt*. Columbia University Press.
Handcock, L., & Mooney, G. (2013). "Welfare Ghettos" and the "broken society": Territorial stigmatization in the contemporary UK. *Housing, Theory and Society*, *30*(1), 46–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2012.683294
Harvey, D. (1989). From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: The transformation in urban governance in late capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, *71*(1), 3–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/04353684.1989.11879583
Harvey, D. (2019). *Rebel cities: From the right to the city to the urban revolution*. Verso.
Hewitt, S. (2009). Discourse analysis and public policy research. Centre for Rural Economy Discussion Paper Series No. 24: Centre for Rural Economy. Retrieved July 17, 2021, from https://www.ncl.ac.uk/media/wwwnclacuk/centreforruraleconomy/files/discussion-paper-24.pdf
Hinks, S., & Powell, R. (2022). Territorial stigmatisation beyond the city: Habitus, affordances and landscapes of industrial ruination. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *54*(7), 1391–1410. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X221107022
Hood, D. (2001). Discourse, knowledge, materiality and history: Foucault and discourse analysis. *Theory & Psychology*, *11*(4), 521–547. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354301114006
Jahiu, L., & Cinnamon, J. (2022). Media coverage and territorial stigmatization: An analysis of crime news articles and crime statistics in Toronto. *Geojournal*, 4547–4564. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-021-10511-5
Kadioglu, D. (2022). Producing gentrifiable neighbourhoods: Race, stigma and struggle in Berlin-Neukölln. *Housing Studies*, Advance online publication, 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2022.2042494
Kallin, H. (2017). Opening the reputational gap. In P. Kirkness & A. Tijé-Dra (Eds.), *Negative neighbourhood reputation and place attachment: The production and contestation of territorial stigma* (pp. 102–118). Routledge.
Kallin, H., & Slater, T. (2014). Activating territorial stigma: Gentrifying marginality on Edinburgh's periphery. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *46*(6), 1351–1368. https://doi.org/10.1068/a45634
Kearns, A., Kearns, O., & Lawson, L. (2013). Notorious places: Image, reputation, stigma. The role of newspapers in area reputations for social housing estates. *Housing Studies*, *28*(4), 579–598. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2013.759546
Larsen, T. S., & Delica, K. (2019). The production of territorial stigmatisation: A conceptual cartography. *City*, *23*(4), 540–563. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2019.1682865
McHoul, A., & Grace, W. (1993). *A Foucault primer: Discourse, power and the subject*. UCL Press Limited.
Miles, S. (2020). Consuming culture-led regeneration: The rise and fall of the democratic urban experience. *Space and Polity*, *24*(2), 210–224. https://doi.org/10.1080/13562576.2020.1775573
Miles, S., & Paddison, R. (2005). Introduction: The rise and rise of culture-led urban regeneration. *Urban Studies*, *42*(5/6), 833–839. https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980500107508
Mooney, G. (2004). Cultural policy as urban transformation? Critical reflections on Glasgow, European city of culture 1990. *Local Economy: The Journal of the Local Economy Policy Unit*, *19*(4), 327–340. https://doi.org/10.1080/0269094042000286837
Mould, O. (2018). *Against creativity*. Verso.
Nayak, A. (2019). Re-scripting place: Managing social class stigma in a former steel-making region. *Antipode*, *51*(3), 927–948. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12525

Oakley, K. (2015). *Creating space: A re-evaluation of the role of culture in regeneration*. Arts and Humanities Research Council. Available at: http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/88559/

Paton, K. (2018). Beyond legacy: Backstage stigmatisation and 'trickle-up' politics of urban regeneration. *The Sociological Review Monographs*, *66*(4), 919–934. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026118777449

Paton, K., McCall, V., & Mooney, G. (2017). Place revisited: Class, stigma and urban restructuring in the case of Glasgow's Commonwealth Games. *The Sociological Review*, *65*(4), 578–594. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X.12423

Patterson, M. (2020). Revitalization, transformation and the 'Bilbao effect': Testing the local area impact of iconic architectural developments in North America, 2000–2009. *European Planning Studies*, *30*(1), 32–49. https://doi.org/10.1080/09654313.2020.1863341

Pattison, J. (2022). 'The whole of Shirebrook got put on an ASBO': The co-production of territorial stigma in a former colliery town. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, *54*(1), 105–121. https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X211048198

Pattison, J. (2023). "You don't go there": Spatial strategies of stigma negotiation in a post-industrial town. *Antipode*, *55*(4), 1213–1233. https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12930

Peck, J. (2005). Struggling with the creative class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *29*(4), 740–770. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2005.00620.x

Pritchard, S. (2016, December 23). Creative placemaking, or a violently anti-working-class vison of the urban pastoral. Colouring in culture. Retrieved May 25, 2021, from https://colouringinculture.org/blog/violentcreativeplacemaking/

Richards, G., & Diuf, L. (2019). *Small cities with big dreams: Creative placemaking and branding strategies*. Routledge.

Richards, G., & Wilson, J. (2006). The creative turn in regeneration: Creative spaces, spectacles and tourism in cities. In M. K. Smith (Ed.), *Tourism, culture and regeneration* (pp. 12–24). CABI.

Robertson, D. (2014). *Regeneration and poverty in Scotland*. Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research, Sheffield Hallam University.

Russo, A. P., & van der Borg, J. (2010). An urban policy framework for culture-oriented economic development: Lessons from the Netherlands. *Urban Geography*, *31*(5), 668–690. https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.31.5.668

Schwarze, T. (2022). Discursive practices of territorial stigmatization: How newspapers frame violence and crime in a Chicago community. *Urban Geography*, *43*(9), 1415–1436. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2021.1913015

Scottish Government. (2020). Scottish index of multiple deprivation 2020. Retrieved January 4, 2021, from https://www.gov.scot/collections/scottish-index-of-multiple-deprivation-2020/

Sharp, L., & Richardson, T. (2001). Reflections on Foucauldian discourse analysis in planning and environmental policy research. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, *3*(3), 193–209. https://doi.org/10.1002/jepp.88

Slater, T. (2006). The eviction of critical perspectives from gentrification research. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *30*(4), 737–757. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2006.00689.x

Slater, T., & Anderson, N. (2012). The reputational ghetto: Territorial stigmatisation in St Paul's, Bristol. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *37*(4), 530–546. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2011.00490.x

Smith, N. (1979). Toward a theory of gentrification a back to the city movement by capital, not people. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, *45*(4), 538–548. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944367908977002

Smith, N. (1996). *The new urban frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. Routledge.

Threesixty Architecture. (2020). *Paisley is open: A vision for paisley town Centre 2030*. https://www.renfrewshire.gov.uk/paisleyvision

Turken, S., Nafstad, E. H., Blakar, M. R., & Roen, K. (2016). Making sense of neoliberal subjectivity: A discourse analysis of media language on self-development. *Globalizations*, *13*(1), 32–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2015.1033247

Vitale, P. (2015). Decline is renewal. *Journal of Urban History*, *41*(1), 34–39. https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144214551732

Wacquant, L. (1993). Urban outcasts: Stigma and division in the black American ghetto and the French urban periphery. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *17*(3), 366–383. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.1993.tb00227.x

Wacquant, L. (2008). *Urban outcasts: A comparative sociology of advanced marginality*. Routledge.

Wacquant, L., Slater, T., & Pereira, V. B. (2014). Territorial stigmatization in action. *Environment and Planning A*, *46*(6), 1270–1280. https://doi.org/10.1068/a4606ge

Wilson, C. (2022). *Telling the untold story: Discourses, cultural regeneration and the hybridity of placemaking in paisley* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of the West of Scotland.

Wilson, D., & Heil, M. (2022). Decline machines and economic development: Rust belt cities and Flint, Michigan. *Urban Geography*, *43*(2), 163–183. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2020.1840736

Zukin, S. (2011). *Naked city: The death and life of authentic urban place*. Oxford University Press.

Zukin, S., Trujillo, V., & Walker, A. (2009). New retail capital and neighborhood change: Boutiques and gentrification in New York City. *City & Community*, *8*(1), 47–64. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6040.2009.01269.x

Zukin, Sharon. (1989). *Loft living: Culture and capital in urban change*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.