

On Practice:

Questioning the “Publicness” of Public Spaces in Postindustrial Cities

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The proliferation of alluring, distinctive and exclusive public spaces in many postindustrial cities raises the question of how far these environments are truly “public.” Focusing on this question, this article explores the changing “publicness” of a recently redeveloped space in the city center of Newcastle upon Tyne, Britain, in relation to the dimensions of access, actor and interest. It further seeks to underline two emerging trends: the blurring of distinction between public and private spaces in the public realms of postindustrial cities; and the threat posed by image-led regeneration strategies to the everyday needs of and the civic functioning of genuine public spaces.

Public spaces, inevitable components of cities for centuries, have become the subject of renewed concern among design professionals and researchers for more than two decades.¹ During this time, attractive and alluring public spaces have been placed at the center of many postindustrial cities. In parallel, starting in the 1980s, public spaces have increasingly been used as key components of city-imaging and urban-regeneration programs in Britain. A number of “good-looking” and “well-maintained” public spaces have been built there in order to develop positive images of urban areas and improve their attractiveness to potential investors.²

Despite the resurgence of interest in public spaces, urban design and planning literature has frequently hinted at the diminishing “publicness” of public spaces in postindustrial cities. Some researchers have pointed out the threat of recent privatization policies, and claimed that public spaces, traditionally open to all segments of the population, are increasingly being developed and managed by private agencies to produce profit for the private sector and serve the interests of particular sections of the population.³ Others have commented on the high degree of control now maintained over access and use of public spaces through surveillance cameras and other measures intended to improve their security.⁴ Still others have argued that contemporary public spaces increasingly serve a “homogenous” public and promote “social filtering.”⁵ Unlike older public spaces, which bring various groups of people together and provide a common ground for all segments of the

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population, new public spaces have been seen as enhancing gentrification, social stratification, and fragmentation.⁶ Some scholars, such as McInroy, have even argued that many public spaces recently built within urban-regeneration and city-selling projects have undermined the needs of local communities in the service of private interests.⁷

While all these studies claim a progressive erosion of the public qualities of contemporary urban spaces, there remains a need for in-depth and systematic study of these issues. In response, this article seeks to question the “publicness” of public spaces in postindustrial cities, with special reference to Newcastle upon Tyne. Using the case-study method, it examines the Haymarket Bus Station (HBS), a public space in the center of Newcastle that was redeveloped in the 1990s as part of an image-led public-realm improvement program of the local authority. Among other things, the program envisioned that the rebuilding of the bus station and its environs could be used as an instrument to regenerate the northwest edge of the city center. The article explores this change by examining the HBS before and after its redevelopment in regard to three dimensions of publicness: access, actor and interest.

The article is organized in four main sections. The first clarifies what the “publicness” of a public space is, and introduces a framework for measuring it. The second sets the HBS in a wider context by looking into the economic and urban decline of Newcastle in the 1970s and 1980s — as well as the regeneration of the new urban landscape and the rising significance of public spaces within the 1990s economic restructuring. The third section is devoted to a presentation of the case study. It briefly introduces the HBS in terms of its location in Newcastle and the major cornerstones of its history. After summarizing the major actions taken in the latest redevelopment scheme, it also describes the changing publicness of the HBS before and after its development. Finally, the paper discusses the findings of the case study in relation to similar studies on public spaces in other postindustrial cities, and seeks to give clues for urban planning and design practice.

“PUBLICNESS” OF A PUBLIC SPACE

By definition, public, as an adjective, signifies “of or concerning the people as a whole,” “open to all,” “accessible to or shared by all members of the community,” “performed or made openly,” and “well-known.”⁸ It also connotes “a political entity which is carried out or made by or on behalf of the community as a whole,” and “authorised by or representing the community.”⁹ Additionally, public may mean something which is “provided especially by the government, for the use of people in general.”¹⁰ As a noun, public refers to “people in general.”¹¹ However, it may also be used to signify “an organised body of people,” such as a community or a nation.¹²

Moreover, public may mean “a group of people who share a particular interest or who have something in common,” like the audience at a play or film.¹³ Hence, “public space” can be described as space concerning the people as a whole, open to all, accessible to or shared by all members of the community, and provided by the public authorities for the use of people in general.

Though illuminating, such dictionary definitions are not sufficient to systematically describe the public qualities of an urban place. In this regard, Benn and Gaus have offered a valuable empirical tool to define both “public space” and the “publicness” of a public space. Their definitions of the qualities of public and private with regard to urban space are based on three factors: the accessibility to spaces or places, activities, information and resources; the public-private nature of agencies in control; and the status of the people who will be better or worse off for whatever is in question. They thus distinguish between what they call “access,” “agency” and “interest.”¹⁴

Regarding the criterion of access, public space is a place which is open to all. This means its resources, the activities that take place in it, and information about it are available to everybody. Concerning the criterion of agency, public space is a place controlled by “public actors” (i.e., agents or agencies that act on behalf of a community, city, commonwealth or state) and used by “the public” (i.e., the people in general). As for interest, public space is a place which serves the public interest (i.e., its benefits are controlled and received by all members of the society) (FIG. 1).

Of course, these definitions refer to an ideal public space, while the urban environment is not composed of absolutely public and private spaces; rather, it is a composition of public and private spaces with different degrees of publicness and privateness. Accepting that the relation between public and private space is a continuum, it is possible to define public spaces as having various degrees of publicness. Regarding the dimensions of access, actor and interest, the extent of publicness will depend on three indices: the degree to which the public space and its resources, as well as the activities occurring in it and information about it, are available to all; the degree to which it is managed and controlled by public actors and used by the public; and the degree to which it serves the public interest.¹⁵

As Madanipour has shown in the analysis of the Metro Centre in Gateshead (a regional-level shopping mall in Britain), the publicness of a new public space can be assessed by examining its development and use processes according to these three criteria.¹⁶ However, in the case of a public space which already exists and has been subject to redevelopment or improvement, the analysis also needs to assess its publicness before the redevelopment in order to show changes in the level of publicness. The HBS is one such space where the extent of its publicness before and after its redevelopment needs to be defined.

	PUBLIC SPACE
ACCESS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Physical access</i> ● <i>Access to activities and discussions</i> ● <i>Access to information</i> ● <i>Access to resources</i> 	<p>A space which is accessible to all.</p> <p>A space where the activities and discussions taking place in it are accessible to all.</p> <p>A space where the information about it is accessible to all.</p> <p>A space where the resources are accessible to all.</p>
ACTOR	<p>A space which is controlled by public actors — i.e., agents or agencies who/which act on behalf of a community, city, commonwealth or state.</p> <p>A space which is used by the public.</p>
INTEREST	<p>A space which serves the public interest — i.e., the benefit of which is controlled and received by all members of the society.</p>

FIGURE 1. The definitions of “public space” with regard to the criteria of access, actor and interest. Based on S.I. Benn and G.F. Gaus, “The Public and the Private: Concepts and Action,” in S.I. Benn and G.F. Gaus, eds., *Public and Private in Social Life* (London: Croom Helm; New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1983).

Prior to the presentation of the case study, it is useful to look at the change in the economic and urban base of Newcastle in the last three decades and the rising role of public spaces in this period.

NEWCASTLE: FROM AN INDUSTRIAL TO A POST-INDUSTRIAL CITY

The protracted recession of the 1970s and 1980s traumatized a number of previously affluent, heavily industrialized British cities, causing them to fear for their future. Of these cities, Newcastle, in the northeast of England, was devastated by a precipitous decline in three major industries — coal mining, shipbuilding, and heavy engineering.¹⁷ Between 1971 and 1984 the city lost 70,000 jobs (a decline of 43 percent, compared to a national average job loss of 6.6 percent), and between 1971 and 1981 its population declined by more than 30,000 (representing a 9.88 percent drop).¹⁸ The recession left behind vast areas of derelict land along the riverside, increased the ongoing deterioration of working-class housing areas (already suffering from high unemployment and crime), and reduced standards of education and health-service provision.¹⁹ The city center also experienced a severe decline, as evidenced by a high rate of unemployment there, deterioration of urban fabric, loss of population, vacant and underused properties, traffic congestion, limited provision of parking, lack of green open spaces, a poor-quality public realm, and lack of new investment.²⁰

With these circumstances as a background, Newcastle has undergone an economic restructuring since the late

1980s, and now shows some of the characteristics of a postindustrial city.²¹ One of the most significant changes has been the growth of the service sector, especially business services. Of the eight most highly industrialized British cities, Newcastle had the highest increase in employment in the business sector (93.5 percent) between 1981 and 1987 (FIG. 2). But this growth has been accompanied by deindustrialization. Among the same eight cities, Newcastle experienced the second greatest decline in employment in manufacturing during the same time period. The manufacturing sector has also undergone a change in character typical of postindustrial cities. Instead of the former locally owned heavy industry, chemical, food, timber, furniture and clothing industries have now become dominant in the sector. And as part of this shift, Newcastle is also now home to branch plants of national and multinational companies with headquarters principally in London. Komatsu, a major Japanese company producing earth-moving equipment; Findus, a frozen-food company; and Nissan, a Japanese car manufacturer, all moved to Tyneside in the 1980s and 1990s and have fared reasonably well.²² Also in keeping with models of the postindustrial city, the new jobs created since the 1980s have emphasized the development of a higher-quality labor force, especially with central-government support, and increases in productivity based on technological improvement.²³

The city’s economic restructuring in the last two decades has gone hand in hand with the creation of a new urban landscape, particularly in the city center and its immediate periphery. Area-based regeneration schemes driven by public-private initiatives, such as the Grainger Town Project, the Quayside,

	Manufacture	Distribution	Transport	Business Services	Total
Liverpool	-44.2	-28.4	-34.7	+50.3	-20.4
Sheffield	-38.2	-16.9	-9.3	+14.6	-16.1
Birmingham	-27.3	-8.1	-12.6	+21.3	-9.0
Glasgow	-27.7	-14.2	-28.4	+46.7	-7.8
Manchester	-17.9	-8.5	-7.6	+69.3	-4.1
Leeds	-15.0	+4.8	-8.5	+25.9	-2.3
London	-29.6	+0.6	-14.7	+70.9	-1.6
Newcastle	-43.7	-10.3	-18.0	+93.5	-0.4

FIGURE 2. Percentage employment change for eight large cities, 1981-87. See Champion and Townsend, 1990; cited in Cameron and Doling, "Housing Neighbourhoods and Urban Regeneration," *Urban Studies*, Vol.31 No.7 (1994), p.1213.



FIGURE 3. The location of the HBS in the city center of Newcastle. Based on Campus and City Map (homepage of University of Newcastle, on-line, 2004, accessed January 21, 2005); available from http://www.ncl.ac.uk/travel/maps/navigator_large.php.

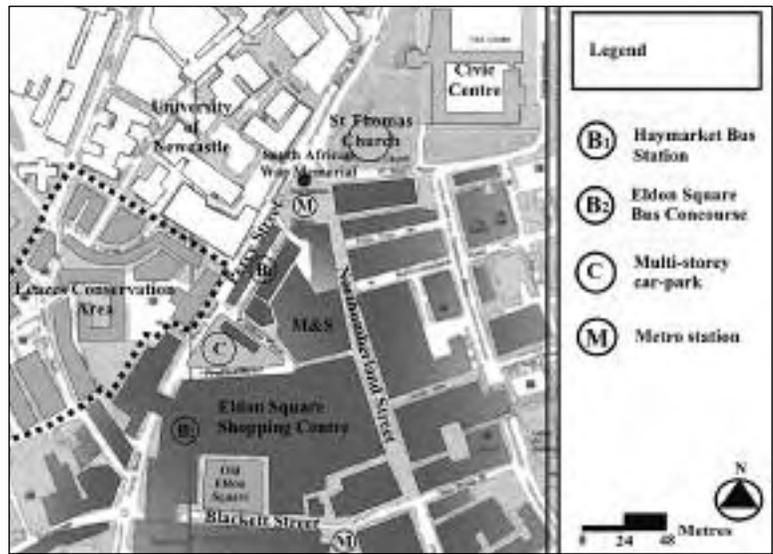
the Theatre Village, and the China Town Development Strategy, have created mainly consumption-oriented, highly speculative, commercial, and prestigious environments (FIG. 3). Within this new urbanscape, a number of attractive public spaces have appeared, enriched with high-quality materials and embellished with artwork and other design elements. Typical of these spaces, the HBS regeneration was seen as a way to improve the image of the city and its attractiveness to investment, thereby raising the city's competitive position in global urban markets and improving the well-being of its population. As such, the HBS may in many senses also be perceived as a textbook example of the privatization of public spaces within postindustrial cities, especially where such spaces are seen as catalysts for urban regeneration. But, equally, several aspects of the HBS experience stand out as contrary to this model. As will be argued in the following sections, in addition to diminished aspects of publicness largely similar to those of its contemporary counterparts, the new HBS contains features that improve all three dimensions of its publicness.

THE HBS: LOCATION, HISTORY, AND RECENT REDEVELOPMENT

The HBS is located on Percy Street at the northwest edge of the city-center retail core, in close proximity to Haymarket Metro Station, the South African War Memorial, St. Thomas Church, and the Civic Centre (FIG. 4). It is adjacent to the University of Newcastle to the north, the Leazes Conservation Area (a residential area accommodating listed buildings) to the northwest, and a multistory car park on Prudhoe Place. Farther south, across Prudhoe Street, is the Eldon Square Shopping Centre (the biggest shopping mall in the city center) and the Eldon Square bus concourse. Northumberland Street, the city's prime retailing street, is to the east.

Early in the city's history, the site functioned as a parade ground. It only became a marketplace where hay and straw were sold, and where agricultural servants were hired, in the

FIGURE 4. The HBS and its surroundings before the latest redevelopment scheme. Based on: Campus and City Map [homepage of University of Newcastle, on-line, 2004, accessed January 21, 2005]; available from http://www.ncl.ac.uk/travel/maps/navigator_large.php.



early nineteenth century (FIG.5).²⁴ As the site continued to develop in the late nineteenth century, a row of houses and a public house, The Farmers' Rest, were constructed on the site.²⁵ This was followed by the erection of the South African War Memorial at the north of the Haymarket, the development of Bainbridge Hall and Employment Exchange at its south end, and the introduction of a single-deck tram line on Percy Street.²⁶ Then, in the 1930s, as its agricultural connections disappeared, the Haymarket's traditional roles were abandoned, and it became a departing point for carriers and a bus station.²⁷ Later, the nineteenth-century houses on the site were reconstructed and named Haymarket Houses.²⁸

The 1960s and 1970s witnessed further significant changes in the urban landscape of the Haymarket and its surroundings. With the 1960 City Centre Plan, the Central Motorway East was constructed, Percy Street was widened, and a number of buildings were pulled down to make way for Eldon Square Shopping Centre and bus concourse.²⁹ Next, in the early 1970s, the Haymarket Houses were knocked down, and replaced by a three-story building in the Haymarket and a row of single-story shops on the south of Prudhoe Place.³⁰ These changes were followed by the construction of the Haymarket Metro Station to the north of the bus station in 1980 and the development of a multistory car park in the mid-1990s.³¹

The bus station and its environs were intended for redevelopment three times in the 1980s; yet, none of these attempts succeeded.³² However, in the early 1990s Marks and Spencer (M&S), a big high-street retailer which owned the land where their store and service yard were located, saw new potential in the Haymarket. With the idea of extending their store into the Haymarket to create their biggest outlet in Britain outside London, it bought the three-story building there.³³ It then approached two other major property owners on the site — Scottish & Newcastle (S&N) Breweries, which owned The Farmers' Rest and the former Ginger Beer Works, and the



FIGURE 5. Maps showing the spatial development of the Haymarket and its surroundings between the eighteenth century and the end of the twentieth century. Based on S. Middlebrook, *Newcastle upon Tyne: Its Growth and Achievement* (Newcastle: Kemsley House, 1950) (left above); F. Graham, *Historic Newcastle* (Newcastle: Frank Graham, 1976) (right above); R. Mittins, "The History and Development of Percy Street — Newcastle upon Tyne," B.A. thesis, University of Newcastle, 1978 (left below); Campus and City Map [homepage of University of Newcastle, on-line, 2004, accessed January 21, 2005]; available from http://www.ncl.ac.uk/travel/maps/navigator_large.php (right below).

Newcastle City Council (NCC), which owned the temporary shops on Prudhoe Place and Percy Street and all vehicle-circulation areas including the bus station.³⁴ For their cooperation in the complete redevelopment of the site, M&S offered S&N Breweries a new pub there, and it offered to redevelop the city-owned portions, including the bus station, at no public cost.³⁵

Following negotiations between the three parties, an agreement was reached to redevelop the bus station and its environs through a public-private partnership. M&S would venture £30 million on the redevelopment.³⁶ S&N Breweries would pay the extra land value for their new pub and restaurant.³⁷ The NCC and the Passenger Transport Executive for Tyne and Wear (PTE) would be involved in collaborative,

facilitating, coordinating and regulatory roles. In the mid-1990s, then, the old bus station and all other premises on the site were demolished, and a two-story extension to the M&S store was constructed, along with a new service yard and customer-collection areas, three kiosks, and a public house and restaurant (FIG. 6).³⁸ A new bus station with a glazed canopy was also built; Prudhoe Place was realigned in association with the bus station and with access to Prudhoe Chare; the taxi rank in Prudhoe Place was relocated; the hard landscaping around the bus station was improved; and the rear service lanes were redesigned to allow barrier-controlled access to the M&S service yard.³⁹ The new bus station was opened to the public in 1997.

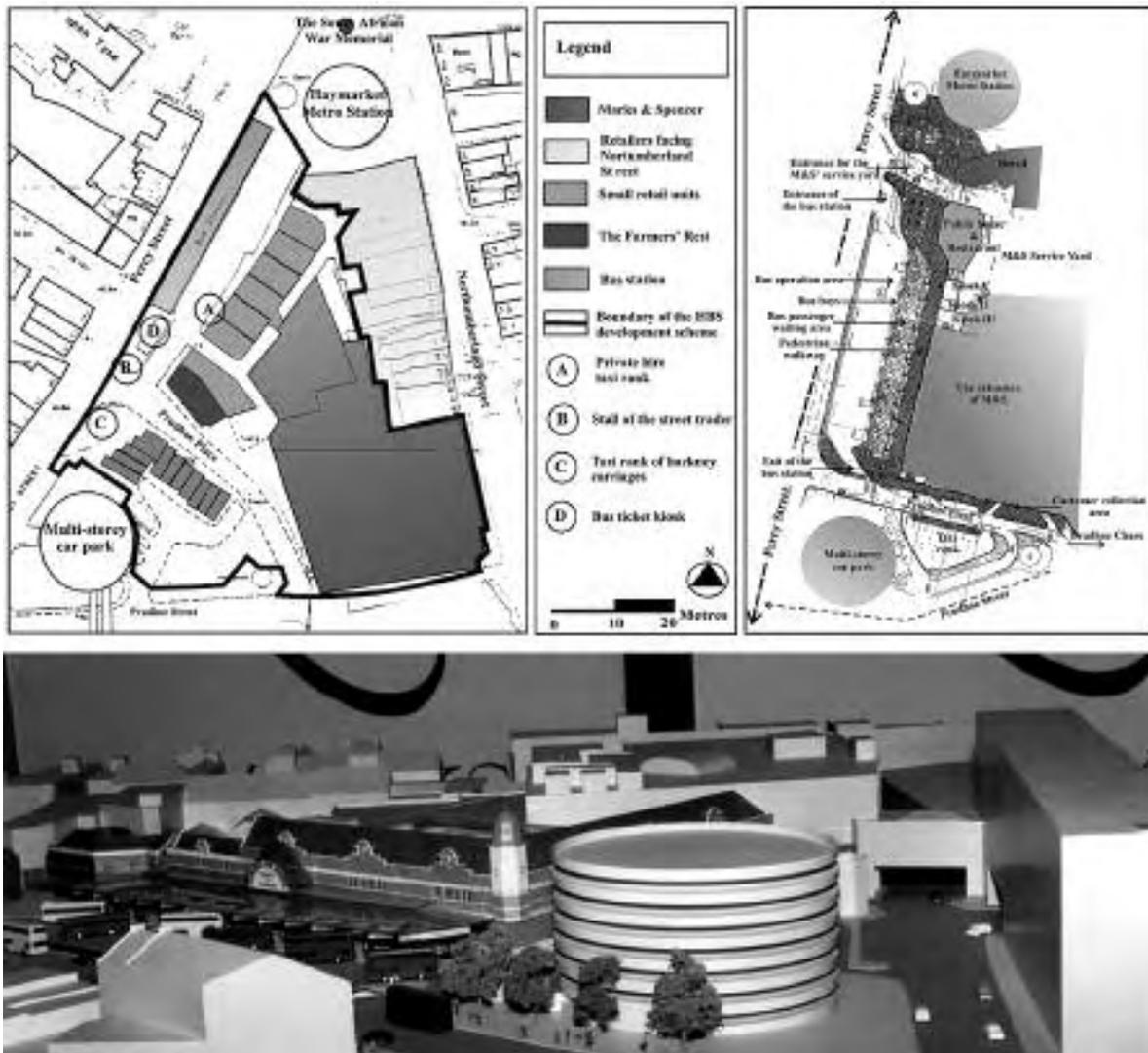


FIGURE 6. The land use map of the Haymarket in 1995 (left), the proposed layout and model of the new Haymarket (right and below). Left image based on NCC, "The Map of Haymarket: Marks & Spencer," prepared by the Director of Development and the Chief Planning Officer and drawn by C.A.B., June 21, 1994, NCC files, DET/01/0625/94. Right image based on NJSR Chartered Architects, "The Plan of the Haymarket Bus Station," submitted to the Newcastle City Council, Booked no. 12/625, NCC files.



FIGURE 7. *The old HBS in the 1960s. Source: Newcastle City Libraries & Arts, The Sixties: Gone But Not Forgotten (Newcastle, Newcastle City Libraries & Arts, 1984); reprinted by permission.*

CHANGING DIMENSIONS OF "ACCESS" AND "ACTOR"

Before the reconstruction, the HBS was an open public space. Situated close to the Metro station, the multistory car park, and taxi ranks, it was fully accessible to pedestrians, Metro and bus passengers, and car users (FIG. 7).⁴⁰ The public space was also used by a wide range of groups working in both public and private areas of the site. The PTE, bus companies (especially Northumbria Motor Services and Stagecoach), a private-hire taxi company, hackney carriages, and street traders were common users of the public space, while small-scale retailers and their employees composed the working population of the private premises.

The public realm was not only publicly used, but publicly managed. Apart from certain transport services provided by private bus companies, the PTE operated the bus station. As manager, it arranged for cleaning and small-scale repair, while the NCC, as owner, was responsible for large-scale maintenance. The NCC also ran the car parks, and its police were responsible for the security of the public space. Being accessible to and serving a variety of groups, and being under the control of public authorities, the old HBS was a highly "public" environment.

The recent redevelopment scheme has improved certain physical characteristics of the old HBS. To some extent it has eliminated such undesirable conditions as noise, smoke, and untidy and disorganized taxi ranks, and it has introduced a better-organized queuing system and a glazed canopy protecting users from bad weather conditions. In short, it has brought a new "order" and "discipline" into the space, and has increased levels of comfort and convenience for users. It is now more predictable what types of activities (such as queuing and waiting for buses, taking taxis, walking) will occur, where they will occur, and who will be involved in them (FIG. 8). Meanwhile, the HBS, used by more than 7.5 million people in 2001, remains one of the busiest public spaces in the city center.⁴¹



FIGURE 8. *The new design brought an "order" and "discipline" into the Haymarket. Photo by author.*

To a degree, new management efforts have also enhanced physical and social accessibility by increasing the standard of maintenance and the level of control. For example, the NCC has improved the aesthetics of the space by hanging flower baskets on street lights and the railings for the bus station, and by planting new trees outside the Metro station, in front of the Old Orleans pub, and on Prudhoe Place (FIG. 9). An electronic information board has also been installed to inform the public about bus services.

In addition, control over the public space has become much stricter through the installation of police surveillance cameras and increased street lighting. Beside these public measures, M&S security cameras monitor the front and rear of their premises, and the retailer has installed lights to increase the security of its service yard and the staircase along Prudhoe Place.⁴² Classical music, played in the bus station, is a further means of control, intended to relax people, discourage violence, and keep teenagers away. Continual police and NEXUS



FIGURE 9. *The aesthetic quality of the bus station is enhanced by new management policies.*
Photo by author.

(the new name for the PTE) monitoring and patrolling has also largely eliminated so-called undesirable groups such as beggars, homeless people, and noisy teenagers — and such undesirable activities as sleeping on benches, drinking alcoholic beverages, or simply hanging around.⁴³

In addition to area-based management and design strategies, local authorities have also adopted a coordinated citywide approach to the problem of graffiti in public spaces. A dedicated Graffiti Forum now records graffiti incidents, cleans up graffiti when it appears, and monitors public spaces to catch, prosecute and educate graffiti writers.⁴⁴ The NCC has also enacted by-laws which empower specially trained traffic wardens to issue £50 penalty notices for littering, dog fouling, and distributing literature in public spaces.⁴⁵

Both the Haymarket-specific and citywide management and design policies of the public authorities can be regarded as an admirable effort to create and maintain a cleaner, safer, and more ordered public space. But they have arguably tried to turn the bus station into an “ideal” public space, when in reality such spaces are never as clean or disciplined. Moreover, by infringing on the public’s right to full access to public space, the policies no longer allow as much chance for spontaneity in social encounters as before, and they promote social filtering — and inevitably, social exclusion and stratification. They have, therefore, naturally reduced the social accessibility of the public space, and compromised its “publicness.”

The late-1990s redevelopment has also brought about a drastic change in the user profile of the Haymarket. In addition to discouraging access by “undesirable groups,” the variety of Haymarket users has been reduced by displacing small retailers and their budget shoppers, and by welcoming large, international businesses and their more affluent consumers. Despite the protests of the former tenants of Haymarket shops against displacement, the only small-scale retailer that kept its location was Greggs (FIG. 10). A few, such as Pizza King, Get Stuffed, and the Newcastle United souvenir shop, were able to

reestablish themselves elsewhere in the city center, but the rest probably went out of business.⁴⁶ Another group deprived of a place in the new Haymarket were regulars at The Farmers’ Rest. The new pub, Old Orleans, replaced a modest, local and traditional establishment with an up-market, exclusive, theme-based, and more commercial pub and restaurant.⁴⁷ With new retailers seeking to attract affluent new groups and new management efforts seeking to exclude “undesirable groups,” the result has been a gentrification that has impoverished the social accessibility and “publicness” of the Haymarket.

Finally, although the public space is still managed and controlled publicly, some private actors have become involved in this aspect of it too.⁴⁸ For example, the bus companies and some high-street retailers (especially M&S, Bainbridge, Eldon Square Shopping Centre, and Fenwicks) now pay for traffic wardens to ease the traffic congestion on the site.⁴⁹ In addition, public transportation services are now mainly provided by private bus companies, and M&S’ and Old Orleans’ security guards and cameras intervene in the operation of the bus station when their security is jeopardized. These are the key elements that partly privatize the management of the public space and reduce its “publicness” (FIG. 11).

CHANGING “PUBLIC INTEREST”

Prior to its redevelopment, the Haymarket was a vivid and colorful social environment. People met there for various reasons — to have a meal or a drink in a cafe, restaurant, or the public house; to shop; or to travel somewhere else. Small retail stores and The Farmers’ Rest, with its austere decor but inexpensive food and drink, also attracted a large number of people. And because of the take-away restaurants, bus station, and taxi ranks, people came to the Haymarket after closing time in the city’s pubs and clubs to have midnight meals and take a bus, Metro or taxi to go home.

BEFORE THE REDEVELOPMENT	AFTER THE REDEVELOPMENT
Large-scale retailers:	Large-scale retailers:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● S&N Breweries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● M&S ● S&N Breweries
Small-scale retailers:	Small-scale retailers:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Get stuffed ● Newcastle Kebab ● Pizza King ● Greggs ● Park Café ● Mayfair ● Stages Truck Dance-wear ● Timpsons ● M&N News 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cascade Amusement Arcade ● Gus Carter ● The souvenir shop of Newcastle United ● Park Lane ● Bobby Ann ● Pasha ● Casa Del Florio ● Eldon Antiques ● Top Style hair dresser
PTE (the operator of the bus station)	NEXUS (the operator of the bus station)
Street traders	Street traders
Taxis:	Taxis:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Hackney carriages ● Private-hire taxi company 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Hackney carriages
Bus companies:	Bus companies:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Northumbria Motor Services ● Stagecoach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● ARRIVA ● Stagecoach ● Go Ahead
Bus passengers, pedestrians, mostly "small-budget" shoppers, and "undesirable" groups	Bus passengers, pedestrians, and mostly "affluent" shoppers

FIGURE 10. The user profile of the HBS before and after its redevelopment.

There is no doubt the old Haymarket's rich social functions served the public interest.³⁰ Yet it could also be said that it undermined the public benefit due to insufficiency in performing some of its physical roles.³¹ As a communication and transportation node, it was the place where people gathered and dispersed. Yet, the users of the public space suffered from traffic congestion, conflicts between pedestrian and vehicular movement, and a chaotic, unorganized, and physically deteriorated public space that lacked street and traffic signs.³² Furthermore, the bus station lacked public convenience facilities (like toilets and baby-changing rooms), and it was poorly integrated with the primary activities (especially Northumberland Street and Eldon Square Shopping Centre) surrounding it. In general, it did not function efficiently or safely for either the bus passengers, bus companies, or the operator of the bus station.³³

The old HBS, as a public space, could not perform its aesthetic role either.³⁴ The old and modest-looking shops in the Haymarket, the dirty and ugly rears of the buildings facing Northumberland Street, and the vacant premises on the upper floors of shops did not create an appealing environment. All these factors also diminished the potential economic benefit of the public space, which could neither make much of a contribution to nearby land values, nor attract investors, developers, or potential businesses to the site.³⁵

By contrast, the recent redevelopment created a considerably better-looking and relatively more accessible, safer, and healthier public space. In the process, the public also gained a brand-new bus station at very low cost. The new bus station, in a way, has become a source of pride for citizens of Newcastle. And the new public space has started to attract investment to nearby private spaces, helped fill previously underused buildings with new uses, created new jobs and resources for the economy of the city, and contributed to the regeneration of the city center. It has therefore served the public interest.

The new design and management has also powerfully accentuated the public space's aesthetic and symbolic roles by improving the visual and aesthetic qualities of the Haymarket and creating a strong new visual identity. The new management policies, for example, have created a prettier, cleaner, more ordered and disciplined public environment. Similarly, the physical rebuilding employed expensive construction materials such as York stone for the hard landscaping. Artworks have also been introduced, including a clock tower, art-glass panels in the canopy of the bus station, ornamental railings on the balconies of Old Orleans, and well-considered details within the bus station (FIG. 12).

A strong visual identity has also been developed by introducing manufactured and imported images, which are not in

	BEFORE THE IMPROVEMENT	AFTER THE IMPROVEMENT
ACCESS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Physically open to all. ● Accessible for public transport and private car users, and pedestrians. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Still physically open to all and accessible for the same groups. ● More public because of its improved physical accessibility through the new design and management which have made the public space safer, more attractive and ordered. ● Less public due to its diminishing social accessibility. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Promotes social filtering, social stratification, and exclusion. ○ Promotes gentrification.
ACTOR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Agencies in control Public authorities (except the private bus companies providing bus services). ● User groups Used by a wide range of groups (SEE FIG.10). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Agencies in control Still dominantly managed and controlled by public agencies. Less public because of the partial privatization of its operation and management. ● User groups Still used by a high number of people Less public due to diminishing variety and diversity of user groups of the Haymarket (SEE FIG.10).
INTEREST	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Served the public interest because of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ the social roles of the HBS. ● Undermined the public interest, due to the insufficiency in performing: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ the physical, economic and aesthetic roles of the HBS. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Still serving the public interest because it: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ has become more attractive, cleaner, safer and healthier than it used to be; ○ functions as sources of pride for the city; ○ contributes to the city-center regeneration and city-imaging campaigns; ○ is a new brand-new bus station at no cost to the public. ● Still undermines the public interest due to its: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ overemphasized aesthetic, symbolic and economic roles; ○ diminishing social and physical roles. ● Serves more private interests (SEE FIG.16).

FIGURE 11. Change in the “publicness” of the HBS.

harmony with each other, but which create what Crilley has called “scenographic variety.”⁵⁶ In particular, by reflecting the architecture and construction materials of a Victorian building on Percy Street, the design for the new bus station has associated it and its environs with a “grandiose” historical image. It has also brought a foreign, American image into the Haymarket through the design of the new pub and restaurant according to a New Orleans theme (FIG.13).

By stressing symbolic and aesthetic functions, the redevelopment has also increased the economic role of the public realm. Importantly, the new public space has now increased land values around the Haymarket, attracting outside

investors, developers and businesses to nearby properties. A number of projects have been underway since the late-1990s. East of the Haymarket, the site stretching from Morden Street to St. Thomas Street is being developed as offices, shops, a hotel, leisure facilities, and a multistory car park.⁵⁷ Other schemes have been recommended for approval to convert the Eldon Square bus concourse into a new shopping area, as the extension of Eldon Square Shopping Centre⁵⁸; develop a new cultural quarter to the northwest of the Haymarket⁵⁹; and redevelop the Haymarket Metro Station with a new five-story building to include a new bus station concourse, a travel agency, shops, offices, and a restaurant and bar.⁶⁰

FIGURE 12. *The enhanced aesthetic and visual quality of the public space and its overemphasized aesthetic and symbolic roles. Photos by author.*



The strong emphasis placed on the economic role of the new HBS can also be seen in the effort to use and promote the public space as a place of consumption. Public spaces have been used as locations for commercial activities for centuries.⁶¹ But what is remarkable about the new design of the bus station is the creation of a public environment which is far more consumption oriented than it used to be. While the design of the old Haymarket set some distance between the bus station and retailing activities, the new layout has removed this and placed the passenger waiting area, pedestri-

an passageway, and shops in close proximity to each other. This has created a public space that encourages everybody there to purchase goods from the shops (FIG. 14). Such overemphasis on the economic function of the public realm has undermined the public interest to some degree, and impoverished its ideal public-realm qualities.

While the new design and management have strongly stressed the symbolic, aesthetic and economic roles of the public space, they have impoverished its social role. The improvement of the environmental image and ambience of the HBS

FIGURE 13. *The Victorian building whose facade was copied for the facade of the M&S store extension (above), and the embellished facade of Old Orleans pub and restaurant (below), aim to create a grandiose image for the Haymarket. Photos by author.*





FIGURE 14. *The close relationship between the shops, pedestrian passageway, and passenger waiting area. Photo by author.*

has made it more welcoming to a wider range of social groups, and thus improved its “public” qualities. But by employing imported and manufactured images, which have no tie to the modest history of the Haymarket, the new design has generated confusion over the symbolic meanings of the public space.

Studies have shown that public spaces may become symbols for a society by reproducing elements which appeal to or represent “higher-order values.”⁶² They may also become symbols through the build-up of overlapping memories of individual and shared experience.⁶³ Thus, by representing cultural, historical, religious or other social and political values for a group or a society, they may evoke connections to past events that stimulate feelings of national pride, a sense of belonging, or concern for an entity outside one’s primary associations with family and friends.⁶⁴ Studies have shown that such feelings bind the individual members of the group or society together.⁶⁵ Therefore, with their symbolic meanings, public spaces contribute to the creation of the sense of continuity for a group, or a society.⁶⁶

In the case of the HBS, however, the key motivation of the redevelopment agencies has been to promote the public space’s economic role by manipulating the Haymarket’s images through imported and manufactured images, rather than maintain and strengthen the social role of the public realm by conserving its modest historical images. Their major concerns were to change the rundown scenery of the Haymarket, create a good-looking environment which would increase land values around it, attract further new investment to the site, restore the economic vitality of surrounding areas, and change the declining image of the northern end of the city center. But the manipulation of the Haymarket’s images has worked against the creation of sense of belonging and continuity. This has created doubts about how far the new public space will be appropriated by the public, and how well it will perform as a social binder. Such design interventions have impoverished the social role of the Haymarket, thereby diminishing its public qualities.

Additionally, in a number of ways, the new design has undermined the physical roles of the public space. Interviews conducted with users of the HBS show that the public is generally content with the more accessible, healthier, safer, and aesthetically improved new bus station.⁶⁷ Yet, they also indicate that conflicts between pedestrians and vehicles, and traffic congestion, are still prominent problems on the site (FIG.15). Direct observations and interviews at the Haymarket also reveal that the bus station remains inefficient, and that it continues to suffer from lack of free-of-charge public-convenience facilities. Further, the new design is unable to strongly integrate the bus station with its surroundings. The closest connection between the bus station, Northumberland Street, and the shopping mall is via the Eldon Square staircase, which does not afford the public 24-hour access.⁶⁸ Neither is this connection adequately accessible for disabled and elderly people. In addition to these older problems, the new glazed canopy has created a ventilation problem for bus passengers.⁶⁹ By undermining the HBS’s physical roles, the redevelopment scheme has, therefore, failed to solve some essential daily problems of the users of the public space.

CHANGING INTERESTS OF PRIVATE ACTORS

Although the new HBS design has undermined the public interest in various ways, it has significantly favored the private interest (FIG.16). The main private actors benefiting from the old HBS were S&N Breweries, small retailers (the tenants of the retail units at the Haymarket and Prudhoe Place, and street traders), a private taxi company, hackney carriages, and bus companies (especially Northumbria Motor Services and Stagecoach).⁷⁰ With the exception of the small retailers and the private-hire taxi company, these private actors are also the primary beneficiaries of the new HBS. They have been able to keep their position in an important part of the city center, and they have gained a more disciplined and ordered environment, which has made their operations easier. But, of the private actors, the new HBS design most prominently favors M&S and S&N Breweries, which have not only increased their retail areas, but have profited by being located next to a busy bus station. As claimed by the manager of Old Orleans:

Obviously, as a business, we’re trying to benefit from the fact that the bus station is outside the door. Because people waiting for a bus are coming and having a drink, while they’re waiting, or they get off the bus, and may decide to have something to eat in the restaurant before they go out or before they go shopping. So we do benefit from that. But we noticed that when the bus station is closed, it actually had an impact on our business.⁷¹

M&S has obtained an especially significant privilege, since the redevelopment increased the customer capacity of its store



FIGURE 15. Conflicts between pedestrians and vehicles (above right and left) and traffic congestion (below left and middle) continue to be problems in the new Haymarket; the Eldon Square staircase is an emerging problem area (below right). Photos by author.

	BEFORE THE IMPROVEMENT	AFTER THE IMPROVEMENT
PRIVATE INTEREST	<p>Those benefited by being adjacent to, or close to the public space, or using it:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ S&N Breweries ○ Small retailers ○ Private-hire taxi company ○ Hackney carriages ○ Bus companies ○ Street traders 	<p>Those benefiting by gaining a disciplined and ordered environment to operate smoothly:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ M&S, S&N Breweries, hackney carriages, bus companies, and street traders <p>Those who operated in the site before the improvement of the public spaces and who were able to keep their position in the sites</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ hackney carriages, bus companies, and street traders <p>Up-market retailers and business groups benefiting by the improved image and design attracting affluence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ M&S, S&N Breweries, retailers of Eldon Square Shopping Centre <p>Those benefiting by moving into and starting a business in these sites:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Finlays <p>Those benefiting by gaining privileged positions and facilities for retailing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ M&S and S&N Breweries <p>Landowners, developers and investors benefiting by the increasing property values</p> <p>Business interests in the finance and construction industry, and real estate agencies benefiting by the good image of the areas which have boosted the development activities in and around the HBS</p>

FIGURE 16. Private interests benefiting from the HBS before and after its improvement.

by 35 percent, and now allows it to function as a major passage-way between the Haymarket, Northumberland Street, and the shopping mall. Pinpointing the advantages of their new store, a M&S representative explained their targets as follows:

We know that the route between Northumberland Street and bus station is used as a short cut by a lot of people. We know that only 70 percent of the people who come through these doors actually spend money. So the big challenge of M&S is how to make the invitation to shop better, to persuade them to stop and buy when they pass through. That's the real commercial challenge for us.⁷²

Moreover, M&S has acquired three kiosks, and gained a better service yard and customer-collection zone.

The public space has also benefited new private-actor groups. For example, the tenants of the M&S kiosks, Greggs and Finlays, have taken good advantage of their position in the Haymarket. The HBS, with its new and exclusive images and design, has also attracted the affluent groups favored by up-market retailers and business groups. Landowners, developers and investors of the private spaces around the Haymarket are other private actors who have benefited from the remarkable increase in property values due to the improved image of the site. Furthermore, in a wider context, the new positive image of the Haymarket has boosted private development activities throughout this part of the city, benefiting the finance industry (building societies, banks, personal loan investments, etc.), the construction industry (building contractors, construction materials suppliers, etc.), and real estate agencies involved in the regeneration activities. Therefore, in comparison with the number and variety of private-actor groups which the HBS served before its redevelopment, the new public space can be seen to increasingly favor private interests.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES WITH THE POSTINDUSTRIAL MODEL

This article has discussed the question of the “publicness” of public spaces in postindustrial cities by examining the HBS, a public space redeveloped as a part of the image-led regeneration policies of City of Newcastle. By studying conditions on the site before and after the HBS redevelopment, it has found that the publicness of this space remains secure, since it is still dominantly under public management and control. Furthermore, the recent redevelopment scheme has improved its physical accessibility. By using and promoting public space as a catalyst for urban regeneration and a place of consumption, the project has also turned the Haymarket into a remarkably good-looking, well-maintained, safer, more organized, and better controlled space. The new public realm has therefore benefited the public by serving as a source of pride for citizens and by contributing to image-led city-center regeneration strategies.

As such, the investigation shows that improvements to public space can be used to improve a city’s image and attractiveness, and that it can attract investment and economic vitality back to declining central-city areas. Nevertheless, the “publicness” of the public space at the new Haymarket has been undermined by partial privatization of its management and operation, and by its diminishing social accessibility. In this regard, the investigation has also shown that, by impoverishing certain social and physical functions and by strongly emphasizing its economic, aesthetic and symbolic roles, the new HBS has undermined other aspects of the public interest, while favoring private interests much more than it used to.

This study of the HBS reveals at least four main trends that have been noted elsewhere as hallmarks of public spaces in postindustrial cities: 1) the increasing involvement of the private sector in the design, management and control of public spaces; 2) increasing restrictions on the social accessibility of public spaces through surveillance and other control measures that improve security and promote “good” or “sanitized” images; 3) the tendency of such public spaces to promote gentrification, social exclusion, and stratification; and 4) the creation of new urban forms which significantly favor private interests over community needs.

These four areas of similarity reflect the ever-smaller, more internationalized, and more homogenous world in which we live. Nevertheless, the study has also revealed some curious differences between the HBS case and other contemporary public spaces, reflecting the different experience of Newcastle. For example, a more complete privatization is common in public spaces of many other postindustrial cities — where ownership, provision, management and control of spaces may all sometimes be shifted from the public to the private sector. While the HBS features partial privatization in terms of the provision, operation and control of the public space, the agencies in control are still public.

Another rising feature of public spaces in postindustrial cities is that they are either rarely used by the general public or used predominantly by a more homogenous public than previously. The investigation of the HBS revealed that because of its diminishing variety of users and strict control measures, it serves a more homogenous public than previously. Indeed, there is a strong tendency evident toward gentrification, social exclusion, and stratification. Nevertheless, the HBS does still serve a great number of people.

Urban design and planning literature, in general, illustrates how public spaces in postindustrial cities favor private interests at the expense of local needs and benefits. The HBS exemplifies a public space significantly serving such private interests; indeed, private-sector involvement in the redevelopment project has led to the bus station being shaped largely according to their needs and interests. Yet despite various aspects in the new design and management that undermined certain public needs and benefits, the HBS is still an example favoring the public interest. Most impor-

tantly, by providing a relatively inclusive and accessible environment, it has helped attract investment, create new job opportunities, bring economic vitality back to declining parts of the city center, and boost civic pride.

All these observations lead to two major conclusions. First, contrary to the wide recognition of diminishing publicness of public spaces in postindustrial cities, the redevelopment of the HBS has both improved and diminished certain of its public qualities. The general point that can be drawn from the case study, and which may be extended to its counterparts, is that contemporary public spaces may show different shades of publicness, in which degrees of access, actor and interest can vary widely. Nevertheless, the trend toward a blurring of distinction between public and private spaces does pose a threat for the public spaces of postindustrial cities. The challenge for planners, designers, architects, developers, and other place-making agents is to deal with the rising ambiguity between the two realms in the new urban space of postindustrial cities.

Second, as in the Newcastle case, many postindustrial cities in Britain (especially those with decaying urban economies and environments) evince a strong desire to use enhancements to public spaces as a policy instrument for economic and urban revitalization. But efforts to promote the economic, aesthetic and symbolic roles of these spaces also threaten their "publicness." The challenge for local authorities, planners, architects, and regeneration experts is to take into consideration the needs of everyday society and the wider civic functions of public spaces in cities (i.e., their social, political, physical — as well as economic, aesthetic, and symbolic functions), and not to allow the economic or image-related effects to dominate. The creation of genuine "public" spaces is essential to the sustainability of regeneration initiatives. Vital and viable city districts (especially city centers), can only be achieved if image-led regeneration strategies adequately address everyday society's needs and interests, as well as the genuine civic functions of public spaces.

NOTES AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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1. See, for example, S. Carr, M. Francis, L.G. Rivlin, and A.M. Stone, *Public Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); M. Francis, "The Making of Democratic Streets," in A.V. Moudon, ed., *Public Streets for Public Use* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), pp.23–39; A. Madanipour, "Public Space in the City," in P. Knox and P. Ozolins, eds., *Design Professionals and the Built Environment* (New York: John Wiley, 2000), pp. 117–25; D. Mitchell, "Introduction: Public Space and the City," *Urban Geography* 17 (1996), pp.127–31; and F. Tibbalds, *Making People-Friendly Towns* (Essex: Longman, 1992).

2. See D. Crilley, "Megastructures and Urban Change: Aesthetics, Ideology and Design," in P.L. Knox, ed., *The Restless Urban Landscape* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993), pp.127–64; M. Goodwin, "The City as Commodity: The Contested Spaces of Urban Development," in G. Philo and C. Philo, eds., *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present* (Oxford: Pergamon

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3. See Crilley, "Megastructures"; A. Loukaitou-Sideris, "Private Production of Public Open Space: The Downtown Los Angeles Experience," Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1988; A. Loukaitou-Sideris, "Privatisation of Public Open Space: Los Angeles Experience," *Town Planning Review*, Vol.64 No.2 (1993), pp.139–67; A. Madanipour, "Dimensions of Urban Public Space: The Case of the Metro Centre, Gateshead," *Urban Design Studies* 1 (1995), pp.45–56; A. Madanipour, "Why Are the Design and Development of Public Spaces Significant for Cities?" *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 26 (1999), pp.879–91; J.V. Punter, "The Privatisation of Public Realm," *Planning, Practice and Research*, Vol.5 No.3 (1990), pp.9–16; M. Sorkin, "See You in Disneyland," in M. Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park*

(New York: The Noonday Press, 1992), pp.205–32; S. Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); and S. Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1995).

4. See M. Davis, "Fortress Los Angeles: The Militarization of Urban Space," in Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park*, pp.154–80; N.R. Fyfe and J. Bannister, "The Eyes upon the Street: Closed-Circuit Television Surveillance and the City," in N.R. Fyfe, ed., *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp.254–67; S. Graham, J. Brooks, and D. Heery, "Towns on the Television: Closed-Circuit TV in British Towns and Cities," *Local Government Studies* 22 (1996), pp.3–27; D. Mitchell, "The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public and Democracy," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85 (1995), pp.108–33; T. Oc and S. Tiesdell, "City Centre Management and Safer City Centres: Approaches in Coventry and Nottingham," *Cities* 15 (1998), pp.85–103; A. Reeve, "The Private Realm of the Managed Town Centre," *Urban Design International* 1 (1996), pp.61–80; Sorkin, "See You in Disneyland"; and Zukin, *Cultures of Cities*.

5. See T. Boddy, "Underground and Overhead:

- Building the Analogous city," in Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park*, pp.123–53; M.C. Boyer, "The City of Illusion: New York's Public Places," in Knox, ed., *The Restless Urban Landscape*, pp.111–26; Crilley, "Megastructures"; J. Defilippis, "From a Public Re-Creation to Private Recreation: The Transformation of Public Space in South Street Seaport," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 19 (1997), pp.405–17; M.A. Hajer, "Rotterdam: Re-Designing the Public Domain," in F. Bianchini and M. Parkinson, eds., *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration: The West European Experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp.48–72; Loukaitou-Sideris, "Privatization of Public Open Space"; and Mitchell, "The End of Public Space?"
6. See M. Crawford, "The World in a Shopping Mall," in Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park*, pp.3–30; Madanipour, "Design and Development of Public Spaces"; Mitchell, "The End of Public Space?"; Mitchell, "Public Space and the City"; N. Smith, *The New Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City* (London: Routledge, 1996); and Zukin, *Landscapes of Power*.
7. See N. McInroy, "Urban Regeneration and Public Space: The Story of an Urban Park," *Space & Polity* 4 (2000), pp.23–40.
8. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1976), p.1805; and *Collins Concise Dictionary* (Wrotham: Harper Collins Publisher, 1998), p.1079.
9. *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p.936; and *Webster's*, p.1805.
10. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p.920.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Webster's*, p.1805.
13. *Oxford*, p.920; and *Collins*, p.1079.
14. S.I. Benn and G.F. Gaus, "The Public and the Private: Concepts and Action," in S.I. Benn and G.F. Gaus, eds., *Public and Private in Social Life* (London: Croom Helm; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), pp.3–27.
15. Certain overlaps may occur in this method for analyzing the qualities of a public space, especially in relation to the dimensions of access and actor. By identifying the range of user groups, the analysis of access seeks to discover the extent to which a space is accessible to society as a whole. Meanwhile, the study of actor involves examination of the variety of user groups to identify the extent to which the public space is used by the society. Despite such cross-cutting of data, the three dimensions of access, actor and interest can be usefully employed in empirical analyses of public spaces, where it becomes possible to identify degrees of their publicness and privateness.
16. Madanipour, "Dimensions of Urban Public Space."
17. D. Usher and S. Davoudi, "The Rise and Fall of the Property Market in Tyne and Wear," in P. Healey, S. Davoudi, S. Tavsanoğlu, M. O'Toole, and D. Usher, eds., *Rebuilding the City: Property-Led Urban Regeneration* (London: E&FN Spon, 1992), pp.77–99; P. Winter, D. Milne, J. Brown, and A. Rushworth, *Newcastle upon Tyne* (Newcastle: Northern Heritage Consultancy Ltd., 1989); A. Lang, "Regulation and Regeneration: How Do Development Plans Affect Urban Regeneration?" Ph.D. diss., University of Newcastle, 1999; N. Vall, "The Emergence of the Post-Industrial Economy in Newcastle, 1914–2000," in R. Colls and B. Lancaster, eds., *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern History* (Shopwyke Manor Barn, Chichester: Phillimore, 2001), pp.47–70.
18. Usher and Davoudi, "Tyne and Wear," p.77; and Office of Population Census and Surveys, *Census 1981 — County Report: Tyne and Wear* (Her Majesty's Stationery Office: London Office of Population and Surveys, 1982).
19. Lang, "Regulation and Regeneration," p.127; F. Robinson, "The Labour Market," in F. Robinson, ed., *Post-Industrial Tyneside* (Newcastle: Newcastle Libraries and Arts, 1988), pp.62–85; Winter et al., *Newcastle upon Tyne*, p.184; and S. Cameron and J. Doling, "Housing Neighbourhoods and Urban Regeneration," *Urban Studies*, Vol.31 No.7 (1994), pp.1211–23.
20. EDAW, *Grainger Town: Regeneration Strategy* (Newcastle: EDAW, 1996); and P. Healey, C. de Magalhaes, A. Madanipour, and J. Pendlebury, *Shaping City Centre Futures: Conservation, Regeneration and Institutional Capacity* (Newcastle: University of Newcastle, 2002).
21. McClelland has identified three major indices of a postindustrial city: 1) an economy, which specializes in service and technology-based activities; 2) an economy which experiences deindustrialization, as represented by a shift from labor-intensive production to capital-intensive production, and where the labor force is highly qualified (i.e., with a high level of education and specialization); and 3) an economy that is mostly dependent on footloose industries and multinational companies and institutions. See G. McClelland, "Foreword," in Robinson, ed., *Post-Industrial Tyneside*.
22. Robinson, "Industrial structure," p.46. Newcastle and its conurbation adjacent to the banks of the River Tyne are called Tyneside.
23. *Ibid.*, p.57.
24. W. Collard, *Architectural and Picturesque Views in Newcastle upon Tyne* (Yorkshire: S.R. Publishers Ltd., 1971); R. Mittins, "The History and Development of Percy Street — Newcastle upon Tyne," B.A. thesis, University of Newcastle, 1978; J. Grundy, G. McCombie, P. Ryder, H. Welfare, and N. Pevsner, *Northumberland* (London: Penguin, 1992); and A. Simpson, D. Leitch, and T. Wharton, eds., *Cityscape: Streets for People* (Newcastle: Northern Region of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 1997).
25. Mittins, "Percy Street," p.46.
26. *Ibid.*, pp.46–53.
27. *Ibid.*, pp.46,52.
28. *Ibid.*, p.53.
29. Simpson et al., *Cityscape*, p.7; Mittins, "Percy Street," p.55; and Newcastle City Council (hereafter cited as NCC), "Development Plan Review 1963."
30. B. Harbottle, "Haymarket and Percy Street," report prepared by the archaeologist in the County Conservation Team for the Newcastle City Planning Department, 1990.
31. Simpson et al., *Cityscape*, p.8; and Winter et al., *Newcastle upon Tyne*, pp.183,185).
32. NCC, "Report of the Director of Development," submitted to Development Control Sub-Committee, July 1, 1994.
33. NCC, "Report of the Director of Development," p.16.
34. P. Young, "Revealed-Tyneside's new M&S superstore," *Evening Chronicle*, June 4, 1994, p.46; and NCC, "Newcastle upon Tyne Unitary Development Plan, 1994."
35. NCC, "Report of the Director of Development."
36. *Ibid.*
37. M. Akkar, interview with the representatives of S&N Breweries, 2000.

38. NCC, "Report of the City Estate and Property Surveyor, Director of Development, Director of Engineering, Environment and Protection, Acting Director of Law and Administration and City Treasurer," submitted to the Regeneration Sub-Committee, Finance Committee, Development Committee and Environment and Highways Committee for decision, 1994.
39. Ibid.
40. No statistics were found about the number of bus passengers using the HBS before its redevelopment.
41. M. Akkar, interview with the planning officer of NEXUS, 2000.
42. M. Akkar, interview with the M&S' assistant financial manager, 2000.
43. PTE has recently changed its name and logo. It is now called NEXUS. See *NEXUS, Who are we?* (homepage of NEXUS, Tyne and Wear, on-line, no date, accessed March 28, 2002), available from <http://www.nexus.org.uk/pdf/corporatebrochure.pdf>.
44. Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM), "Living Places: Cleaner, Safer, Greener," London, 2002, p.59.
45. Ibid., p.124.
46. M. Akkar, interview with the former planning chief of the NCC, 2000.
47. M. Akkar, interviews with the former planning chief of the NCC and the manager of Eldon Square Shopping Centre, 2000; and I. Wood and E. Openshaw, "Drinkers in Battle to Save Their Pub," *Evening Chronicle*, June 8, 1994, p.6.
48. M. Akkar, interviews with an officer of the Highway and Transportation (HAT) Department of the NCC and the planning officer of NEXUS, 2000.
49. M. Akkar, interviews with the assistant financial manager of M&S, the commercial director of ARRIVA bus company, and the planning officer of NEXUS, 2000.
50. Public spaces ideally play significant social roles in cities by bringing together a wide range of people regardless of their class, ethnic origin, gender and age, making it possible for them to intermingle; and by helping the emergence of the "social coherence," and the creation of community life. See Carr et al., *Public Space*, p.45; J. Gehl, *Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space* (Copenhagen: Arkitektens Forlag, 1996); Madanipour, "Dimensions of Urban Public Space"; Tibbalds, *Making People-Friendly Towns*, p.1; M. Walzer, "Pleasures and Costs of Urbanity," *Dissent* (Fall 1986), pp.470-75; and C. Moughtin, *Urban Design: Street and Square* (Oxford: Architectural Press, 1999).
51. Physical roles can be defined as those affecting communication and movement between objects, people and information; embodying facilities to ease this intercommunication, such as street and traffic signs and parking areas; and serving the daily needs of the public through such facilities as street lights, furniture and signs, as well as public convenience facilities like toilets and changing facilities for babies. See Carr et al., *Public Space*, pp.26,30; Gehl, *Life Between Buildings*; and Moughtin, *Urban Design*, p.131.
52. M. Akkar, interviews with the former planning chief and an officer of the HAT Department of the NCC, 2000.
53. M. Akkar, interviews with the managers of Old Orleans, Eldon Square Shopping Centre, the planning officer of NEXUS, and the former planning chief and an officer of the HAT Department of the NCC, 2000.
54. Public spaces function to beautify the city; they improve and enhance the aesthetic quality of the city. See Carr et al., *Public Space*, pp.10-11; and I.H. Thompson, "Landscape and Urban Design," in C. Greed and M. Roberts, eds., *Introducing Urban Design* (Essex: Longman, 1998), pp.105-15.
55. Public spaces perform economic roles by accommodating commercial functions and thus being places for commercial exchange. They can also play a role as economic value generators; i.e., they can increase the land value of private properties surrounding the public space. See H.L. Lofland, "A World of Strangers: Order and Action in Urban Public Space," Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1971; Gehl, *Life Between Buildings*; and Thompson, "Landscape and Urban Design," pp.108-9.
56. Crilley, "Megastructures," p.140.
57. "Plan to Change Face of the City," *Evening Chronicle*, July 26, 2001, <http://icnewcastle.icnetwork.co.uk/0100news/0100local/page.cfm?objectid=11184921&method=full&siteid=50081>.
58. "Developers Lay Out the Square Deal over Revamp," *The Journal*, December 3, 2003, <http://icnewcastle.icnetwork.co.uk/0100news/thejournal/thejournal/page.cfm?objectid=13685949&method=full&siteid=50081>.
59. P. Young, "Expert Adds Weight to Bid," *Evening Chronicle*, December 5, 2003, <http://icnewcastle.icnetwork.co.uk/eveningchronicle/eveningchronicle/page.cfm?objectid=13695202&method=full&siteid=50081>.
60. P. Young, "Backing for New Style City Station," *Evening Chronicle*, July 20, 2004, <http://icnewcastle.icnetwork.co.uk/eveningchronicle/eveningchronicle/news/page.cfm?objectid=14444161&method=full&siteid=50081>.
61. Gehl, *Life Between Buildings*.
62. J. Montgomery, "Café Culture and the City: the Role of Pavement Cafés in Urban Public Social Life," *Journal of Urban Design*, Vol.2 No.1 (1997), p.89.
63. See Carr et al., *Public Space*, p.20; and Moughtin, *Urban Design*, p.88.
64. See Carr et al., *Public Space*, pp.47-48.
65. Loukaitou-Sideris, "Private Production," p.8; K. Lynch, "The Openness of Open Space," in T. Banerjee and M. Southworth, eds., *City Sense and City Design* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1992), pp.396-412; and Moughtin, *Urban Design*, p.88.
66. See Loukaitou-Sideris, "Private Production," p.6.
67. Twenty-five interviews were conducted in 2000 with the representatives of three user groups: 1) the working population of the HBS (Old Orleans public houses, M&S, and the Eldon Square Shopping Centre); 2) the groups who operate in the public space (NEXUS, ARRIVA bus company, taxi and bus drivers, and street traders); and 3) the daily users (pedestrians, shoppers, and bus and Metro passengers).
68. The staircase is only open when the Eldon Square Shopping Centre is open: between 9 AM and 5:30 PM on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday; between 9 AM and 8 PM on Thursday; between 9 AM and 6 PM on Saturday; and between 11 AM and 5 PM on Sunday.
69. M. Akkar interview with a member of the design team of the NCC, 2000.
70. The bus company Northumbria Motor Services is now called ARRIVA (M. Akkar, interview with the planning officer of NEXUS, 2000).
71. M. Akkar, interview with the manager of Old Orleans, 2000.
72. M. Akkar, interview with the assistant financial manager of M&S, 2000.

