Evaluating the intervention of Gehl Architects in New Road, Brighton in relation to social conditions

Matthew Holmes
1608154
Declaration

The content of this dissertation is the result of my own investigation, except where stated otherwise.
It has not been accepted for any degree, nor been concurrently submitted for any other degree within or outside Robert Gordon University.
I take full responsibility of the authenticity, sources and originality of the content used in this dissertation

MATTHEW HOLMES
1608154
12th May 2017
Figure 1: New Road after Gehl’s intervention
# Contents

## Part 1: Introduction
- Rationale .................................................. 6
- Aim .......................................................... 12
- Objectives .................................................. 12
- Previous studies ......................................... 13
- Methods ..................................................... 14
- Hypothesis .................................................. 17

## Part 2: Theoretical underpinning
- Planning for traffic ....................................... 18
- Jacobs vs Moses ........................................... 20
- Alternatives to Euclidean zoning ....................... 22
- Human Behaviour ......................................... 24
- Shared space .............................................. 27

## Part 3: Findings
- Observational study ...................................... 30
- Surveys and interviews .................................. 40

## Part 4: Conclusion
- Shared space .............................................. 58
- Seating ...................................................... 59
- Overall ...................................................... 59

## References
- ................................................................. 62

## List of Figures
- ................................................................. 66

## Appendices
- Appendices A: Recorded business interviews ........ 70
- Appendices B: Paraphrased business interviews from notes 90
- Appendices C: Email correspondence with businesses 94
- Appendices D: Observational study statistics .......... 98
Part 1: Introduction

Rationale

New Road is located close to the centre of Brighton and benefits from its proximity to the Brighton Pavilion and gardens, the Brighton Dome and the busy North Street shopping to the south. New Road used to be an ordinary vehicle priority street; however, in 2007 Gehl architects and Landscape projects converted it into a shared space scheme. Gehl architects installed a 44-metre long wooden bench with LED lighting that ran along the eastern edge of the street, backing onto the gardens of the Brighton Pavilion. They designed 3m x 1.2m island seats to accommodate a variety of seating positions and designed the rear of the main seating to extend out to provide usage for standing activities. (Brisco, 2009) The bollards in the street are wide enough to serve a dual purpose of both functioning as somewhere to sit or an object to stand by and lean against, whilst also serving their primary role of protecting areas of the design from cars. The shared space design unified the street on a single level with granite paving replacing the previous road and pavements, indicating that this is a space designed for the pedestrian. Subtle changes in the style of the paving demarcate zones such as areas for staying activities and the disabled parking spaces located outside of some of the businesses.

MVA’s operational study of shared spaces identified New Road with the greatest number of shared space attributes, highlighting its significance as a shared space. (MVA Consultancy, 2010a) The scheme has won the Landscape Institute Award, the Civic Trust’s Special Award and the National Transport Award for Urban Design and stands as a model for future shared space schemes in the UK. (Gehl Architects, 2017) The scheme is only 10 years old and as of yet there have been few studies on the effects of the changes upon businesses and pedestrians. People have cited New Road as a case study in creating public spaces, both from the perspective of shared space and from building upon the seating studies of William H Whyte, without any comprehensive measure of the effects of the changes. This dissertation aims to fill the void and evaluate these changes.
Figure 2: Brighton Map
Figure 3: Local context
Figure 4: New Road site plan
Figure 5: New Road before Gehl’s intervention

Figure 6: New Road after Gehl’s intervention
Figure 7: Shared space paving detail

Figure 8: New Road bollards
Aim

To Evaluate the impact of Gehl Architect's intervention at New Road, Brighton

Objectives

Evaluate the shared space

Determine the perceptions of Pedestrians
  o Do Pedestrians believe they are safe from traffic?
  o What proportion of Pedestrians use the centre of the road?
  o How has the footfall changed after 2007?
  o Do Pedestrians want any changes?
Determine the perceptions of Business owners
  o How has the shared space affected businesses?
  o Do businesses support the shared space or would they prefer pedestrianisation?

Evaluate the seating

Determine the perceptions of Pedestrians
  o Do Pedestrians view New Road as somewhere they can stop and socialise?
Determine the perceptions of Business owners
  o What are the positive and negative aspects of groups of people using the benches?
  o How have the benches affected businesses?
Previous studies

The dissertation used the following studies as precedents for creating a method to study how pedestrians used the shared space at New Road, Brighton.

Moody and Melia’s study of Elwick Square in Ashford, Kent combined observational studies of pedestrian movement across a shared space scheme with on-street questionnaires with its users. The questionnaires contained a series of quantitative questions with yes/no/don’t know responses that determined that pedestrians preferred the former scheme to that of the new shared space. (Moody & Melia, 2014) Hammond and Musselwhite in their study of Widemarsh Street in Hereford, use a more refined technique compared to Moody and Melia’s study by replacing the yes/no/don’t know responses with a scale of 1 to 5 in order to aid statistical analysis. They concluded that there were areas of confusion around the shared space scheme in terms of vehicle priority and its impact upon vulnerable users. (Hammond & Musselwhite, 2013)

MVA Consultancy conducted two detailed reports for the department for transport into shared space to determine the pedestrian’s perceptions of shared space. (MVA Consultancy, 2010a) (MVA Consultancy, 2010b) Despite a detailed methodology, in many instances the sample size was insufficient to draw meaningful conclusions. For example the operational assessment study uses 15-minute pedestrian counts to draw a number of positive conclusions about shared spaces, without stating in their methodology what times and days the study took these readings. (MVA Consultancy, 2010a)

Gehl Architects and Landscape Projects conducted a public space study into Brighton before their intervention in New Road. The study identified some basic information concerning the footfall of the centre of Brighton; however, the study only collected data on single days in 2006, making it subject to errors caused by variance in variable conditions such as the weather. (Gehl Architects and Landscape Projects, n.d.) Brighton and Hove City Council conducted a study in 2011, which measured the perceptions of both pedestrians and business owners regarding the changes to New Road, however the scheme at this time was still in its infancy and businesses refrained from assigning a figure to how much the change had benefitted their businesses. (Mayor & Coleman, 2011)
Methods

Observational study

- Do Pedestrians believe they are safe from traffic?
- What proportion of Pedestrians use the centre of the road?

In order to gauge pedestrian’s perceptions of safety from cars on the street, the dissertation conducted an observational study of New Road, Brighton, analysing where people sat, stood and walked in the space over time. The study compared the New Road results with the neighbouring Bond Street, a popular road for pedestrians that runs parallel to New Road, where vehicles have priority. The dissertation selected two days for the study: one a weekday (Friday 20th January 2016) and the other a weekend (Saturday 21st January 2016). The weather and temperature were recorded using archived weather data (www.timeanddate.com, 2017) in order to aid the interpretation of the results on both days. The study began at 7am on both days and continued until 5pm, recording the locations of people sitting, standing and walking on scale maps every 30 minutes.

The study divided the maps into 2 zones in line with MVA consultancy’s study, which determined the pedestrian’s perception of safety in the street by observing the percentage of people that walked in the carriageway and comparing this figure with the total area that cars could use. (MVA Consultancy, 2010a) The study selected the two zones before the collection of data in order to eliminate any unconscious bias. (Robson, 2002) For the purposes of New Road, the zone for cars was determined as the central concourse between two drainage channels in order to align with the methodology of the study carried out by MVA consultancy. (MVA Consultancy, 2010a)
On-street questionnaires

- Do Pedestrians believe they are safe from traffic?
- What proportion of Pedestrians use the centre of the road?
- How has the footfall changed after 2007?
- Do Pedestrians want any changes?
- Do Pedestrians view New Road as somewhere they can stop and socialise?

The dissertation selected every fifth person that walked past in New Road to complete a questionnaire designed to gauge his or her perceptions of the shared space. If this person refused to answer the questionnaire then the study chose the next fifth person that walked past and so forth removing any selection bias. The methodology for the on-street questionnaire was predominantly the same as Moody and Melia's study into the Elwick Square shared space scheme in Ashford, Kent, which enabled a direct comparison between the results. (Moody & Melia, 2014) The questionnaire began by asking four quantitative questions that required the user of New Road to respond with a multiple-choice of five answers: strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, and strongly agree, which was in contrast to Moody and Melia who asked for a simple yes, no or don't know. The study chose this method in contrast to aid data analysis in the same manner as Hammond and Musselwhite's study of Widemarsh Street in Hereford. (Hammond & Musselwhite, 2013) With this method, the responses of strongly disagree to strongly agree were replaced with a numerical scale from 1 to 5, with 1 representing strongly disagree to 5 representing strongly agree. The questions were:

- As a pedestrian, do you think you have priority over vehicles?
- Do you view this space as a place where you can stop and socialise?
- Would you prefer a road with traditional pavements?
- Would you prefer the road to be fully pedestrianised?

The questionnaire based the first three questions on Moody & Melia's study of Elwick Square to enable a comparison between the results. Moody & Melia's study asked the respondents, “In this type of setting would you prefer traditional pavements and traffic light crossings?” (Moody & Melia, 2014, p. 390) However, this questionnaire left the both the option of returning to an ordinary road or conversely to have it fully pedestrianised in order to tailor the question to New Road.
Another multiple-choice question asked:

Is your visit today mainly for work or for leisure?

The questionnaire gave the respondents the choice of answering: work, leisure or work and leisure combined. The study used this question to both interpret the results and to gauge the types of visitors to New Road. The question is the same as one asked by Jan Gehl & Lars Gemzøe in their Public Spaces, Public Life study of Copenhagen, which acts as a comparison for the results. (Gehl & Gemzøe, 1996, p. 74)

Finally, the questionnaire asked an open-ended, qualitative question to interpret the results:

Do you have any other comments or opinions on this street?

Due to the method of sampling people using the New Road space, this will have created a bias towards the users that are comfortable using shared space schemes and one should consider this limitation when viewing the results.

Interviews with business owners

- How has the shared space affected businesses?
- Do businesses support the shared space or would they prefer pedestrianisation?
- What are the positive and negative aspects of groups of people using the benches?
- How have the benches affected businesses?

The dissertation interviewed the managers and business owners of nine businesses on New Road, Brighton between Sunday 5th March 2017 and Tuesday 7th March 2017 in order to judge their perceptions of the road. The interviews began with open-ended questions that allowed the business owners to identify what they considered most important and continued in a semi-structured manner to cover issues that they had not mentioned.
Correspondence with business owners

- How has the shared space affected businesses?
- Do businesses support the shared space or would they prefer pedestrianisation?
- What are the positive and negative aspects of groups of people using the benches?
- How have the benches affected businesses?

The dissertation contacted the businesses that were unable to interview face to face. Four businesses answered a series of open-ended questions via email. These questions were:

- How long have you been familiar with New Road, Brighton?
- Do you remember what the road was like before the changes?
- What would you say the positive and negative aspects of the road are?
- Is there anything you would like to see changed?
- How have these aspects affected your business?
- Do you have any other comments or opinions on the road that you would like to share?

The study designed the email enquiries in a manner that avoided making the questions either leading or time-consuming. The open-ended questions encouraged the business owners to respond with the issues that appeared most important to them about the street.

Hypothesis

The study hypothesised that the footfall on New Road was lower than the neighbouring Bond Street due to the number of shops on this road. However, the dissertation predicted that the changes to New Road have increased the footfall and appeal of the area.
Part 2: Theoretical underpinning

Planning for traffic

One can view Gehl’s methodology as part of a wider reaction against the modern movement. Le Corbusier’s *Towards a New Architecture* promoted ideas of living based on the simplicity of developments in engineering and technology, and argued that if factories could produce specialised items such as wagons and furniture, one could extend the benefits of mass production to the houses that make up our cities. (Corbusier, 1931) Le Corbusier’s provocative city planning models of the Ville Contemporaine, Plan Voisin and Cité Radieuse separated functions on the principles of Euclidean zoning with prefabricated high-rise blocks freeing up the ground plane to sunlight. Le Corbusier saw both the buildings and the city as a “machine for living in”, celebrating the advancement of technology and encouraging the rapid growth of the city. (Dalsgaard, 2012)

Figure 9: Cité Radieuse (Radiant City)
City planning quickly became orientated around the fast life of the car, envisioned on a large and abstract scale. The construction of highways moved traffic long distances from suburbia to the centre of cities in order to fuel their continued growth. In the UK, the Buchanan report of 1963 highlighted the growing conflict between traffic and the pedestrian, deeming separation necessary in order to improve the pleasantness and safety of the cities. (Buchanan, et al., 1963, p. 7) The report’s conclusion advocated the separation of the car and the pedestrian in a multilevel system to accommodate increasing flows of traffic in a scheme they referred to as “traffic architecture”. (Buchanan, et al., 1963, p. 142)

![Figure 10: Separation of car and pedestrian](image)

The Buchanan report had highlighted the conflict between the pedestrian and the motor car, however its proposed solutions relied on the separation of the two; prioritising traffic at the cost of reducing pedestrian connectivity along the ground plane.
Jacobs vs Moses

Jane Jacobs criticised the myopic traffic oriented approach to city planning for its separation and subsequent destruction of neighbourhoods on the local scale. Jacobs battled against city planner Robert Moses and his proposed development for a four-lane road through the centre of Washington Square Park, arguing that the creation of large highways was destroying the urban fabric of the city. (Flint, 2009, p. 61) Moses’ proposal was part of a wider plan to renew Greenwich Village by widening and extending Fifth Avenue through the park and into lower Manhattan. (Flint, 2009, p. 62) Despite local opposition to the plans and the outbreak of World War 2 putting a temporary halt to the scheme, Moses renewed his efforts once more in the 1950s. However Moses’ plans were thwarted when local campaigns and an appeal to New York’s secretary of state, Carmine De Sapio persuaded him to assert that Greenwich Village and Washington Square Park, represented “one of the city’s most priceless possessions and as such it belongs to every one of our 8,000,000 fellow New Yorkers… To change the character of this beloved central symbol of the Village would be, ultimately, to eradicate the essential character of this unique community.” (Flint, 2009, p. 86) When the traffic commissioner closed the park to traffic in 1958, the traffic chaos that Moses had predicted never materialised. (Flint, 2009, pp. 87-88) After the long battle with Robert Moses, the public began to realise that designing places for the car was doing so at the cost of creating active places for people.

Jacobs saw the city as a complex organism that thrived off diversity and criticised the ordered planning of Le Corbusier’s Radiant City for its advocation of Euclidean zoning that killed the city life of the pedestrian in favour of the car. (Jacobs, 1962, pp. 17-25) Jacobs compares Le Corbusier’s Radiant City with the docile life of the garden city movement, mockingly labelling it as a “Radiant Garden City”. (Jacobs, 2011, p. 34)
Figure 11: Jane Jacobs

Figure 12: Washington Square Park proposals
Alternatives to Euclidean Zoning

One could argue there were two strands of theories that built upon the work of Jane Jacobs: those that provided alternatives to the city’s Euclidean zoning, and those that relied on the observation of human behaviour at a much smaller scale. Richard Sennett continued Jacobs’ attack on zoning:

Once preplanned city space is removed, the actual use of the space becomes much more important in the lives of its users. For when predetermined use through zoning is eliminated, the character of a neighborhood will depend on the specific bonds and alliances of the people within it; its nature will be determined by social acts and the burden of those acts over time as a community’s history. The pre-planned “image” of the city neighborhoods would not be definable on a planner’s map; it would depend on how the individuals of the neighborhood dealt with each other.

Encouraging unzoned urban places, no longer centrally controlled, would thus promote visual and functional disorder in the city. My belief is that this disorder is better than dead, predetermined planning, which restricts effective social exploration. It is better for men to be makers of historical change than for the functional design of a pre-experiential plan to be “carried out.” (Sennett, 2008, p. 142)

Sennett built on Jacobs’ criticism of Euclidean zoning and argued for an iterative approach to designing our cities in order to prioritise the social bonds of its people rather than the order of the city on the abstract scale of a master plan.

Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson’s The Social Logic of Space proposed a number of analytical tools that built upon Jacobs’ idea of the city as a diverse and complex web of connections. Their theory of space syntax examined anthropology as a discipline that studies the effect of social life on spatial organisation. Hiller and Hanson dismissed territorial ideas based on the existence of social groups that transcended spatial divisions, referred to as ‘sodalities’. (Hillier & Hanson, 1984, p. 7) Hillier and Hanson mapped out cities as a web of interconnected axial lines that follow the sight paths of individuals and apply analytical techniques to the model to determine how connected the city appears in its various parts. (Hillier & Hanson, 1984)

Christopher Alexander’s The Timeless Way of Building and A Pattern Language also considered the city as a complex, connected object arguing that each element of the city should relate to its other elements on larger and smaller scales to form a language that gives identity to the
The New Urbanist movement built upon Alexander’s theories with its use of the urban to rural transect as a system of organising the city, and like Jacobs, stood in opposition to the Euclidean zoning advocated by the modern movement. (Duany Plater-Zyberk & Company, 2014)

The New Urbanists claimed the use of the urban-to-rural transect as an ecological device linking zones of an urban area in a continuous manner whereby the relative position between rural and urban defines each zone. (Talen, 2002, p. 303) In a similar manner to Christopher Alexander’s *A Pattern Language*, each zone related to its adjacent zones that were more and less developed, uniting them as an element of a broader pattern language that constituted the town or city. (Alexander, et al., 1977) Where Euclidean zoning prescribed a function for each zone, the transect strategy by contrast operated by indicating a scale of urbanity in its constituent elements, allowing for a variety of uses within each zone. This strategy built upon the work of Jacobs by promoting walkable cities with active streets.
Human Behaviour

The 1960s represented a shift in attitudes and a change in methodology to city planning back to the scale of its inhabitants. An iterative approach to design examined how changes affected the opinions and behaviours of its users through public life studies, replacing the idea that a ‘master’ plan by a ‘master’ builder could solve a city’s problems in one go.

Edward T Hall’s studies of human behaviour built upon Heini Hediger’s studies of territorial behaviour in animals (Hediger, 1950), creating a theory of social distances for humans that he referred to as proxemics. In *The Silent Language*, Hall observed differences in the use of the human voice to describe eight social distances up to 100ft (30.48m). (Hall, 1959, pp. 208-209)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Distance</th>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very close</td>
<td>3in - 6in</td>
<td>Soft whisper; top secret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>8in -12in</td>
<td>Audible whisper; very confidential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near</td>
<td>12in -20in</td>
<td>Indoors, soft voice; outdoors, full voice; confidential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>20in -36in</td>
<td>Soft voice, low volume; personal subject matter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>4.5ft - 5ft</td>
<td>Full voice; information of non-personal matter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Distance</td>
<td>5.5ft - 8ft</td>
<td>Full voice with slight overloudness; public information for others to hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Across the room</td>
<td>8ft - 20ft</td>
<td>Loud voice; talking to a group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stretching the limits of distance</td>
<td>20 -24ft indoors; up to 100ft outdoors</td>
<td>Hailing distance, departures</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 14: Social distances

Hall later refines these in *The Hidden Dimension* to include just four: intimate, personal, social and public, each with a near and a far phase, linking the changes in speech to changes in sensory perceptions at each distance. (Hall, 1990, pp. 113-129)
Edward T Hall’s work into proxemics was a key influence for Gehl who identified the relevance of this knowledge for the scale of public spaces. In *Life Between Buildings*, Gehl extends Hall’s studies to include the longer sense of vision, describing the ability to recognise varying features of people at distances of up to a kilometre. (Gehl, 2011, p. 65)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.5km - 1km</td>
<td>Perceive objects as people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100m</td>
<td>Perceive human individuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70m - 100m</td>
<td>Possible to determine gender, approximate age, and what the person is doing. Possible to recognise people one knows well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30m</td>
<td>Facial features, hairstyle and age can be seen. Possible to recognise people met infrequently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20m - 25m</td>
<td>Perceive feelings and moods of others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 15: Field of vision

Jan Gehl conducted a number of public life studies in the 1960s, beginning with a study of the locations of people standing in the Piazza del Popolo, Ascoli Piceno, Italy. The study plotted the locations of standing people on a map and found that people were more likely to stand by on object or surface such as a column or an edge. (Gehl & Gehl, 1966, cited in Gehl & Svarre, 2013)

Figure 16: Gehl’s study of standing locations
Derk de Jonge identified this phenomenon as the ‘edge effect’ whereby people stand and sit around edges so that they can view their surroundings with visual cover behind. (de Jonge, 1968) De Jong’s study does not go into much detail; however, William H Whyte has subsequently observed this edge effect in his time-lapse studies of seating positions in urban plazas adding credibility to the theory. (Whyte, 1980)

William H Whyte’s time-lapse studies of human activity in *The social life of small urban spaces* provided insight into why some city spaces were full of life, whilst others remain dead. A key conclusion that Whyte made is that: “People tend to sit most where there are places to sit.” (Whyte, 1980, p. 28) This may not sound like an astounding conclusion, but Whyte found that the provision and design of good places to sit was the factor that correlated the most with active city spaces. Whyte criticised the ‘fixed’ seating produced by architects that dictated to people what they should do in a space and where these activities should happen. (Whyte, 1980, p. 36) Whyte observed that people use everyday objects such as stairs and ledges in successful urban spaces as a form of seating and criticised elements such as railings that restrict their usage. (Whyte, 1980)

Gehl theorised that activities are either necessary, optional or social and argued, “When outdoor areas are of poor quality, only strictly necessary activities occur.” (Gehl, 2011, p. 11) Gehl categorised activities according to their increasing degree of necessity (Gehl, 1968) and argues that the vitality of the public realm is dependent upon the promotion of optional activities that make people want to stay longer in a space. (Gehl, 2011) Michel de Certeau makes a similar observation:

To walk is to lack a place. It is the indefinite process of being absent and in search of a proper. The moving about that the city multiplies and concentrates makes the city itself an immense social experience of lacking a place—an experience that is, to be sure, broken up into countless tiny deportations (displacements and walks), compensated for by the relationships and intersections of these exoduses that intertwine and create an urban fabric, and placed under the sign of what ought to be, ultimately, the place but is only a name, the city. (de Certeau, 1984, p. 103)

Thus for both Gehl and de Certeau, it is the staying activities of sitting and standing that make a ‘place’ and it is clear that the New Road design has this in mind regarding its street furniture and adoption of shared space principles to encourage these activities.
Shared space

Shared space is a concept that aims to improve the footfall of an area, whilst still providing access for motor cars, only on the terms of the pedestrian. This follows Jacobs’ assertion that one should not separate the car and the pedestrian in order to create livelier streets. (Jacobs, 1962, p. 346) People generally associate Hans Monderman with the origins of the shared space concept due to his adoption of the approach in the Netherlands. (Moody & Melia, 2014, p. 1) The Department for Transport defines shared space as:

A street or place designed to improve pedestrian movement and comfort by reducing the dominance of motor vehicles and enabling all users to share the space rather than follow the clearly defined rules implied by more conventional designs. (Department for Transport, 2011, p. 6)

Shared space operates through the theory of risk compensation. Through making the built environment appear unsafe in the removal of signs, road markings and installing paving and street furniture, drivers alter their risk thermostat in order to compensate for the uncomfortableness of their surroundings. John Adams identifies the effects of risk compensation through the examination of the effects of seatbelt legislation in various countries throughout the 1970s. He identified that a reduction in the number of road accident deaths was greatest in countries that did not pass a seatbelt law, arguing that more reckless driving in the countries that had passed a seatbelt law compensated for the introduction of seatbelts. (Adams, 2001, pp. 116-120) Furthermore, Adams observes a shift in the reduction of road traffic deaths towards pedestrians and cyclists, supporting the hypothesis that the introduction of seatbelts encouraged more heedless driving. (Adams, 2001, p. 121) People attribute this phenomenon to Sam Peltzman who first discovered that safety regulations in automobiles did not affect the highway death rate, though he refrained from reaching a decisive conclusion on why this was the case. (Peltzman, 1975) However, Robertson and Joksch have criticised the statistics in Peltzman’s study, arguing that safety standards in motor vehicles have substantially reduced car occupant deaths. (Robertson, 1977) (Joksch, 1976)

Gehl architects used shared space principles in New Road, Brighton, to enhance the pedestrian’s control over the space. Brighton and Hove City Council have indicated that the numbers of vehicles on New Road have reduced by 93% since the changes. (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2008, p. 15) The theory of shared space would argue that this has happened because the combination of changes in paving and street furniture such as the
benches symbolically indicates the space belongs to the pedestrian.

Figure 17: Street Furniture
Part 3: Findings

Observational study

The dissertation conducted the observational study between 7am and 5pm on Friday 20th January 2017 and Saturday 21st January 2017. The temperatures were marginally higher on the Friday (-2°C to 6°C) than the Saturday (-1°C to 3°C) and both days had similar wind speeds. (www.timeanddate.com, 2017) The observational study found that the footfall over the two days was higher on Bond Street than on New Road, with Bond Street showing a much denser concentration of people due to the narrowness of the road. New Road demonstrated a much higher proportion of pedestrians using the central concourse (72% on the Friday and 79% on the Saturday), suggesting that the pedestrians on New Road were not as concerned about traffic as the pedestrians on Bond Street. An alternative explanation is that the pedestrians on Bond Street were using the pavements because they were located next to the windows of the shops they were visiting. The study defined the area designated for traffic on New Road as the central concourse area between the two drainage channels, in line with MVA Consultancy’s study on shared space schemes. (MVA Consultancy, 2010a) A limitation of this methodology was that some areas of the street that were protected by street furniture such as the island benches were included as part of the central concourse when they were only really at risk from vehicles that were looking for somewhere to park.
The footfall was similar on the Friday between the two roads.
Bond Street demonstrated a marginally higher footfall on the Saturday; however, it was more erratic than on New Road. It is possible that this was due to variance in the sample, although an alternative explanation could be that people stayed longer in New Road, leading to results that were more consistent.
The proportions of activities on both streets were similar on the Friday.

Figure 23: Bond Street activities, Friday 20th January 2017

Figure 24: New Road activities, Friday 20th January 2017
New Road had a greater proportion of standing activities around lunchtime; however, at other hours, Bond Street demonstrated a more even distribution of standing activities due to the shops on this street.

Figure 25: Bond Street activities, Saturday 21st January 2017

Figure 26: New Road activities, Saturday 21st January 2017
It was evident from mapping out the locations of the seating activities that building function played the biggest role in determining how many people sat in that area, with more people sitting in front of Café Italiano and the Mash Tun Pub on the north side of New Road than the benches that Gehl architects installed further down the street.

Figure 27: Observed seating locations, Friday 20th January 2017
Figure 28: Observed seating locations, Saturday 21st January 2017
Standing activities were more common on Bond Street than on New Road on the Friday, however the space on New Road provided an area for large groups of people to meet.
Figure 30: Observed standing locations, Saturday 21st January 2017
Surveys and interviews

The study carried out the on-street questionnaires with the users of New Road between Sunday 5th March 2017 and Tuesday 7th March 2017. The Sunday was mostly clear with temperatures between 5-9°C, although there were occasional showers. Monday and Tuesday were sunny with temperatures between 3-11°C on the Monday and between 6-9°C on the Tuesday. (www.timeanddate.com, 2017) Overall, there were 123 respondents with one respondent only partially completing one of the questionnaires. There were 229 refusals to be surveyed, yielding a response rate of 34.9%. The study performed T-tests for statistical significance to determine if there were any differences between the male and female respondents, although the study found that there were no discernible differences between their responses. The quantitative answers to the survey replaced the scale of strongly disagree to strongly agree with a numerical scale of 1-5, with 5 representing a response of strongly agreeing with the statement in order to aid statistical analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>no: 1</th>
<th>no: 2</th>
<th>no: 3</th>
<th>no: 4</th>
<th>no: 5</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>As a pedestrian, do you think you have priority over vehicles?</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>3.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you view this space as a place where you can stop and socialise?</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>3.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you prefer a road with traditional pavements?</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you prefer the road to be fully pedestrianised?</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>3.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 31: Questionnaire responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Leisure</th>
<th>Work and Leisure Combined</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is your visit today mainly for work or for leisure?</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 32: Questionnaire responses

Only 18% of the respondents to the on-street questionnaire indicated that their reason for visiting New Road was for work, with 64% stating that they were there for leisure. The high percentage of people visiting for leisure is indicative of the tourist attractions in the area such as the Brighton Pavilion and gardens neighbouring New Road. Furthermore, it indicates that New Road is a place that people enjoy to spend their time. Gehl’s public life study of Copenhagen, by comparison found that 36% of the respondents in the centre of the city were there for work, with 42% for leisure. (Gehl & Gemzøe, 1996, p. 74)
The quantitative analysis of the on-street survey demonstrated that New Road was a place where people could stop and socialise (mean 3.84, standard deviation 1.27), however the qualitative responses revealed some problems with street drinkers that were using the benches as a meeting place:

I view this as a place to get from A to B. I like the layout, but there’s always so many drunks. I come down here on Sunday mornings and it just has the smell of urine and alcohol. I never feel unsafe, but it’s just a shame that it seems unpleasant. (Woman on New Road)

The seat was a bad idea when it was put there. As soon as it stops raining it gets full of drunks. They don’t maintain it either [points at damaged seat]. They put it under the trees and it gets covered in pigeon muck. If this was Switzerland it would have a nice gloss finish that you can wipe, but here they spend money on that i360 [a new observational tower in Brighton] and not spend anything here. (Man >60 on New Road)

They’re so badly designed those benches. They are full of chewing gum and druggies. It’s intimidating. I mean, look at that bit that’s broken there. They aren’t comfortable either. (Man on New Road)

The comments about the drunks appear to correlate with a general perception of unpleasantness around the lack of upkeep and maintenance of the benches. George Kelling and James Wilson’s broken windows theory argues that this sign of a lack of upkeep and maintenance could instigate further discontent towards the benches on the basis that further damage and vandalism towards them would not change the perception that the benches are not cared for. (Kelling & Wilson, 1982)
Kelling and Wilson suggest that in these neglected areas it is not certain that serious crime will escalate; rather the resident’s perception of the crime levels will increase and they will modify their behaviour accordingly, using the streets infrequently and in a more hurried manner. (Kelling & Wilson, 1982) One of the businesses on the street highlighted the poor upkeep of the benches and hinted that their deterioration may have been associated with the antisocial behaviour on the street:

Negatively the Rd now attracts a high volume of street drinkers, street community and associated anti-social behaviour. Bench seating that was installed with a lighting effect has not worked since shortly after the Rd was opened and upkeep/maintenance of the bench seating is poor…The anti-social behaviour issues are a big/ongoing concern creating a belief that central Brighton is not a safe place to be after dark and even during daylight hours can be an intimidating place…The council/police are fully aware of business concerns and the conversation on how to deal with them is ongoing. The scheme is a vast improvement on the previous environment but without adequate resources/funding to provide maintenance and security I fear it will deteriorate and become the opposite of its intended use. (Theatre Royal General Manager, 2017)

This response highlights that the changes made have improved the overall appeal of the road, however it is deteriorating through a lack of investment. The opinion that the street has improved after the design changes corresponds with the survey responses to the quantitative questions that suggest the street is both a place to stop and socialise (mean 3.84, standard deviation 1.27), and that it is preferable to a vehicle priority road (mean 1.67, standard deviation 1.08).

Statistics from Sussex Police for New Road, Brighton indicate an increase from 183 crimes in 2011 to 318 in 2016, with similar increases in violent crime during the same period. (Sussex Police, 2017) Unfortunately, the Police statistics do not go back as far as 2007 when Gehl architects made the changes to the road; however, the dissertation considers the data relevant due to the time it takes for crime and discontent towards an area to establish itself. The explanation for the increase in crime on New Road between 2011 and 2016 is less clear. Whilst the discontent towards the lack of upkeep of the benches could explain the upsurge in crime through broken windows theory, it is equally plausible that some external social factors are responsible and that the benches merely provide a place for people on the fringes of society to congregate. It is also possible that the sample size limits the accuracy of the data and that normal variance between each year could explain the observed increase in crime on New Road.
Douglas d’Enno highlights that New Road has a history of minor crimes through his discovery of a history of prostitution on the street.

There is the Theatre [Royal] in the New Road, conducted as theatres usually are, and attended with all those evils which experience has proved to be incidental to amusements of this kind. Close by there is a gin-palace with the usual appendages of plate-glass and flaring gas-lights, where prostitutes resort, in order to ply their sinful calling when the Theatre dismisses. The colonnade, after 1 o’clock, presents a very animated appearance, being then used principally as a promenade by the ‘women of the town’, who are either there for the purpose of entrapping the unwary or of keeping some previous appointment. The women for the most part observe the outward rules of propriety, although, on some occasions, we have witnessed scenes of drunken lewdness. (Graduate of the University of London, 1860, cited in d’Enno, 2007, pp. 159-160)

In this instance, the author is suggesting that the gin-palace and the theatre facilitated prostitution on the street, albeit in the 1800s. The theatre is still in existence; however, the interviews with people on New Road did not mention any prostitution on the street suggesting it was no longer a concern.

With hindsight a question that determined how often people visited New Road was necessary, as it was evident that those who were more familiar with the area were also more familiar with the social issues on the street. There is a noticeable difference between the positive quantitative answers to the question over whether people believed that they could stop and socialise in New Road and the qualitative answers to the same question, which revealed a number of negative factors concerning its social aspects. It is reasonable to assume that regular visitors to New Road would be more familiar with these social aspects, which could have in turn affected their answer to the quantitative question. It is therefore unclear from this question alone whether the street was a sociable space despite some social problems, or whether New Road was a sociable space, but only to infrequent visitors who were not familiar with its social issues.
Some of the people on New Road highlighted the homelessness as an issue, however many of the respondents refrained from mentioning any problems it caused. The more specific comments indicated that homelessness might be having an adverse impact on the sociability of the street:

The only thing is the large groups of people gathering on the benches. I don't view it as a space where I can socialise here. It's unfortunate that the homeless have nowhere to go, but it is off-putting. (Woman on New Road)

Well after seeing that…[There was some trouble with people fighting]…I don't know…more help for people that are homeless. (Man on New Road)

Both of these quotes highlight the homeless as a problem and suggest that the solution is to provide somewhere for them to go. According to the Department for Communities and Local Government’s (DCLG) statistics, the Brighton & Hove local authority has the second highest numbers of rough sleepers in England estimated at 144 in 2016, which is second only to Westminster. (DCLG, 2017a, p. 4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Authority</th>
<th>Local Count or Estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brighton &amp; Hove</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornwall</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luton</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croydon</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redbridge</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedford</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 35: Homelessness by local authority

The Brighton & Hove local authority also has the second highest numbers of rough sleepers per 1000 households in England at 1.12 in 2016, which is second only to the City of London. In comparison, the number of rough sleepers per 1000 households was 0.18 for England in 2016. The statistics also show a steady rise in the number of people reported as sleeping rough in Brighton & Hove since 2010. (DCLG, 2017b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 36: Homelessness in Brighton & Hove
This could be a misleading statistic however due to a change in the methodology for the local authority's official count in 2015, which would have skewed the data for 2015 and 2016 closer to the reality of the actual number of rough sleepers in Brighton & Hove, subsequently misrepresenting the increase. The methodology for the official count changed from the number of people bedded down in a single night to a street estimate of the number of rough sleepers known to services in Brighton & Hove on a particular date, with the latter consistently demonstrating a higher count due to the method of data collection. (Brighton & Hove City Council, 2016) The data does however indicate the existence of some underlying social issues that are affecting both New Road and the rest of Brighton and it appears from the questionnaires and interviews with business owners that the benches have provided a place for the homeless to gather.

Whilst it was apparent that many of the users of New Road were using the terms ‘homeless’ and ‘drunks’ synonymously, discussions with the business owners revealed that many of the respondents may have been incorrect in making this association:

It’s a bit of a disaster area really, it’s erm, by day it’s obviously just a street drinker’s paradise. I’m very careful to avoid the word ‘homeless’ or street sleepers because it’s not. The vast majority of them aren’t homeless, aren’t rough sleepers and aren’t going to cause us problems anyway. In the evening it’s like a, particularly in the summer its umm, it’s like an all-night party, right. It all goes on with live music out there, people with bongo’s, you know, like the people with the DJ decks the other day to like 3, 4 in the morning on the weekend and it’s bonkers…Umm, yeah, during the day it’s sort of drinking, antisocial behaviour, fighting, throwing bottles, screaming racist abuse, bla bla bla, erm. And in the evening it’s mostly European kids I think that, that come over here, umm, for the summer to work and things, just partying, it’s bonkers. (Colonnade Manager, 2017)

Murray and Robertson’s study of the benches on New Road suggested that there was a stigma towards associating oneself with certain types of people on the bench:

So that’s one thing about this whole bench here, the sad thing is as soon as you sit here and talk to people that might look a little bit worse for wear, everybody judges you… as soon as you sit with people who look like they maybe a little bit poor or homeless you get a reputation. (Steve, busker) (Murray & Robertson, 2017, p. 99)

When people mentioned the term ‘homeless’ they were making certain assumptions that were impossible to verify and as such it is plausible that many of the negative perceptions directed towards the homeless population were actually intended for the street drinkers. It is possible
that the perceived negative perception of talking to poor or homeless people on the benches was inhibiting some of the sociable aspects of the street.

The restaurants, which utilised their outdoor spaces for seating, suffered the most, as the antisocial behaviour was in direct view of their customers:

The worst thing is the homeless people. There was drinking, gathering in big groups, fighting, pissing and shitting in the street. (Wahaca Manager, 2017)

It is unclear whether the homeless were the problem, or whether the restaurant manager used the term mistakenly to describe the street drinkers or other members of the street community. However, a closer examination of the comments concerning the activities of the homeless would suggest that a number the complaints against them were of private acts taking place in the public realm and as such, the restaurant manager deemed them inappropriate. Erving Goffman terms these acts as ‘situationally inappropriate’ highlighting that they would be perfectly normal in a private setting. (Goffman, 1963) However, Mitchell highlights that:

For them [the homeless], socially legitimated private space does not exist, and they are denied access to public space and public activity by capitalist society which is anchored in private property and privacy. (Mitchell, 1995, p. 118)

This traps the homeless in a bind where their lack of private space forces them to conduct private acts in public and the situational inappropriateness of these acts causes offence to the other users of the public realm. Panelli et al have highlighted the situational inappropriateness of young people ‘hanging out’ in active public spaces such as shopping centres where consumerist society would dictate that people should use these spaces for shopping. (Panelli, Nairn, Atwool, & McCormack, 2002) In a similar manner, when the restaurant manager mentioned the homeless “gathering in big groups”, there is nothing wrong with this action in itself other than the situational inappropriateness that Goffman identifies. The restaurant manager continued by asserting that antisocial behaviour had had a negative impact on her business and stated that families ask them to call the police when the street drinkers disturb them. She went on to highlight an incident where a member of the street community attacked a staff member who subsequently had to run into the restaurant for safety. (Wahaca Manager, 2017) These instances go far beyond situational inappropriateness and have a negative impact upon the safety of the street.
The antisocial behaviour associated with the street drinkers was a serious concern for the businesses on the street:

I have been on New Road for 40 years and very much welcomed the improvements which is why I cannot understand the council's lamentable failure to clear the road of the local dosser/alcoholic community, for whom the benches are very comfortable! As a Brighton resident, I find it incredibly embarrassing when you see tourists wandering along the road while the drunks are shouting obscenities at each other or, as often happens, fighting. (Hilton Sharpe & Clarke Director, 2017)

Many businesses blamed the council and the police for the failure to remove the street drinkers from New Road:

Also, the street attracts numerous beggars, street drinkers and rough sleepers. We regularly observe street drinkers fighting one another and hassling passers-by from as early as 9:00 am some days. The street drinker [sic] have claimed much of the feature benches (with inset lights) as their own and deter visitors to the town from using the facilities. Far more active monitoring and enforcement is required in New Road by the Police and City Council. (Flude Commercial Managing Director, 2017)

This response highlights the lack of ownership of the benches in the public realm. Oscar Newman's theory of defensible space argues that four design criteria of territorial definition, surveillance, avoiding the stigma of peculiarity, and milieu should work together to prevent crime from taking hold in an area. (Newman, 1973, pp. 8-9) Defensible space operates through the removal of anonymity and thus allowing people to identify intruders that do not belong in a certain space. The public realm does not have these territorial boundaries and the public ownership of the benches allows many different groups of people to use them. However, it is debatable that design changes intended to exclude the street drinkers may not be the best solution. Sommer and Becker observed that design changes to Plaza Park in Sacramento that were intended to discourage the gathering of alcoholics backfired when older people were discouraged from using the park. The removal of shaded areas of the park encouraged the alcoholics to gather under the few remaining shaded areas and this in turn discouraged others from using these spaces in close proximity to the undesirables. (Sommer & Becker, 1969) When the business owner highlighted his concern that the street drinkers had claimed ownership of the benches, Sommer and Becker's observations highlight the danger of making design changes intended to exclude them. Defensible space and first generation Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) solutions that intend to prevent opportunities for crime seem inappropriate in the context of public space as both systems inhibit the sociable qualities of public space. (Jeffery, 1971) William H Whyte
asserts from his observational studies of public spaces that:

Places designed with distrust get what they were looking for and it is in them, ironically, that you will most likely find a wino. You will find winos elsewhere, but it is the empty places they prefer; it is in the empty places that they are conspicuous—almost as if, unconsciously, the design was contrived to make them so. (Whyte, 1980, p. 61)

Whyte suggests that street drinkers are attracted to the empty spaces, arguing that they intend to drink undisturbed. In contrast to Whyte's findings, it would appear from the interviews with the business owners on New Road that the street drinkers were causing much of the antisocial behaviour in the area; however, the dissertation did not conduct a study that would verify this assertion. Marcus and Francis suggest that it is not the responsibility of public space to exclude undesirable groups of people:

It is important to remember that as life becomes more segmented and communities of choice play increasingly larger roles for most people, the remaining public spaces should offer opportunities to mingle with a large cross section of society and to see each other as fellow inhabitants of the city. (Marcus & Francis, 1998, p. 31)

It would appear that designing the street in order to inhibit groups of the street community from congregating would be counterproductive. Two of the businesses highlighted the lack of places for the homeless in Brighton:

The only bad thing is the people. The homeless gather on the benches drinking and breaking bottles. We are zone A, it is like they are zone 0. In Italy, we give the homeless somewhere to stay. Here they sleep and piss in the city. I have told the mayor and the council and they do nothing. (Zafferelli Restaurant Spokesperson, 2017)

...the only problem in since the road has been done is that there are a lot of homeless people that hang around in the road...Umm, a and they've put really nice benches and they do bother the tourists a lot...But maybe it's because there is nowhere else for them to go. (Leaders Estate Agents Manager, 2017)

The council's statistics indicate that the biggest factor that causes a person to become homeless in Brighton and Hove is the loss of private sector accommodation, which the council's homelessness strategic report attributes to the growth of the private sector and to the increasing costs of renting in the city. (Brighton & Hove City Council, 2014, p. 13) These responses suggest that the homeless' lack of housing is at the root of the problem and by extension suggests that increasing the provision of places for the homeless to stay would
alleviate some of the social issues that become visible on New Road.

There was a perception amongst many of the business owners that the benches had provided a place for the street drinkers to gather:

Well, I mean you know the benches obviously help, homeless people it’s a kind of dual effect for them. I think you know, for I think people kind of you know can find it an easy place to have some lunch on a special or very nice day, but at the same time by the same token homeless, I’m not going to say homeless only people, I’m just going to say people who are addicted, I mean people who have some problems who do come together obviously needs a place to sit around and you know do their thing. (Little Jasmine Owner, 2017)

The business owner in this example highlighted the benefits that the bench offered on a good day for people to have lunch; however, he also confirmed that it also offered a place for the street community to sit. There was a noticeable difference in the responses from the business owners depending upon how far their businesses were from the source of the trouble at the south side of the benches. This business owner was located further north along the street and as such, his business did not face the bench, which led to his more balanced opinions of the changes to the street.

One of the businesses suggested that there had always been street drinkers on the street:

Umm, (sigh), you know there always have been street drinkers because of umm, the Pavilion gardens, but over the years they have got worse and since its become more user friendly really, putting the benches in and stuff, that has become a bit more of a problem, although most of it is down that end [the south of the street], so we don’t tend to get so much…But, you know, we had our window mashed the other, two weeks ago…And that was by a street drinker we think because it was done with a bottle. (Dolphin House Clinic Spokesperson, 2017)

This respondent highlighted that there had always been street drinkers on New Road, but suggested that the benches had made the problems worse.
One of the bar managers who moved to New Road after the design changes was seriously concerned by the antisocial behaviour as his home and business were located close to the trouble:

Putting in the benches is probably what triggered it, but now it feels, I mean when I, I, we, we call the police in the summer 2, 3 times a day, like it's really common, we have a lot of interaction with the police, partly from the business, partly from me as a resident, erm, and. The response is never great, unless we have it up or something or someone physically is about to get hurt, we very rarely get any sort of action too much, you might get an attendance and they sort it out and say 'okay, off you go'. It seems to us, the problem, we always joke on the street, everyone on New Road anecdotally says 'we feel like the police and the council is quite happy to let it happen here' because if it is happening here we know where they are… (Colonnade Manager, 2017)

The bar manager suggested that the benches were the source of the problem, although he had not been living on New Road long enough to remember what the road was like before the design changes. Despite the argument that the benches were facilitating the problems on the street, it was clear that they had many benefits. Gehl architects installed the long bench seating in order to increase the number of optional and staying activities within the space. The bench seating builds upon William H Whyte’s theory that it is the provision of seating that encourages people to stay longer in a public space. (Whyte, 1980) The bench is also located on the edge of the street, building upon Derk de Jonge’s theory of an ‘edge effect’, where people tend to stand and sit at the edges of an open space so that they can comfortably survey their surroundings with the protection of the edge at their back. (de Jonge, 1968) The design of the benches also appears logical, facilitating a number of different uses and seating positions and the increased number of ‘eyes on the street’ from the installation of the benches should have a positive impact on the crime. (Jacobs, 1961) It is reasonable to conclude that it is not the design of the benches that are causing the problems with antisocial behaviour on the street, rather the installation of the benches have provided a place for existing social issues to become visible. Whilst there is little wrong with the design of the benches themselves, it is clear that they have attracted more street drinkers onto New Road.

The main negative is the use of the benches. They have attracted street drinkers that get into fights and police are constantly attending. The doorways are used to sleep in and use as WC. (The Treatment Rooms Manager, 2017)
The manager of a bar and restaurant on the North side of the street suggested that the homeless population by the benches might have been responsible for deterring the locals from using New Road:

So people are put off coming down New Road...for whatever reason. Maybe it's the fact that by the benches up there, there's quite a large homeless population...and it's not regulated at all...maybe it's because it's too close to the park, I'm not too sure, but the footfall on this road is definitely tourists. (Polpo Manager, 2017)

The assertion that the footfall on the road is predominantly tourists seems to accurate, with only 18% of the respondents to the on-street survey stating that they were visiting New Road for work and 64% of the respondents stating that they were visiting for leisure. One should keep in mind that the result to this question would be subject to a bias where the people who are visiting the road for work would be less likely to answer the questionnaire. Despite this, the results compare favourably with Gehl’s public space studies in Copenhagen where he found 36% of the respondents identified their reason for visiting as for work and 42% for leisure. (Gehl & Gemzøe, 1996, p. 74) New Road’s location and proximity to the Brighton Pavilion and gardens would seem to be the biggest draws for the tourist population to the street and it seems unlikely that the homeless population would have significantly changed this by deterring locals; however, it is outside of the scope of the dissertation to reach this conclusion.

Two of the businesses suggested that removing the benches would solve the problems on the road. The manager of a bar close to the troubles suggested that:

In an ideal world, I think everyone on New Road would tell them they want the benches ripped out. Get rid of the benches and the problem goes away. Or, you would think it goes away, but err you know, we've put that to the, the err head of police in this area, we've put it to the council, we have meetings with them every sort of 6 months to a year. Everyone on New Road sort of sits and complains and we basically get a list of things they can't do, not a list of things they can do, and ripping the benches out is just shut down the second we mention it, so... (Colonnade Manager, 2017)

The suggestion that removing the benches would improve the crime on New Road was a deterministic argument that suggested the benches were the most important factor in facilitating the crime on New Road. Whilst it was clear from the interviews with the business owners that the benches had made it easier for the street drinkers to gather, some of the businesses highlighted that there were problems with the street drinking community before
the changes to the road in 2007. (Dolphin House Clinic Spokesperson, 2017) The Oki-
Nami general manager suggested that one of the buildings backing onto the Pavilion Gardens
was a halfway house, which would explain the high levels of crime in the area; however,
the dissertation was unable to verify this claim. (Oki-Nami General Manager, 2017) The
crime maps for Brighton would suggest that there is a high level of crime in the local area
predominantly on North Street to the south of New Road suggesting that the design of the
street itself was unlikely to be the main source of the problems.
Figure 37: Crimes in Brighton, December 2010 - January 2017
The city council were aware of an increase in antisocial behaviour after the changes to the road in July 2007, which they indicated in a report on the street after its completion.

Since scheme completion, concern has been expressed about antisocial behaviour taking place in New Road. To a large extent this is not actually related to the New Road project. The recent change in smoking laws, for example, has led to more al-fresco smoking outside pubs, in turn leading to more (licensed) street drinking and associated noise, whilst (unlicensed) street drinking and drug dealing has long been an issue in the Pavilion Gardens area. (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2008, p. 9)

The report’s concerns of antisocial behaviour on New Road are in agreement with this dissertation’s interviews with the users and the business owners on the street. The interviews with the business owners and users of the street strongly indicate that the concerns about the antisocial behaviour on the street refer to the street drinking community, which contradicts the explanation given in Brighton and Hove City Council’s report that licensed drinking was responsible.

It was clear that the businesses on the south side of New Road were struggling to cope with the antisocial behaviour and a number of them mentioned the impact it had had on their businesses. One of the restaurants on the street stated that the antisocial behaviour had a massive impact on their business as it had forced them to close their venue. (Oki-Nami General Manager, 2017) The main complaint from the businesses was that the antisocial behaviour was driving customers away:

In the summer yeah, with all the drunks and the drug addicts that hang around here with the halfway house there (points at a brown brick building on the south side of the pavilion gardens)…Yeah, we end up getting a lot of problems with it when they sit out here, start fights (inaudible) of an area, we’ve reduced down to next to nothing because basically it causes so much hassle it pushes customers away. (Oki-Nami General Manager, 2017)

People will tell you about the antisocial behaviour, umm, yeah it drives business away, it’s terrible, I think we put last year it probably cost, it sounds silly you know, its sounds a bit dramatic to say it costs sort of 40 or 50 grand a year to the business, but it probably does because you sort of look at it like Saturday nights where it gets a bit, well Saturday afternoons Saturday evenings, early evenings, it gets a little bit heated over there and people just leave… (Colonnade Manager, 2017)

Businesses on the south side of the street had clearly suffered because of the antisocial behaviour. Their functions as bars and restaurants meant that they relied on the spaces
immediately outside of their businesses to provide seating and attract customers; however, it appeared that the antisocial behaviour was driving people away. The bar manager was the only person to put a figure on how much the disturbance had cost the business, suggesting that he believed it cost them as much as £40k-£50k, as the typical reaction when people see the disturbances is to simply leave the area. One of the businesses located inside the Pavilion View office building mentioned that they had considered leaving the area due to the combination of the noise from the buskers and the street drinkers, although they noted that the benefits of the location in attracting clients and staff outweighed the disturbances. Their concerns were primarily with noise on the impact of staff productivity and as such, they appeared more concerned with the buskers than with the street drinkers. (Flude Commercial Managing Director, 2017)

There was however, a consensus amongst the business owners that the design changes were a significant improvement on what the road was like before with many of them citing an increase in footfall:

Umm, I think the footfall’s increased…since umm the road became like this, umm and it’s just a kind of nicer outlook isn’t it. Yeah, it’s good. We like it. (Dolphin House Clinic Spokesperson, 2017)

Since the changes the road and surrounding areas have seen an increased footfall, the space is far more exciting and a pleasant place to be. It is now used for a variety of activities and events, food markets etc. Most food businesses on the Rd have outdoor seating space which lends a continental air to things when the weather allows. (Theatre Royal General Manager, 2017)

One business that was new to the area highlighted the footfall and the atmosphere of the street as a key factor for choosing to locate themselves on New Road.

Umm, Absolutely, I mean no obviously when we came you know something we could collect the footfall, umm, people coming and start hanging you know and it became a lovely place to hang around. (Little Jasmine Owner, 2017)

Brighton and Hove City Council conducted a before and after study on two weekdays in late August 2005 and late August 2007 that indicated an increase in footfall on New Road of 162% after the road was reopened. (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2008, p. 15) Unfortunately, the council did not include their methodology and did not include the specific days that they conducted the study. There was however, a general perception amongst the Business owners on New Road that the footfall had increased. The on-street
questionnaire indicated that many respondents would like to increase the footfall further by pedestrianising the road (mean 3.66, standard deviation 1.47), however the qualitative answers revealed that some of the businesses used the road for deliveries and that any form of pedestrianisation would have to be limited to compensate for this.
Part 4: Conclusion

Evaluate the shared space

Determine the perceptions of Pedestrians
  o Do Pedestrians believe they are safe from traffic?
  o What proportion of Pedestrians use the centre of the road?
  o How has the footfall changed after 2007?
  o Do Pedestrians want any changes?
Determine the perceptions of Business owners
  o How has the shared space affected businesses?
  o Do businesses support the shared space or would they prefer pedestrianisation?

Evaluate the seating

Determine the perceptions of Pedestrians
  o Do Pedestrians view New Road as somewhere they can stop and socialise?
Determine the perceptions of Business owners
  o What are the positive and negative aspects of groups of people using the benches?
  o How have the benches affected businesses?

Shared space

Pedestrians generally felt comfortable sharing space with traffic, which the observational study indicated with 72-79% of people using the central area of New Road over the two days. The on-street questionnaires reinforced this assertion, which indicated that people tended to believe they had priority over vehicles, and their reluctance to return to the original vehicle priority layout. The dissertation’s hypothesis that the footfall on New Road was lower than the neighbouring Bond Street appears to be true, with Bond Street showing higher numbers of people during both of the observational studies. The council reported that the footfall on New Road had increased by 162% after the road had reopened and most businesses agreed that the numbers of people had increased. (Brighton and Hove City Council, 2008, p. 15)

Most people were generally happy with New Road, with positive answers to the question that referred to the sociability of the street. People were also opposed to returning to an ordinary vehicle priority road, demonstrating that they were happy with the current scheme. People on New Road were generally positive about pedestrianisation, however, a number of the respondents highlighted that businesses required the access for deliveries.
Seating

The attraction of groups of street-drinkers to New Road was an unanticipated consequence of the introduction of the seating that is causing serious problems for both the businesses and the police in the area. There is a gap in the literature on the negative consequences of William H Whyte’s theories on public seating and the findings of this dissertation would recommend further research concerning the ease of elements such as the benches at New Road in attracting large groups of people. Many businesses have proposed removing the benches to discourage the street drinkers from gathering; however, it is debateable whether this deterministic approach will be a successful solution without an increased police presence in the area. It was clear that the street-drinkers were having a negative impact on the finances of the businesses on the south side of the street, with the manager of the Colonnades Bar suggesting that it cost as much as £40k-£50k a year in terms of lost business. The businesses on the north side of New Road, furthest away from the issues were less concerned with the street-drinkers, although most businesses highlighted them as having a negative impact upon the street. Some of the business owners used the terms ‘street drinker’ and ‘homeless’ synonymously, however other business owners were able to make the distinction between them by suggesting it was not the homeless population causing the problems.

The benches had not caused the antisocial behaviour on New Road; however, they had provided a place for wider social issues to come into view. Despite this, the quantitative answers to the on-street questionnaire revealed that people generally saw New Road as a place where they could stop and socialise.

Overall

There was a consensus that the changes to the road were an improvement over the vehicle priority scheme before Gehl architect’s intervention. The antisocial behaviour on the street was an unexpected discovery that altered the focus of the dissertation. This dissertation recommends that the council and the police should look into the possibility of improving the maintenance of the benches in order to deter crime from taking hold and enhancing the appeal of the area. The council should investigate increasing the provisions for the homeless in Brighton, as it would appear that the social issues in the town are contributing to the crime. The Gehl methodology could have taken better account of the wider social issues and anticipated some of the problems. Despite this, the changes to New Road appear to have been a success and it appears that a lack of investment after the completion of the scheme is
in part responsible for its decline.
References


Colonnade Manager. (2017, March 6). (M. Holmes, Interviewer)


Dalsgaard, A. (Director). (2012). *The Human Scale* [Motion Picture].


Dolphin House Clinic Spokesperson. (2017). (M. Holmes, Interviewer)


Little Jasmine Owner. (2017, March 6). (M. Holmes, Interviewer)


Oki-Nami General Manager. (2017, March 6). (M. Holmes, Interviewer)


Polpo Manager. (2017, March 6). (M. Holmes, Interviewer)


The Treatment Rooms Manager. (2017). Email correspondence.

Theatre Royal General Manager. (2017). Email correspondence.


Wahaca Manager. (2017, March 6). (M. Holmes, Interviewer)


Zafferelli Restaurant Spokesperson. (2017, March 5). (M. Holmes, Interviewer)
List of Figures

Figure 1. New Road after Gehl’s intervention. Pearson, G., (n.d.). New Road, Brighton. Retrieved December 5 2016 from: http://futurecapetown.com/2013/10/design-your-own-long-street, p. 3

Figure 2. Brighton map. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 7

Figure 3. Local context. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 8

Figure 4. New Road site plan. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 9


Figure 6. New Road after Gehl’s intervention. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 10

Figure 7. Shared space paving detail. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 11

Figure 8. New Road bollards. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 11


Figure 11. Jane Jacobs. (n.d.). Retrieved May 8 2017 from: https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5060d23be4b06abda6efeefb/t/5419cda2e4b02e4a6d474586/1410977187901/Jane-Jacobs.jpg?format=2500w, p. 21


Figure 17. Street furniture. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 28

Figure 18. New Road site plan. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 31

Figure 19. Bond Street pedestrian count, Friday 20th January 2017. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 32

Figure 20. New Road pedestrian count, Friday 20th January 2017. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 32


Figure 22. New Road pedestrian count, Saturday 21st January 2017. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 33

Figure 23. Bond Street activities, Friday 20th January 2017. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 34

Figure 24. New Road activities, Friday 20th January 2017. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 34

Figure 25. Bond Street activities, Saturday 21st January 2017. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 35


Figure 27. Observed seating locations, Friday 20th January 2017. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 36


Figure 29. Observed standing locations, Friday 20th January 2017. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 38

Figure 30. Observed standing locations, Saturday 21st January 2017. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 39

Figure 31. Questionnaire responses. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 40

Figure 32. Questionnaire responses. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 40

Figure 33. Graffiti on benches. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 41

Figure 34. Broken bench. Holmes, M., (2017), p. 41


Figure 36. Homelessness in Brighton & Hove. DCLG. (2017b). *Street counts and estimates of rough sleeping in England, Autumn 2010 - 2016*. London: DCLG., p. 44

Appendices

Appendix A: Recorded business interviews

Leaders Estate Agents

Me: Okay, so erm how long have you known this area for?

Leaders Manager: About 17, 18 years

Me: Okay, and erm would you say that the erm changes to the road have had a positive impact on your business?

Leaders Manager: Umm, I don’t think it’s made that much difference to our business, but it’s made a better umm area for the restaurants

Me: Okay, erm, would you say more people come down here or…

Leaders Manager: No, I think North Lanes has always been busy. I think a lot of people think it’s a precinct, but it isn’t. It’s still it’s a through road and I think sometimes people get a bit annoyed because they, they, where the taxi’s come up and down, they wonder why the taxi’s are coming up and down, because they think it’s, it’s a road that you should walk through it.

Me: Yeah

Leaders Manager: I think it should be a road that you should walk through…

Me: Yeah

Leaders Manager: …because there has been some accidents

Me: Yeah. So before the changes then there wasn’t this problem?

Leaders Manager: Well it was a road

Me: Yeah

Leaders Manager: Umm and erm I think they’ve the reason why they changed it is because (sneezes) excuse me I’m so sorry.

Me: That’s alright

Leaders Manager: I think because umm (sneezes) they wanted to stop the the impact of traffic in Brighton

Me: Yeah
Leaders Manager: With outside it caused… because to pick the clients up to take them out
Me: Yeah

Leaders Manager: But obviously now if we do we have to be really careful because if the
traffic wardens come after us.

Me: Yeah. Umm, so at the moment the space is shared between cars and pedestrians, erm,
would you support fully pedestrianizing the road?

Leaders Manager: Yes I would yeah, yes

Me: Why would you say that is?

Leaders Manager: I just think it makes, it makes it easier because I think it would stop the
accidents that have happened umm and the only problem in since the road has been done is
that there are a lot of homeless people that hang around in the road.

Me: Yeah

Leaders Manager: Umm, a and they've put really nice benches and they do bother the tourists
a lot.

Me: Yeah

Leaders Manager: But maybe it’s because there is nowhere else for them to go.

Me: Yeah. Okay, I think that’s great. Thank you for your time.

Leaders Manager: Okay, no, you’re very welcome.
Little Jasmine

Me: So, how long have you known this area then?

Little Jasmine Owner: Umm, we’re looking the last what four years now.

Me: Oh, okay, so that would be after the changes then, err to the road?

Little Jasmine Owner: Umm, what do you say the pedestrianizing of the road, absolutely, I think they pedestrianised the street about what 6, 7 years ago now I think

Me: Okay, umm. Okay, umm, yeah, so erm, was that a deciding factor in locating your business here?

Little Jasmine Owner: Umm, Absolutely, I mean no obviously when we came you know something we could collect the footfall, umm, people coming and start hanging you know and it became a lovely place to hang around.

Me: Yeah.

Little Jasmine Owner: umm and err that could have been obviously the decision to move because this is what yeah.

Me: Would you say there are any err negative impacts of the street?

Little Jasmine Owner: I mean there are some homeless people coming around, hanging around, drinking, err and there’s a bit of loudness kind of you know at certain times of the day,

Me: Yeah

Little Jasmine Owner: Obviously, it creates a perfect setting for people to sit around and you know do nothing but I think the police are responding to umm complaints, and at the same time concerns coming from the businesses around the area, so they are upping the patrols coming you know there is a police car coming around you will see them for most parts of the day as well…

Me: Yeah

Little Jasmine Owner: …that obviously kind of you know helps us kind of you know (inaudible) you know, well, these people are not coming as often as they did…

Me: Yeah

Little Jasmine Owner: …so I’d say that’s err that’s been the biggest drawback from the whole change.

Me: What sort of time of the day does this kind of happen?
Little Jasmine Owner: Umm, ah, well, it doesn't have any particular time really, in the morning, afternoon, evening, it doesn't really matter, it depends on when they decide to come together.

Me: Yeah. Would you say its anything to do with the design of the street or?

Little Jasmine Owner: Well, I mean you know the benches obviously help, homeless people it's a kind of dual effect for them. I think you know, for I think people kind of you know can find it an easy place to have some lunch on a special or very nice day, but at the same time by the same token homeless, I'm not going to say homeless only people, I'm just going to say people who are addicted, I mean people who have some problems who do come together obviously needs a place to sit around and you know do their thing.

Me: Yeah, okay, umm, I think that pretty much covers…

Little Jasmine Owner: Yeah (laugh)

Me: …what I was going to ask. Is there anything else you would like to add? Or…

Little Jasmine Owner: Umm, not really, we had a survey, coming, a comprehensive survey by the police a few weeks back, a questionnaire, someone on their team spending about half an hour with us taking down views, opinions, about how the whole thing can be improved…

Me: Yeah

Little Jasmine Owner: …and they also told us about kind of about their plans kind of you know how to improve you know you know umm putting up more patrols people you know uniform you know officers coming through the area more often and recognising the ringleaders kind of you know I guess trying to remove them therefore confuse the situation. So, they do have a lot of plans coming in how to improve you know the area…

Me: Yeah

Little Jasmine Owner: …and that's a thing in in reaction to a lot of concerns that we had as businesses err about the situation, okay.

Me: Yeah. Also erm, one more thing, erm. The road at the moment is shared between pedestrians and cars

Little Jasmine Owner: Correct

Me: Would you like to see it fully pedestrianised?

Little Jasmine Owner: Not really because that's my car (points out of the window) (Laugh)

Me: (Laugh)

Little Jasmine Owner: Well I mean you know I do come around you know I mean obviously its easy access you know spend a few minutes here and then I’m off again and umm I know
there's a lot of tradespeople kind of you know coming through as well…

Me: Yeah

Little Jasmine Owner: …you do need tradespeople and the vehicles coming too err, so I think the mix is fine, as long as it doesn't become a proper road again…

Me: Yeah

Little Jasmine Owner: …I think you know the balance is err, not because of my car only, because I can see a lot of tradespeople here…

Me: Yeah

Little Jasmine Owner: …all the time, coming through as well and obviously a lot of people you know businesses have, you know, needs, you know. So I would say, kind of you know it's a healthy balance kind of you know between the two.

Me: Okay, great. Thank you for your time.

Little Jasmine Owner: No, its okay.

Me: Thank you.
Dolphin House Clinic

Me: So, erm, how long have you known this area?

Dolphin House Clinic Spokesperson: Umm, we moved to Brighton in 1984 so I've known it a long time and I came to work here...97 something like that.

Me: Okay, so you remember the road

Dolphin House Clinic: Oh god yeah yeah

Me: And erm, what was it like before?

Dolphin House Clinic: Umm, (sigh) it was a bit miserable really, it was a bit drab, there was lots of parked cars, umm, it was just very, yeah, ordinary.

Me: Would you say not very many people used it or people did use it?

Dolphin House Clinic: Well, people did, no, people did use it, but mostly for driving.

Me: Yeah

Dolphin House Clinic: Umm, I think the footfall's increased...

Me: Yeah

Dolphin House Clinic: ...since umm the road became like this, umm and its just a kind of nicer outlook isn't it. Yeah, its good. We like it.

Me: How long has this business been here for?

Dolphin House Clinic: This erm, we're a charity and we've been here and next door umm for about 25 years something like that.

Me: Umm, okay. So would you say that you've had more business, more people coming in since the changes or...?

Dolphin House Clinic: Probably, yeah, probably, probably I mean the only downside is that in summer there's so many buskers...

Me: Yeah

Dolphin House Clinic: ...and we do quite deep treatments here so that could be a problem that we have to remind them that they can't use amps and...

Me: Yeah

Dolphin House Clinic: ...pointing it out to people
Me: I was, I was here yesterday and I saw the people on the erm bollard things at the back.

Dolphin House Clinic: Oh right, yeah.

Me: Umm, right, yeah. So, umm, at the moment the street is shared between pedestrians and cars, umm, would you like it to be fully pedestrianised, or do you think it's good as it is?

Dolphin House Clinic: I think it works pretty well actually.

Me: Yeah

Dolphin House Clinic: I mean, I don't know what, how I'd feel about it if I was a blind person

Me: Yeah

Dolphin House Clinic: …or disabled in some way, but I can hop out of the way. But most cars, most, quite a lot of cars think they can't come down here which is fine by me. Umm, and then the other ones they mostly drive very slowly and are cautious…

Me: Yeah

Dolphin House Clinic: …you know, so actually, it's, I think it's working pretty well really

Me: Yeah. Would you say there are any downsides to the changes?

Dolphin House Clinic: Apart from the buskers

Me: Oh yeah, sorry, sorry, sorry

Dolphin House Clinic: Umm, (sigh), you know there always have been street drinkers because of umm, the Pavilion gardens, but over the years they have got worse and since its become more user friendly really, putting the benches in and stuff, that has become a bit more of a problem, although most of it is down that end, so we don't tend to get so much.

Me: Yeah

Dolphin House Clinic: But, you know, we had our window mashed the other, two weeks ago

Me: Oh, okay

Dolphin House Clinic: (sneezes) And that was by a street drinker we think because it was done with a bottle.

Me: Hmm. Okay, I think that's great.

Dolphin House Clinic: Yeah

Me: Thank you for your time.
Dolphin House Clinic: That’s alright. Thank you very much.
Polpo Bar and Restaurant

Me: Umm, so you’ve been here for 18 months?

Polpo Manager: Umm, 16

Me: 16, Okay. What, what would you say the deciding factor was for coming here, specifically, would you say it was something to do with the road or?

Polpo Manager: There, there was a lot of rejuvenation planned in the road which was proposed at the time the site was available, yeah and for a company like us, we’re looking for somewhere with a better build quality…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …and this was an appropriate property for us because of the recent restaurant developments in the area…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …so instead of using somewhere like the lanes we wanted a more commercial district. Yeah and as I said, at the time, Wahaca (restaurant on New Road) had already built, had already started on that property on the corner. (Inaudible) had already put in their plans for that one as well, so for us to fit in, we kind of, fit in to that, those sort of high-street restaurants…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …where there’s similar offerings…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …and this road was one of them.

Me: Yeah. Would you say that the fact that its shared between pedestrians and cars was an influence in coming here, or?

Polpo Manager: Possibly, the disabled access outside of us is quite appropriate for us, it’s quite handy to have…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …umm, but since being here we’ve had a lot of disputes about the outside seating that we offer…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …umm, the council haven’t been very lenient on that, and being a restaurant we like, want to encourage outside dining…
Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …as it extends our restaurant, but its not, its been a bit of a battle to be honest…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …something that we didn't foresee.

Me: Is that why you chose this property, for the parking out there?

Polpo Manager: Yeah. There’s about a metre, metre and a half of pedestrian sort of pavement and then in front of that are disabled bays…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: Whereas if you look at the property next to us, the restaurant next to us…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: They, they’re right over what comes in line with our, with the disabled bays in front of us…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: Whereas they, there’s no disabled bays where they are…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: Umm, so they, that forecourt is dominated by their outside tables and chairs, whereas we’re not allowed to have that.

Me: Yeah, okay. So, umm, at the moment the road is shared between pedestrians and cars

Polpo Manager: Yeah

Me: Umm. You, umm, would you want it to be fully pedestrianised or?

Polpo Manager: Yes, definitely

Me: Definitely?

Polpo Manager: Yeah

Me: Is that just to increase the footfall or?

Polpo Manager: Yeah, of course yeah. Well what we found from only being here 18, well 16 months, is that the Brighton residents, people that are local to Brighton don’t often come down this road, it’s mainly tourists…
Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …but which obviously, which is great in a sense, but Brighton’s only a tourist town for 5, 6 months of the year…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …what we find is that Brighton locals don’t come down this road at all, maybe because it is shared between cars, maybe they see it as, you know, they don’t enjoy coming down here, we don’t know why yet…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …but it definitely is, the people that come to us, they’re, a lot of people that have lived in Brighton all their life that say ‘Oh, I didn’t know you were here!’

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: So people are put off coming down New Road…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …for whatever reason. Maybe it’s the fact that by the benches up there, there’s quite a large homeless population…

Me: Oh, okay

Polpo Manager: …and it’s not regulated at all…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …maybe it’s because it’s too close to the park, I’m not too sure, but the footfall on this road is definitely tourists.

Me: Yeah. Umm, would you say you get a lot of business off the other businesses in the area, like?

Polpo Manager: No, I would say I wouldn’t, no, not a lot no. Maybe some, but it’s definitely not substantial.

Me: Okay. Is there umm anything else you would like to share about the road that I haven’t mentioned at all?

Polpo Manager: Umm, it’s not, I thi, it just doesn’t seem a priority for New Road to be regulated or policed or anything by the council, it’s not cleaned…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …it’s, you know we’re responsible for cleaning the pavement outside the
Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …the council don’t provide a service for that, and of course we pay council tax on the building. Umm, it just doesn’t, it seems like a sort of incomplete plan…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …where they pedestrianize the road, but, they’re you know not treating it like they do some of the other areas in town…

Me: Yeah

Polpo Manager: …and, I don’t know why that is, but as a result, as I said that tourists come down here, but people that live in Brighton seem to stay away…

Me: Yeah. Okay, great. Thanks for your time.

Polpo Manager: Pleasure, thank you.
Colonnade bar

Me: Alright, erm, so how long have you known this area then?

Colonnade Manager: We’ve been here for, and I’ve been working here, and here since August 2015, so, about, what does that work out about 18 months. Erm, we’ve also been living here since June of last year. (2016)

Me: Oh, okay

Colonnade Manager: So we’ve been living here for about 8 months, we weren’t here in 2007 though.

Me: Oh, okay. Cool, so erm what are your opinions on the road at the moment?

Colonnade Manager: (Laughs) It’s a bit of a disaster area really, it’s erm, by day it’s obviously just a street drinker’s paradise. I’m very careful to avoid the word ‘homeless’ or street sleepers because it’s not. The vast majority of them aren’t homeless, aren’t rough sleepers and aren’t going to cause us problems anyway. In the evening it’s like a, particularly in the summer its umm, it’s like an all night party, right. It all goes on with live music out there, people with bongo’s, you know, like the people with the DJ decks the other day to like 3, 4 in the morning on the weekend and it’s bonkers.

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: Umm, yeah, during the day it’s sort of drinking, antisocial behaviour, fighting, throwing bottles, screaming racist abuse, bla bla bla, erm. And in the evening it’s mostly European kids I think that, that come over here, umm, for the summer to work and things, just partying, it’s bonkers.

Me: Why do you think it happens down here?

Colonnade Manager: Erm. Putting in the benches is probably what triggered it, but now it feels, I mean when I, I, we, we call the police in the summer 2, 3 times a day, like it’s really common, we have a lot of interaction with the police, partly from the business, partly from me as a resident, erm, and. The response is never great, unless, unless we have it up or something or someone physically is about to get hurt, we very rarely get any sort of action too much, you might get an attendance and they sort it out and say ‘okay, off you go’. It seems to us, the problem, we always joke on the street, everyone on New Road anecdotally says ‘we feel like the police and the council is quite happy to let it happen here’ because if it is happening here we know where they are…

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: …that’s always what it feels like. The second you send 30 of them off into the distance you don’t know where they go. If there’s 30 of them here, you know where they are. Erm.

Me: Is it really that many?
Colonnade Manager: Can be, I mean, during the day, I mean the sort of street drinking, troublemakers that we know, I would say was about 30, 40 that we recognise because they’re here…

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: …throughout the summer, and in the evening it tends to be a different crowd, it’s not the same people I would say. But they’re, they’re not causing trouble, they just don’t realise that people sort of live here and sleep here and they just party ‘till 3 in the morning, but other than the mess that make they don’t really cause any bother…

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: …it’s the daytime ones, the ones that are, you know, actually breaking the law, fighting, screaming and shouting and it’s not nice.

Me: Yeah. Erm, what would you like to see done about it?

Colonnade Manager: Erm, well considering as far as I’m aware this is supposed to be an area where they’re not allowed to drink, I would like the police to enforce that a little bit more, I’d like the council to clamp down on it a bit more. The problem they have at the minute is that most of the police come down and say if they see someone with a bag with a can of drink, they can take the can off them, but they’re not allowed to search the bag, so they can’t take the rest of the booze off.

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: And I can sort of understand why that exists, but it’s, they know it’s booze, you can see through the bag, they know it’s booze, I know it’s booze, but you know…

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: …the paper trail sort of stops anyone else doing anything about it.

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: In an ideal world, I think everyone on New Road would tell them they want the benches ripped out. Get rid of the benches and the problem goes away. Or, you would think it goes away, but err you know, we’ve put that to the, the err head of police in this area, we’ve put it to the council, we have meetings with them every sort of 6 months to a year. Everyone on New Road sort of sits and complains and we basically get a list of things they can’t do, not a list of things they can do, and ripping the benches out is just shut down the second we mention it, so…

Me: Yeah, erm. What do you think about erm the shared ownership between cars and pedestrian on this road? Do you like that, or would you prefer it to be something different?

Colonnade Manager: Is that more what you were talking about then, pedestrianisation? (laughs)
Me: It's a broad, sort of erm discussion on the road really.

Colonnade Manager: I’ve got to be honest, with the exception of in the morning when there's a lot of deliveries coming down, really it's only taxi's you share with during the day. Like very rarely do you see, I find, do you see, sort of you know, public traffic coming down during the day. Erm, the odd taxi, the odd delivery, that's really it, erm. I mean, as someone that lives here you sort of learn to always have your wits about you, dodging taxi's, but I don't really think, really think it's a problem. Like, I've not see too many actual incidents come from it. It's not ideal in the, in the evenings you'll see a lot of sort of, sort of people with a few too many beers where everyone is like playing chicken with taxi's and…

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: …and I think that's a bit silly, I sort of wonder noone gets hurt, you know, sort of running up chasing taxi's and you think if it was actually a road they wouldn't do that, it's peculiar that you know I don't feel like they err, they know taxi's are allowed down here, I'm sure they do, so they don't feel like they believe they've got right of way, but if it was a street, they wouldn't go on North Road (the busy high-street the south side of New Road) and start chasing taxi's…

Me: No

Colonnade Manager: I don't know why it happens. It's not, it's not ideal, but I don't think, it doesn't look as threatening as to me as it could do with cars and the people together, it looks you know as I've rarely seen any incidents…

Me: Yeah. So erm, in terms of like fully pedestrianizing the road, would that be something you're against or would you support it or?

Colonnade Manager: Erm, from the point of view of me getting my shopping down the street I'd rather they didn't, but. I mean you've got businesses that already take deliveries, so at worst you can pedestrianise it after 12 o clock presumably, but I do wonder from a. It's a long route around isn't it?

Me: Yeah.

Colonnade Manager: Particularly. I suppose really it's only really taxi's and buses isn't it. I mean, yeah, for me personally, I live here, the fact that I go to Asda and get my shopping and I'll come back in a taxi is quite appreciated…

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: I don't suppose that there's any real need for taxi's to come down here, but it's only a convenience thing isn't it because if they don't they have to go right 'round (points towards Bond Street)…

Me: Yeah, Bond Street yeah

Colonnade Manager: Yeah, which is…But then I would argue Bond Street it probably is as
busy as here and that's not pedestrianised, I don't feel like that's a…

Me: No, yeah

Colonnade Manager: …you can do one or the other, but, it makes, looking at it, like, Bond Street is busier to me, Bond Street looks more, because it’s so narrow…

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: …it’s more in need of pedestrianisation than this one does, umm. Yeah, I don’t really know, I’ve never really given that a great deal of thought to be honest.

Me: Yeah. Are there any other comments or opinions you’d like to share on this road, this street, like its design or anything?

Colonnade Manager: Umm, no. Tear it down, board it up, just (laughs)…

Me: (laughs)

Colonnade Manager: …it’s not fun, not fun. I think if you, if you get many opinions out of people today I think you’re going to, not going to hear a lot about traffic here (laughs)

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: People will tell you about the antisocial behaviour, umm, yeah it drives business away, it’s terrible, I think we put last year it probably cost, it sounds silly you know, its sounds a bit dramatic to say it costs sort of 40 or 50 grand a year to the business, but it probably does because you sort of look at it like Saturday nights where it gets a bit, well Saturday afternoons Saturday evenings, early evenings, it gets a little bit heated over there and people just leave…

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: …people just, some people sit down like just get the popcorn out and find it all quite funny but then, you know, every now and then a bottle will come flying over, well they’ll come over and grab an empty glass on the table and throw it at the floor…

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: …and err, it’s quite intimidating, it puts a lot of people off. Umm…

Me: Would you say it’s mainly in the evenings or?

Colonnade Manager: I mean, the street drinkers is, is afternoon, it’s just as we get to the end of the afternoon, the beginning of the evening, they’re normally more drunk, and more, there’s a lot of them though that are really young, debatably over 18, that young…

Me: Yeah
Colonnade Manager: Umm, and err, they tend to come out in the evenings. But, like I say this is aside from the big party, that tends to be Spanish kids that are partying, they're no bother at all, but sort of the Brighton-based err street drinkers. The problems change throughout the day, but I wouldn't say they get better at night, or worse at night, they're just a different group of people causing the trouble therefore…

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: Umm, normally by about midnight most of them have disappeared and gone home, err, and you're literally left with just the actual homeless people out there who, very rarely are any problem at all, they're normally quite nice, quite respectful. Err, but the street drinkers that cause a lot of grief actually do have homes to go to, so they disappear, be it sheltered housing, help with sheltered housing at the end of, a couple of roads down to that by the post office. Err, I think a lot of them come from there, but they do disappear towards the end of the night, so actually in that respect some of the worst offenders have gone by the time we get late night…

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: …it gets replaced by, people going out (laughs)

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: Just recently, something you might hear from people if you do speak to any of them is, there's been a lot of problems with umm, like kids. This is unrelated to the groups we've already mentioned. Just kids, like 16, 17 ish to look at them, just sit in the park like fighting, harassing people, just throwing potatoes, they put a window out in Valentino's (Business on New Road) on the week, just throwing potatoes up at customers and the windows…

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: …just smashed a potato through a window of a cocktail bar into someone's face. So, yeah, it's weird, it seems like the police aren't too interested, the council aren't too interested, there's always going to be something bigger isn't there as far as they're concerned, so…

Me: Yeah

Colonnade Manager: We just keep doing what we do I guess.

Me: Okay

Colonnade Manager: If you do come up with any sort of negative err conclusions, by all means do stick them into us and send them off…

Me: Yeah, sure

Colonnade Manager: …to the council as well.
Me: Yeah, alright thanks for your time anyway, thanks.

Colonnade Manager: Your welcome, thank you.
Oki-Nami Restaurant

Me: So, how long have you been based here?

Oki-Nami General Manager: What here?

Me: Yeah

Oki-Nami General Manager: 2009

Me: Oh okay. So you came in just after the changes to the road then?

Oki-Nami General Manager: Err yeah. The company did, I’ve only been here like 8 and a half months.

Me: Oh okay. So what are your impressions of this street?

Oki-Nami General Manager: If the police could actually do their job properly. Because over the past few days there has been some major structural, umm, major damage done to some buildings because of drun(ks), err because of kids and drunks fighting and also physical damage to customers.

Me: Yeah. Would you say that has a negative impact on your business yeah?

Oki-Nami General Manager: Yeah, massively. I’ve had to close my venue.

Me: Oh okay. What happened?

Oki-Nami General Manager: I’m not at liberty to say until the police have dealt with it…

Me: Oh okay, fair enough. Is this a regular problem?

Oki-Nami General Manager: In the summer yeah, with all the drunks and the drug addicts that hang around here with the halfway house there. (points at a brown brick building on the south side of the pavilion gardens)

Me: Oh okay, what that brown one?

Oki-Nami General Manager: Yeah, we end up getting a lot of problems with it when they sit out here, start fights (inaudible) of an area, we’ve reduced down to next to nothing because basically it causes so much hassle it pushes customers away.

Me: Yeah. Why do you think it happens here?

Oki-Nami General Manager: Because the police are far too concentrated on moving them all from the mainstay areas like West Street, East Street and along the seafront and they have nowhere else to go, so…

Me: Yeah
Oki-Nami General Manager: …they come to the nearest place where they know they’re not being bothered by them, which is here.

Me: Yeah. I mean that covers quite a lot of what I was going to ask to be honest. Erm…

Oki-Nami General Manager: Yeah

Me: Erm, also this is a bit off topic, but this space is currently shared between cars and pedestrians. What do you feel about that?

Oki-Nami General Manager: Erm. It’s fine, I don’t mind it. Umm, I drive myself, sometimes I think people need to be made, the walkers need to be more physically aware of it. I would say at certain times like they do on East Street, block it off completely for cars…

Me: Yeah

Oki-Nami General Manager: …you know throughout the weekends, but then they do that with city streets as well and people aren’t really physically aware of cars driving down…

Me: Yeah

Oki-Nami General Manager: …cyclists, so you know, I’ve seen a few people step out in front of them, the cyclists and get hit by them…

Me: Yeah

Oki-Nami General Manager: …because they’re walking in the middle of the road, just decide to step or go that way without giving any consideration to them…

Me: Yeah

Oki-Nami General Manager: …and that’s because they’re on their phones…

Me: Yeah

Oki-Nami General Manager: …and not even looking where they’re going.

Me: Oh okay, cool. That’s great, thanks for your time.

Oki-Nami General Manager: That’s alright man.
Appendix B: Paraphrased business interviews from notes

Zafferelli Restaurant

Me: Do you remember what New Road was like before the changes in 2007?
Zafferelli Spokesperson: Yes

Me: What are your opinions of the changes?
Zafferelli Spokesperson: It’s much better now

Me: Why do you think that is?
Zafferelli Spokesperson: People can come down here, taxi’s can come, sometimes I park my car. It’s much better now.

Me: Are there any negative impacts after the changes?
Zafferelli Spokesperson: No. The only bad thing is the people. The homeless gather on the benches drinking and breaking bottles. We are zone A, it is like they are zone 0. In Italy, we give the homeless somewhere to stay. Here they sleep and piss in the city. I have told the mayor and the council and they do nothing.

Me: How many people is it?
Zafferelli Spokesperson: 10 to 15

Me: Did this happen before the road changed?
Zafferelli Spokesperson: No. It’s those benches. They gather there and sleep under the colonnades.
Halls Estate Agents

Me: How long have you know New Road?

Halls Estate Agents Spokesperson: Since 1999

Me: Do you feel like the changes in 2007 have had a positive effect on your business?

Halls Estate Agents Spokesperson: Yes

Me: Would you say that is from more people using the road?

Halls Estate Agents Spokesperson: Yes

Me: What would you say the positive and negative aspects of the changes are?

Halls Estate Agents Spokesperson: It’s supposed to be equal right of way between cars and pedestrians, but people don’t realise that. Some cars and taxi’s don’t realise that either. We get more business now than we did before the changes.
Wahaca Restaurant

Me: When did you move to New Road?

Wahaca Manager: We moved to New Road in April 2015.

Me: What would you say are the positive and negative aspects of the road?

Wahaca Manager: The good things about the road are that it is always busy and there is always things going on. The worst thing is the homeless people. There was drinking, gathering in big groups, fighting, pissing and shitting in the street.

Me: Would you say it has had a negative impact upon your business?

Wahaca Manager: Absolutely. It has had a negative impact. Families ask us to call the police when they get disturbed by them. One of our staff was attacked by one of them recently. He had to run into the restaurant. They even steal food from the tables.

Me: Why do you think they do it here?

Wahaca Manager: I don't know. Probably because the of the benches as meeting point. We have a security company that we work with. We can call them and they are here within 2 minutes, but the police are really slow.

Me: How do you feel about the shared space between cars and pedestrians?

Wahaca Manager: We don't have any problems with it.
Appendix C: Email correspondence with businesses

Theatre Royal

Me: How long have you been familiar with New Road, Brighton? Do you remember what the road was like before the changes?

Theatre Royal General Manager: I have lived in Brighton 14 years and worked at Theatre Royal since 2005. Before the changes the road was a fairly uninspired space used as a cut through for traffic and very few pedestrians.

Me: What would you say the positive and negative aspects of the road are? Is there anything you would like to see changed?

Theatre Royal General Manager: Since the changes the road and surrounding areas have seen an increased footfall, the space is far more exciting and a pleasant place to be. It is now used for a variety of activities and events, food markets etc. Most food businesses on the Rd have outdoor seating space which lends a continental air to things when the weather allows. Negatively the Rd now attracts a high volume of street drinkers, street community and associated anti-social behaviour. Bench seating that was installed with a lighting effect has not worked since shortly after the Rd was opened and upkeep/maintenance of the bench seating is poor. Visually impaired groups/customers have expressed fears on using the road because of lack definition of space usage.

Me: How have these aspects affected the theatre?

Theatre Royal General Manager: Positively we have seen an increase in in-person transactions at Box Office and footfall along the Rd has increased dramatically. The anti-social behaviour issues are a big/ongoing concern creating a belief that central Brighton is not a safe place to be after dark and even during daylight hours can be an intimidating place.

Me: Do you have any other comments or opinions on the road that you would like to share?

Theatre Royal General Manager: The council/police are fully aware of business concerns and the conversation on how to deal with them is ongoing. The scheme is a vast improvement on the previous environment but without adequate resources/funding to provide maintenance and security I fear it will deteriorate and become the opposite of its intended use.
The Treatment Rooms

Me: How long have you been familiar with New Road, Brighton?

The Treatment Rooms Manager: I have been a commercial resident on New Rd since 1995.

Me: Do you remember what the road was like before the changes?

The Treatment Rooms Manager: Yes I do.

Me: What would you say the positive and negative aspects of the road are?

The Treatment Rooms Manager: The positive aspects are the tour busses no longer wait on New Rd with engines running. Less pollution as very little traffic. Much more space when the theatre goers come out of performances. Outside space for restaurant/bar seating making the area more vibrant.

The main negative is the use of the benches. They have attracted street drinkers that get into fights and police are constantly attending. The doorways are used to sleep in and use as WC. Many festival events are on New Rd which is great for the area but some have no consideration for existing businesses and put tents up right in front on entrances.

Me: Is there anything you would like to see changed?

The Treatment Rooms Manager: I would like to see the benches removed. I would like more consideration to businesses when Street events are on.

Me: How have these aspects affected your business?

The Treatment Rooms Manager: Noise level and smells with different festival or food events. Clients that are new to us find it difficult to find us when hidden behind tents. The benches are the other end of New Rd to my business but it effects the whole road.

Me: Do you have any other comments or opinions on the road that you would like to share?

The Treatment Rooms Manager: N/A
Flude Commercial

Me: How long have you been familiar with New Road, Brighton?

Flude Commercial Managing Director: 20 years or more

Me: Do you remember what the road was like before the changes?

Flude Commercial Managing Director: Yes - Narrow pavement and vehicle pollution form taxis, etc and conflicts between traffic and pedestrians.

Me: What would you say the positive and negative aspects of the road are?

Flude Commercial Managing Director: Overall very positive. It has offered the city another an excellent out-door venue for markets, events, etc. It is an excellent showcase for the city and complements the restaurant life and atmosphere of the cultural quarter.

Me: Is there anything you would like to see changed?

Flude Commercial Managing Director: Pavilion View is an office building with around 100 office workers (surveyors, accountants and solicitors and RSPB). Busking immediately outside the office should be prevented, or certainly not permitted with amplifiers and drums. It is often not possible to hear phone calls of hold meetings in offices at the front of the building due to the noise of often lone buskers outside and we need to shut all front windows and put on A/C in the summer (rather than relying on natural ventilation) that we would prefer not to use, and even then it is difficult to concentrate. Also, the street attracts numerous beggars, street drinkers and rough sleepers. We regularly observe street drinkers fighting one another and hassling passers-by from as early as 9:00 am some days. The street drinker have claimed much of the feature benches (with inset lights) as their own and deter visitors to the town from using the facilities. Far more active monitoring and enforcement is required in New Road by the Police and City Council.

Me: How have these aspects affected your business?

Flude Commercial Managing Director: - We have considered moving on many occasions due to the disturbance of buskers and street drinkers. However, we put up with that the benefits of the location overall in terms of its attraction to visiting clients and staff to work in marginally outweights the disturbances. However, it is a clear fact that the significant level of disturbances impact significantly on staff productivity due to difficulties concentrating whilst you have a fiddler doing 100 variations of hornpipe immediately outside for well over an hour at a time.
AddMustard

AddMustard: Hi Matt, we only moved into the building just over a year ago so we don't know what the road was like beforehand unfortunately! We find the area fine for us but for restaurant businesses they may not like the fact there are quite a few homeless people who sleep on the benches or in their doorways.

Hilton Sharp & Clarke

Hilton Sharp & Clarke Director: Matthew, I have been on New Road for 40 years and very much welcomed the improvements which is why I cannot understand the council’s lamentable failure to clear the road of the local dosser/alcoholic community, for whom the benches are very comfortable!

As a Brighton resident, I find it incredibly embarrassing when you see tourists wandering along the road while the drunks are shouting obscenities at each other or, as often happens, fighting.
Appendix D: Observational study statistics

Activities on Bond Street, Friday 20th January 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Sitting</th>
<th>Standing</th>
<th>Walking</th>
<th>Cycling</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>07:00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07:30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:00</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:00</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:30</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:00</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Activities on New Road, Friday 20th January 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Sitting</th>
<th>Standing</th>
<th>Walking</th>
<th>Cycling</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>07:00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07:30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:00</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:00</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Activities on Bond Street, Saturday 21st January 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Sitting</th>
<th>Standing</th>
<th>Walking</th>
<th>Cycling</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>07:00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07:30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:00</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:00</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Activities on New Road, Saturday 21st January 2017

### Time Sitting Standing Walking Cycling Total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Sitting</th>
<th>Standing</th>
<th>Walking</th>
<th>Cycling</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>07:00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07:30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:00</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:00</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Percentage of people using the carriageway, Bond Street, Friday 20th January 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Carriageway</th>
<th>Edges</th>
<th>Carriageway Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>07:00</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07:30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:00</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:30</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:00</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:30</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:00</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:30</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:30</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:30</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:30</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:00</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1719</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>1455</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Percentage of people using the carriageway, New Road, Friday 20th January 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Carriageway</th>
<th>Edges</th>
<th>Carriageway Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>07:00</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07:30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:00</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:30</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:00</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:00</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:30</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:30</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:30</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:30</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:00</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1579</td>
<td>1139</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Percentage of people using the carriageway, Bond Street, Saturday 21st January 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Carriageway</th>
<th>Edges</th>
<th>Carriageway Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>07:00</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07:30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:00</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:30</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:00</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:00</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:30</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:30</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:30</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:30</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:00</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2600</td>
<td>803</td>
<td>1797</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Percentage of people using the carriageway, New Road, Saturday 21st January 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Carriageway</th>
<th>Edges</th>
<th>Carriageway Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>07:00</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07:30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:00</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:30</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:00</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:00</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13:30</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:30</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:00</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:30</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:30</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:00</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2375</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>