

QUESTIONING 'INCLUSIVITY' OF PUBLIC SPACES IN POST-INDUSTRIAL CITIES: THE CASE OF HAYMARKET BUS STATION, NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

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INTRODUCTION

Public spaces, one of the essential components of cities for centuries, have become the focus of broad concern for more than two decades (Francis, 1987; Carr, et al., 1992; Tibbalds, 1992; Mitchell, 1996; Madanipour, 2000). Attractive and alluring public spaces have been placed at the centre of many post-industrial cities. Starting from the 1980s, public spaces have been also increasingly used as the key components of city-marketing and urban regeneration programmes in Britain (Crilley, 1993; Goodwin, 1993; Sadler, 1993; Hubbard, 1995; Hall and Hubbard, 1996). Despite the resurgence of broad interest in public spaces, urban design and planning literature, frequently hinting at the diminishing 'inclusivity' of public spaces in post-industrial cities, has raised the question of how far they are truly 'inclusive'.

This article is set up to address this question by examining in depth the Haymarket Bus Station (HBS), a public space redeveloped in the 1990s in the city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne as a part of the image-led public realm improvement strategy (1). While the bus station was built through manufactured and imported images, and was turned into an instrument to revitalise the north-west edge of the city centre, it has experienced a significant change in its 'inclusivity'. The paper aims to explore this change. It first defines the term of 'inclusive public space', and introduces the framework for measuring the extent of 'inclusivity' of a public space. Then, it sets the HBS in a wider context and looks into the Newcastle's shift from a heavily-industrialised city to a post-industrial city, as well as the rising significance of the city's public spaces within the economic restructuring of the 1980s and 1990s. Third, it investigates before, during and after the HBS scheme with the help of the four dimensions of 'access'. Finally, the paper discusses the findings of the case study in relation to similar studies on public spaces in post-industrial cities, and seeks to give clues for urban planning and design practice.

WHAT IS 'INCLUSIVE PUBLIC SPACE'?

The word 'inclusive' is defined as the opposite of 'exclusive'. According to The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary (1971: 1143), the definition includes 'having the character or function of including, enclosing or comprehending', 'characterised by including a great deal, or everything that naturally comes within its scope; comprehensive; all embracing', 'characterised by including, comprising, or taking in, as opposed to excluding or leaving out', 'characterised by being included or comprehended in something else', 'the term or terms named being named being included'.

Public spaces, by nature, are inclusive and pluralist (Tiesdell and Oc, 1998; Williams and Green, 2001; Duffy, 2003). The 'inclusive public space' can be defined as possessing four mutually supportive qualities of 'access': i) physical access, ii) social access, iii) access to activities and discussions, or intercommunications, and iv) access to information (**Table 1**). The first quality refers to the access to the physical environment, as public space is the place in which everybody is entitled to be physically present (Benn and Gaus, 1983). Tiesdell and Oc (1998) define this as 'universal accessibility'. Social access, also called 'symbolic access' by Carr, et al. (1992), involves the presence of cues, in the form of people, design and management elements, suggesting who is and is not welcome in the space. "Environments, individuals and/or groups perceived either as threatening, or comforting or inviting may affect entry into a public space" (Tiesdell and Oc, 1998, 648). It is therefore important to improve the environmental image and ambience of a public space to make it more welcoming and/or less intimidating to a wider range of social groups. The third and fourth qualities allow us to define the public space in conjunction with the 'time' dimension. The space in which we live, work and experience is not composed only of three dimensions, but is rather a four-dimensional entity, an outcome of time, which might be studied under its development and use processes. Hence, the 'inclusive public space' is the place where the activities and discussions on its development and use processes are open to all. Markets, concerts, speeches, demonstrations or protests are open to all, if they take place in public environments. Similarly, the development process of the public space must ideally be accessible to everybody, whilst it includes various stages in each of which the public may not be involved. Yet there are some crucial activities and discussions that must be open to all, such as the decision-making stage of developing a public space, the preparation process of its design scheme. Therefore, the 'inclusive public space' is the place where public authorities are responsible for guaranteeing the existence of a public arena in which citizens express their attitudes, assert their claims and use for their purposes. This arena enables the meanings and functions of a public space change in conformity with citizens' needs and interests and facilitates renegotiations of understandings to be ongoing between the public and public authorities. Finally the fourth quality of 'access' allows us to define the 'inclusive public space' as the place where information regarding its development and use processes are available to all members of society.

These definitions refer to 'ideal' qualities of 'inclusive public spaces'. An urban environment, however, is not entirely composed of inclusive and exclusive public and private spaces. It is rather a composition of public and private space with different degrees of 'inclusivity' and 'exclusivity'.

	INCLUSIVE PUBLIC SPACE is:
• Physical access	A space which is accessible to all
• Access to activities and discussions	A space where the activities and discussions taking place in it are accessible to all.
• Access to information	A space where the information about it is accessible to all.
• Access to resources	A space where the resources are accessible to all.

Table 1. The definitions of 'inclusive public space' with regard to the four qualities of 'access'.

Accepting that the relation between inclusive public space and exclusive private space is a continuum, rather than a dichotomy, it is possible to define a public space with various degrees of 'inclusivity' (Figure 1). Regarding the four qualities of 'access', the extent of the 'inclusivity' of a public space depends on the degree to which the public space, physically and socially, is open to all; and the activities occurring in, and information about its development and use phases are accessible to everybody. The 'inclusivity' of a new public space can be assessed by the examination of its development and use processes through these four qualities of 'access'. In the case of a public space that already exists and is subject to redevelopment or improvement, as in the HBS example, the analysis needs to measure the 'inclusivity' of the space before, during and after its redevelopment.

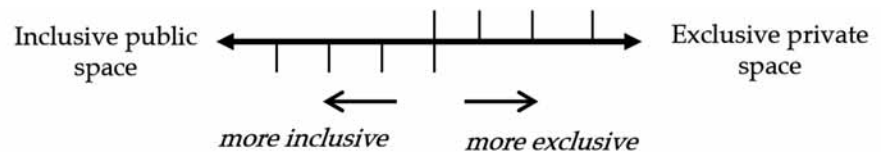


Figure 1. Continuous relation between inclusive public space and exclusive private space.

NEWCASTLE: A HEAVY INDUSTRIAL CITY TURNING INTO A POST-INDUSTRIAL CITY

The protracted recession of the 1970s and 1980s traumatised a number of previously affluent, heavily-industrialised British cities where economic and urban decline had started to be seen the major threats for their future. Newcastle, one of such cities, situated in the heart of the north-east of England, was devastated by the decline of the three heavy industries of coal mining, shipbuilding and heavy engineering (Winter, et al., 1989; Usher and Davoudi, 1992; Pacione, 1997; Lang, 1999; Vall, 2001). The recession resulted in the loss of 70,000 jobs in the 1971-1984 period (representing a decline of 43%, while the national average was 6.6%) and a population loss of over 30,000 (representing -9.88% of the city population) in the 1971-1981 period (Office of Population Census and Surveys, 1982; Usher and Davoudi, 1992). It also hit the city by leaving behind vast derelict land along the riverside, increasingly deteriorating working-class housing areas suffering from high unemployment and crime rates, and a lower standard of education and health service provision (Robinson, 1988; Winter, et al., 1989; Cameron and Doling, 1994; Lang, 1999). The city centre underwent a severe decline, accompanied by high rates of unemployment, the deterioration of its urban fabric, the loss of its living and working population, vacant and underused properties, traffic congestion, limited provision of car parking, a lack of green open spaces, poor quality public realm and a lack of investment (EDAW, 1996; Healey, et al., 2002).

(2) McClelland (1988: v) identifies three major indications to define 'post-industrial city': i) the economy, which specialises in service and technology-based activities; ii) the economy, which experiences de-industrialisation represented by a shift from labour-intensive production to capital-intensive production where the labour force is highly qualified (i.e., a high level of education and specialisation); iii) the economy which is mostly dependent on footloose industries and multi-national companies and institutions.

(3) Newcastle and its conurbation adjacent to the banks of the River Tyne is called Tyneside.

Under such traumatic circumstances, since the early-1980s, Newcastle has undergone an economic restructuring, showing some of the characteristics of a post-industrial city (2). One of the major changes is the growth of the service sector, especially in business services. Of the eight most highly-industrialised British cities, Newcastle had the highest increase in employment rate in the business sector (93.5%) between 1981 and 1987 (Table 2). The growing service sector has been accompanied by de-industrialisation. Among the eight heavily-industrialised British cities, the second highest fall in the employment rate in manufacturing industry took place in Newcastle in the 1981-1987 period. The manufacturing sector has also undergone a change in character. Instead of heavy industries, it is chemical, food, timber, furniture and clothing industries that have become dominant in the sector. Branch plants of national and multi-national companies, such as Komatsu, a major Japanese company producing earth-moving equipment; Findus, a frozen food company; and Nissan, a Japanese car plant, moved to, and fared reasonably well on Tyneside (3) in the 1980s and 1990s (Robinson, 1988, 46; Stone, 1995). New jobs characterised by a high-quality labour force were created, especially with central government support to increase productivity based on technological improvement in the 1980s (Robinson, 1988, 57). Whilst overall employment fell in Newcastle (-33.7%) between 1991 and 2001 (Table 3), the city's economic profile continued to show the features of a post-industrial city. The shares of manufacturing (especially food products and beverages, communication equipment, electrical machinery, plastics, fabricated metal products and furniture), construction, consumer services, education, health and social work, and other services within the total employment in 2001 became much bigger than those of the same sectors in 1991 (Employment change in Tyne and Wear, 1998, 2001). Although the percentages of employment in finance and business, and public administration services within the total employment figures in 2001 lessened, compared to the shares of these sectors in 1991, the recent growth of the consumer services, education, health and social work, and other services, and the change in the profile of manufacturing sector in Newcastle, are worth noting as the characteristics of a post-industrial city.

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 centre and its immediate periphery. The area-based regeneration schemes driven by public-private initiatives, such as the Grainger Town Project, the Quayside, the Theatre Village and China Town Development Strategy, have created mainly consumption-oriented, highly speculative, commercial, and prestigious environments (Figure 2). Within this new urban landscape, a number of attractive public spaces, enriched with high-quality construction materials and embellished with artworks and design elements have appeared. The HBS, one of these public spaces, was seen by

	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

Table 2. Percentage employment change for eight large British cities, 1981-87 (Champion and Townsend, 1990; cited in Cameron and Doling, 1994, 1213).

		1991	2001	Change	% Change	1991 employment %	2001 employment %
A,B	Agriculture, fishing	NA*	436	NA	NA	NA	NA
C	Mining & quarrying	NA	193	NA	NA	NA	NA
E	Utilities	NA	913	NA	NA	NA	NA
	PRIMARY (A+B+C+E)	2,000	1542	-458	-22.9	1.31	1.52
D	MANUFACTURING	12,400	10,404	-1,996	-16.09	8.09	10.25
F	CONSTRUCTION	5,900	6,618	718	12.17	3.85	6.52
G	Wholesale, retail	20,400	15,590	-4,810	-23.58	13.32	15.36
H	Hotels & restaurants	7,600	6,526	-1,074	-14.13	4.96	6.43
I	Transport & communication	10,200	6,983	-3,217	-31.54	6.66	6.88
	CONSUMER SERVICES (G+H+I)	38,100	29,099	-9,101	-23.89	24.94	28.69
J	Finance	8,900	3,705	-5,195	-58.37	5.81	3.65
K	Business services	20,200	12,079	-8,121	-40.20	13.19	11.90
	FINANCE & BUSINESS (J+K)	29,100	15,784	-13,316	-45.76	19	15.55
L	Public administration	23,100	7,857	-15,243	-65.99	15.10	7.73
M	Education	14,500	9,642	-4,858	-33.50	9.48	9.49
N	Health and social work	20,700	15,225	-5,475	-26.50	13.53	15
	PUBLIC SERVICES (L+M+N)	58,300	32,724	-25,576	-43.88	38.11	32.22
O	OTHER SERVICES	7,200	5,329	-1,871	-25.99	4.70	5.25
	TOTAL EMPLOYEES	153,100	101,500	-51,600	-33.70	100	100

Table 3. Employment change in New Castle 1991-2001, Office for National Statistics, 2001.

Note: * Not applicable, as data is suppressed to maintain confidentiality.

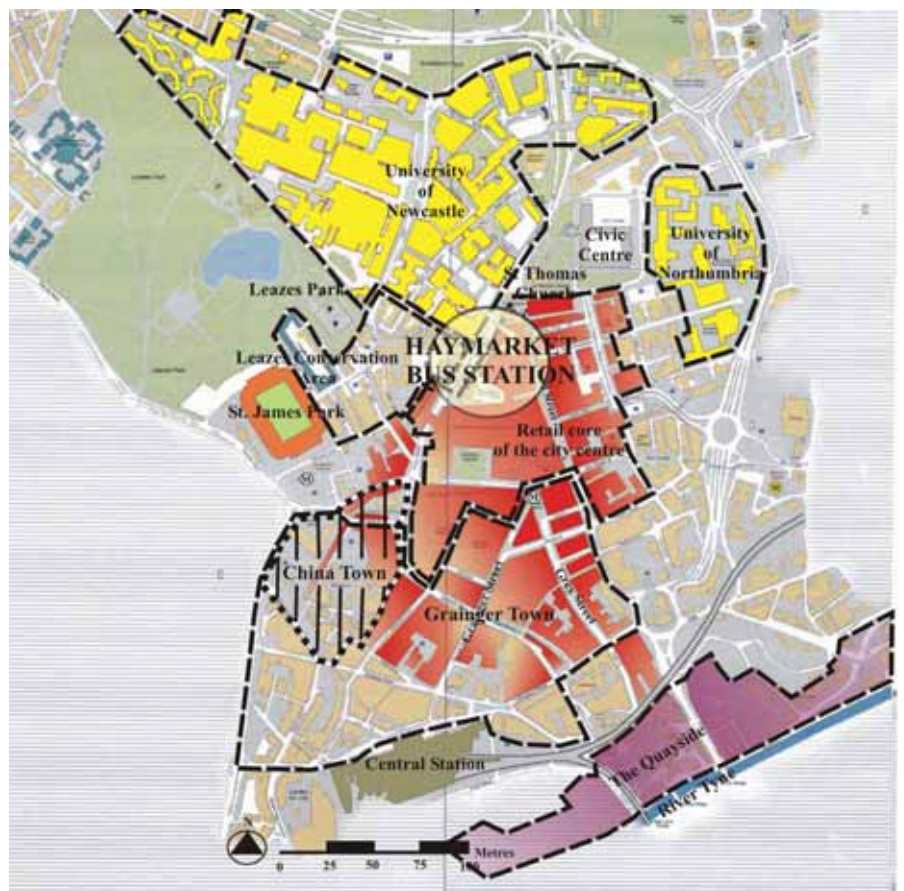
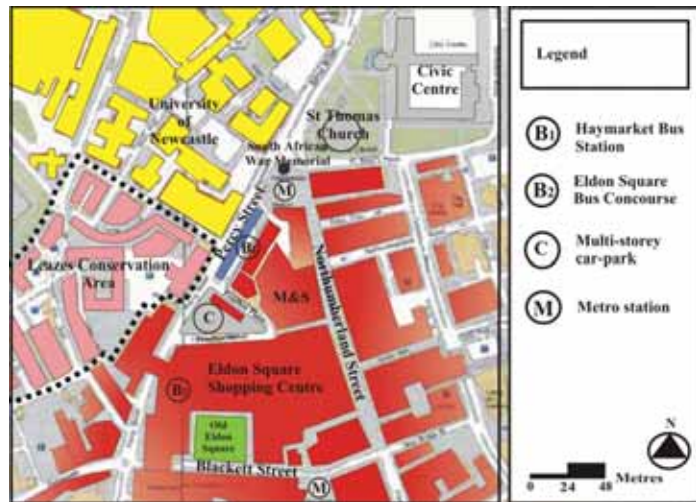


Figure 2. The location of the HBS in the city centre of Newcastle (Based on: Campus and City Map [homepage of University of Newcastle, on-line, 2004, accessed 21 January 2005]; available from http://www.ncl.ac.uk/travel/maps/navigation_large.php?x=8&y=4&w=4&h=3&type=)

the regeneration initiatives as a future potential to improve its good image and attractiveness to inward investment. In many senses, the HBS may be perceived as a 'textbook' example of the privatisation of the public spaces of post-industrial cities, especially those which have become catalysts of urban regeneration projects. But equally, several aspects of the HBS' experience stand out as distinctive. As will be argued in the following section, in spite of having the aspects diminishing its 'inclusivity' (as its contemporary counterparts), the new HBS also contains features improving the 'inclusive' qualities of the public space.

Figure 3. The HBS and its surroundings before the latest redevelopment scheme (Based on: Campus and City Map [homepage of University of Newcastle, online, 2004, accessed 21 January 2005]; available from http://www.ncl.ac.uk/travel/maps/navigator_large.php?x=8&y=4&w=4&h=3&type=)



CASE STUDY: THE HAYMARKET BUS STATION

The Location and the Brief History of the Haymarket

The Haymarket is located at the north-west of the city centre (**Figure 3**). The bus station, situated on Percy Street, is adjacent to Haymarket Metro Station, the South African War Memorial and St. Thomas Church and the Civic Centre to the north. It is also a neighbour of the University of Newcastle to the north, Leazes Conservation Area (a residential area accommodating listed buildings) is to the north-west, a multi-storey car-park on Prudhoe Place and Prudhoe Street surrounded by Eldon Square Shopping Centre (the biggest shopping mall of the city centre) and the bus concourse are to the south, and Northumberland Street, the prime retail street, is to the east.

The history of the Haymarket began in the early 19th century when the site started to be used as a parade ground (Mittins, 1978). With the rise of Percy Street as a commercial street in the mid-19th century, the site became a market place where hay and straw were sold, and agricultural servants were hired (Collard, 1971; Mittins, 1978; Grundy, et al., 1992; Simpson et al., 1992). Afterwards, it started to be called as 'the Haymarket'. Fairs, travelling circuses, wandering menageries, and political gatherings were also held in the Haymarket (Mittins, 1978). In the late-19th century, a row of houses and a public house, called 'The Farmers' Rest', were constructed on the site (Mittins, 1978). 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

(4) No statistics were found about the number of bus passengers using the HBS before its redevelopment.

Exchange at the south of the site, and the introduction of a single deck tram into Percy Street (Mittins, 1978).

In the 1930s, the Haymarket's traditional roles were abandoned and it became a departing point of carriers and a bus station (Mittins, 1978). Then, the nineteenth-century houses in the site were reconstructed and named 'Haymarket Houses' (Mittins, 1978). The 1960s and 1970s witnessed 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; the street frontage was pulled down in order to give way to Eldon Square Shopping Centre and the bus concourse (Simpson et al., 1997; Mittins, 1978; NCC, 1963). Haymarket Houses were knocked down and the three-storey building block in the Haymarket and a row of single-storey shops on the south of Prudhoe Place were built in the early 1970s (Harbottle, 1990). These changes were followed by the construction of Haymarket Metro Station to the north of the bus station in 1980 and the development of a multi-storey car park in the mid-1990s (Simpson, et al., 1997; Winter, et al., 1989).

Prior to the Development Scheme

The HBS was an open public space. Being a bus station, situated close to the metro station, the multi-storey car park and taxi ranks, it was accessible to pedestrians, metro and bus passengers, and car users (4). The public space was also used by a wide range of groups working in both the public and private realms of the site. The Passenger Transport Executive for Tyne and Wear (PTE), bus companies, a private hire taxi company, hackney carriages and street traders were common user groups working in the public space, while small-scale retailers and their employees composed the working population of the private premises.

The Haymarket was a vivid and colourful social environment. People used to meet there for various reasons, to have a meal, refreshment in a café, restaurant or the pub, to shop or to go on to somewhere else. Small retail units and The Farmers' Rest, with its austere décor but inexpensive foods and drink services, attracted a large number of people to the site. Because of the take-away restaurants, the bus and metro stations and taxi ranks, after closing time in the pubs and clubs, people ended up in the Haymarket to have their midnight meals and to take the bus, metro or taxi to go home. Being very accessible to and serving a rich variety of groups, the HBS was a highly 'inclusive' public environment.

Yet, the HBS' users, thus the 'inclusive' qualities of ideal public realm, suffered from traffic congestion, conflict between pedestrian and vehicular traffic, and from the fact that it was a chaotic, unorganised and physically deteriorated public space with poor street and traffic signs. The bus station lacked public convenience facilities (such as toilets or baby changing rooms) and integration with primary activities (especially Northumberland Street and Eldon Square Shopping Centre) surrounding it. In general, it did not function efficiently or safely for bus passengers, bus companies and the operator of the bus station. The old and modest-looking shops in the Haymarket, the dirty and ugly appearance of the rear of the buildings facing Northumberland Street and the rather chaotic, crowded, and physically deteriorated public space did not create an appealing environment either (Figure 6). All these factors diminished the public space's economic role, as it could neither make much contribution

(5) Public actors mean 'agents or agencies that act on behalf of a community, city, commonwealth, or state', while private actors refer to 'agents or agencies that act in their own account'. The public however means 'the people in general', 'all members of the society', or 'the aggregate of private actors'.

(6) Northumbria Motor Services and Stagecoach were the main bus companies which used to operate in the HBS.

(7) Northern Owner Drivers Association is an organisation of hackney carriages, i.e. individuals owning their own taxis, in Newcastle.

(8) This information draws on interview conducted by the author in 2000 with the architect of the company NJSR; the representative of M&S; the Ex-planning Chief, and the member of the Design Team of the NCC.

(9) This information draws on interview conducted by the author in 2000 with the architect of NJSR and the Commercial Director of the bus company ARRIVA.

to increase the land values of its environs, nor attract investors, developers or potential occupiers to the site.

The Development Process

From the beginning of the 1980s, the City started to look for an investor to redevelop the Haymarket. The site was intended for redevelopment three times in these years; yet, none of these attempts succeeded (NCC, 1994a). 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, decided to extend their store into the Haymarket with the aim of turning it into their biggest store in Britain outside London. They bought the three-storey building on the Haymarket and became one of the main property owners of the site (NCC, 1994a). After deciding to venture a £30 million investment on the redevelopment of the HBS, they approached two major property owners of the site; i.e. The Scottish & Newcastle (S&N) Breweries, which owned The Farmers' Rest and the former Ginger Beer Works, and the local authority, which owned the temporary shops on Prudhoe Place and Percy Street, as well as the highways on the site, including the bus station (NCC, 1994b; Young, 1994). M&S negotiated with the S&N Breweries and the City by offering a new pub and restaurant, and bus station on the site at a very low cost to both parties (NCC, 1994a).

The development process, which was highly exclusive, was carried out by a small group of public and private actors (5). The City and PTE constituted the public side of the scheme, while M&S, S&N Breweries, Northumbria Motor Services and Stagecoach bus companies (6), Northern Owner Drivers Association (7), the M&S' planning and design consultants and contractor formed the private side (8) (NCC, 1995). The domination of M&S over the development process led to shape the HBS' design according to the large-scale business' interests and needs. The City's involvement, driven by the desire to improve the image of the Haymarket, and thereby attract investment to the site, resulted in the use of the public space as a visual and functional component of the Haymarket's regeneration.

Public involvement in the development process however was kept limited. Prior to the procedural public consultation, the primary and daily users of the Haymarket, such as the bus passengers, the shoppers, shopkeepers and the buses and taxi drivers, were absent in the process. No surveys or interviews were undertaken by the local authority in order to understand the problems of the Haymarket users (9). During the consultation period, the City received a number of objectives to the development scheme. The opposing public views were concerned about:

- the exclusion of the local and small-scale enterprises in favour of a big up-market retailer (Ruther, 1994; Thorn High Street Properties Ltd, 1994);
- the architectural style of the retail development, which did not reflect its function and disregarded the historical and cultural legacy of the Haymarket (Cousins, 1994; Hartwell, 1994);
- the potential increase in the traffic problems on Prudhoe Street and Percy Street due to the new size of the bus station (Jackson, 1994; McDonalds, 1994; NCC, 1994a; Serfaty, 1994);

(10) This information draws on interview conducted by the author in 2000 with the Ex-planning Chief of the NCC.

(11) This information draws on interview conducted by the author in 2000 with the Manager of Eldon Square Shopping Centre.



Figure 4. News from local newspapers about the opposition groups against the demolition of The Farmers' Rest (Wood and Openshaw, 1994, 6; Henderson, 1994, 3; Author unknown, 1994, 9).

- the ventilation problem which could possibly give rise because of the new layout of the bus station (Lowes, 1994).

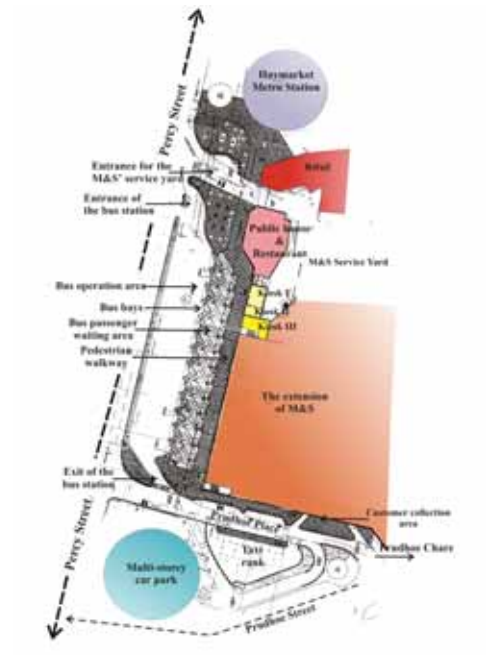
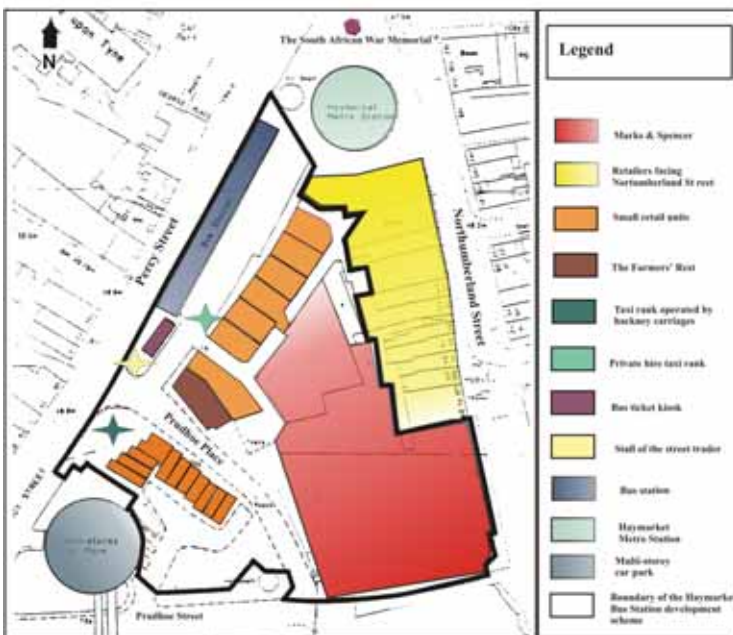
Despite their relevance, the City mostly ignored the public objections. The public consultation was predominantly a one-way process of expressing the public views, rather than a discussion forum where the public and the public actors exchanged their opinions. Therefore, it is arguable that the community's needs in no way shaped the design of the public space to be built.

During the development process, three opposition groups grew against the HBS scheme:

- the tenants of the shops at the Haymarket, protesting against their displacement from the site (10);
- the permanent users of The Farmers' Rest, objecting to the shift from a modest, local and traditional type of pub to an up-market, exclusive, theme-based and more commercial pub and restaurant, which disregarded the Haymarket's characteristics (11) (Wood and Openshaw, 1994) (**Figure 4**);
- Northumberland and Newcastle Society (a local charity), seeing the demolition of The Farmers' Rest and Ginger Beer Works as a loss to the Haymarket's historical and symbolic values (NCC, 1994a).

The above groups, rather than raising their concerns during the public consultation, opted to voice their protests in other ways. The tenants of the shops and the customers of the pub showed their reactions by reporting to the press (**Figure 4**). Northumberland and Newcastle Society applied to the Secretary of State to examine the historical value of The Farmers' Rest and Ginger Beer Works (NCC, 1994a). Despite these reactions, there was no evidence that the City genuinely made an effort to either create an inclusive public arena, or include these groups' needs and

Figure 5. The land-use map of the old HBS in 1995 (left), the proposed layout and model of the recent development scheme (right, below).



(12) PTE has recently changed its name and logo. It is now called NEXUS (*NEXUS, Who are we?*, no date: 1).

opinions in the design of the public space. The restricted public access to the discussions related to the development of the public space therefore frustrated the ideal public realm's qualities of 'social inclusivity'.

Following planning permission granted by the City in 1994, the old bus station and other premises in the site were demolished. A two-storey building as an extension to the M&S store with a service yard and customer-collection facilities, three kiosks, a public house and restaurant (called 'Old Orleans'), as well as a new bus station with glazed canopy and improved hard landscaping in association with the taxi rank and multi-storey car park, were constructed (NCC, 1994c) (Figure 5). The new bus station was opened to the public in 1997.

The Use Process

The recent redevelopment scheme brought about a good-looking, and a relatively accessible, safer and healthier public space. The HBS, used by over 7.5 million people according to the NEXUS' statistics of 2001, is still one of the busiest public spaces in the city centre (12). The new design has improved the Haymarket's physical and social accessibility to some extent by eliminating various undesirable factors, such as noise, smoke, untidy and disorganised taxi ranks, and by introducing a better-organised queuing system and a glazed canopy protecting users from bad weather conditions (Figure 6, 7). It has brought an 'order' and 'discipline' into the



Figure 6. The old HBS in the 1960s (above left) and in 1995, just before its redevelopment (below left) and the new bus station (right) (The NCLA, 1984 (above left); M. Akkar (above right); The NCLA, 2000 (below left); M. Akkar (below right)).



Figure 7. The new design brought an 'order' and 'discipline' into the Haymarket (M. Akkar).

space, and has provided comfort and convenience for the 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 these activities.

The new management has also enhanced to a degree the physical and social accessibility by increasing the standard of maintenance services and the level of control imposed into the public space. The City has improved not only the cleaning services of the site, but also its aesthetic quality by introducing multi-layered pots placed on the pavement, pots of flowers hung on the street lights, and railings for the bus station (**Figure 7**). Access control over the public space has become much stricter than before through the installation of surveillance cameras at the site and an increase in the level of street lighting. The classical music, played in the bus station, relaxes people, discourages violence and keeps teenagers away from the public space. The City Police and NEXUS, monitoring and patrolling in the site, directly impose a significant control on the public space in order to eliminate the so-called undesirable groups, such as beggars, homeless people, noisy teenagers, and accordingly, undesirable activities, such as sleeping on benches, drinking alcoholic beverages or simply hanging around. Although the new management and design policies can be regarded as a part of public policy to create and maintain a cleaner, safer and a more ordered public space, they turned the bus station into, more or less, an ideal public space which, in reality, has never been so clean, disciplined and stratified. By infringing on the public's right to full access to public space, such policies allowed no longer for as much 'chance' and 'spontaneity', promoted social filtering, inevitably social exclusion and stratification. They therefore naturally reduced the social accessibility of the public space, and frustrated its 'inclusivity'.

The recent scheme also brought about a drastic change in the user profile of the Haymarket. By displacing small retailers and their budget shoppers, and welcoming large, international business and their affluent consumers, it remarkably reduced the variety of the Haymarket user groups, and resulted in gentrification (**Table 4**). Gentrification was also reinforced by the 'principle of exclusivity', embedded in the new design through elegant and highly expensive construction materials and high quality artworks (**Figure 8**). According to Hajer (1993) and Loukaitou-Sideris (1993), the 'principle of exclusivity' intends to impress and attract and at the same time promote the 'feeling of affluence'. Hence, the new design, tending to attract affluent groups, has promoted gentrification, and thus impoverished the social accessibility, and 'inclusivity' of the space.

The new design and management, improving the visual and aesthetic qualities of the public space and creating a strong visual identity, have arguably turned it into a catalyst for image-led regeneration policies. The management policies, for example, aiming at creating a prettier, cleaner, more ordered and disciplined public environment, have strengthened the visual quality of the public space. Similarly, the new design has enhanced and promoted the aesthetic qualities of the site through the use of expensive construction materials, such as York stone for the hard landscaping, and the introduction of artworks embellishing the Haymarket, such as the clock tower, glass-panel artwork on the canopy of the bus station, the ornamental and elegant railings of the balconies of Old Orleans, and the well-considered details of the bus station railings, such as lettering (**Figure 8**). The new design has also generated a strong 'visual

Before the redevelopment	After the redevelopment
Large-scale retailers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • S&N Breweries 	Large-scale retailers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • M&S • S&N Breweries
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 • 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 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greggs • Finlays
PTE (the operator of the bus station)	NEXUS (the operator of the bus station)
Street traders	Street traders
Taxis: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hackney carriages • Private hire taxi company 	Taxis: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hackney carriages
Bus companies: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Northumbria Motor Services • Stagecoach 	Bus companies: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ARRIVA • Stagecoach • Go Ahead
The public: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bus passengers • Pedestrians • Shoppers mainly using small-scale retailers in the site • 'Undesirable' groups 	The public: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bus passengers • Pedestrians • Shoppers mainly using large-scale retailers in the site

Table 4. The user profile of the HBS before and after its redevelopment.

identity' for the Haymarket. The use of high quality construction materials, particularly ornamental and elegant ones, expensive and distinctive artworks and design elements have embellished the Haymarket, and created a 'chic' architecture (Figure 9). Further, the strong visual identity has been developed by introducing 'variety and diversity' into the design of the bus station through various manufactured and imported images, which are not in harmony with each other, but create the landscape of visual variety, as called a 'scenographic variety' by Crilley (1993). By reflecting the architecture and construction materials of a Victorian building on Percy Street, the new design has attached the bus station and its environs to a 'grandiose' historical image. It has also brought a foreign American image into the Haymarket through the new pub and restaurant designed according to 'New Orleans' themes (Figure 9).

Those design and management elements, improving and enhancing the attractiveness of the public space, have turned it into a means of increasing the land values around the Haymarket, and thereby attracting investors, developers and potential occupiers to the site. A number of projects have been under way since the late-1990s. The east of the Haymarket, i.e., the site stretching from Morden Street to St Thomas'



Figure 8. The enhanced aesthetic and visual quality of the public space, and its over-emphasised aesthetic and symbolic roles by the new design (M. Akkar).

Street, is being developed as offices, shops, a hotel, leisure facilities or a multi-storey car park (Plan to change face of the city, 2001), while the schemes of converting the Eldon Square Bus Concourse into a new shopping area as the extension of Eldon Square Shopping Centre (Developers lay out the Square deal over revamp, 2003), developing a new cultural quarter to the north-west of the Haymarket (Young, 2003), and redeveloping the Haymarket Metro Station as a new five-storey building comprising a new bus station concourse, travel agency, shops, offices and a restaurant and bar to the north of the bus station (Young, 2004) have been recommended for approval.

(13) Public spaces, with their images and symbols, however, are meant to serve as social binders (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1988; Lynch, 1992; Moughtin, 1999).

(14) Twentyone interviews were conducted by the author in 2000 with the representatives of three user groups: i) the working population of the HBS (Old Orleans public house, M&S, Eldon Square Shopping Centre plc.); ii) the groups who operate in the public space (NEXUS, ARRIVA bus company, taxi and bus drivers, street traders); iii) the daily users (pedestrians, shoppers, bus or metro passengers).

(15) The staircase is used only during the hours between the opening and closing times of Eldon Square Shopping Centre: between 9.00 and 17.30 on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday, between 9.00 and 20.00 on Thursday, between 9.00 and 18.00 on Saturday, and between 11.00 and 17.00 on Sunday.

(16) This information draws on interview conducted by the author in 2000 with a member of the design team of the NCC.

Equally, the improvement of the environmental image and ambience of the HBS has made it more welcoming and less intimidating to a wider range of social groups, and thus improved its 'inclusive' qualities. Yet, it has uttered threats against the symbolic values of the public space. The new design embedded in imported and manufactured images, which have never belonged to the modest history of the Haymarket, has generated confusion over the public space's symbolic meanings, and therefore raised doubts about how far the new public space will be appropriated by the public, and how well it will perform as a social binder (13). Such design interventions have diminished the social accessibility of the Haymarket, thereby violating the ideal public realm's qualities of 'social inclusivity'.

Additionally, in a number of different ways the new design has undermined the public space's physical accessibility. Interviews conducted with the users of the HBS (14) show that conflicts of pedestrian-vehicular traffic and traffic congestion are still the site's prominent problems (Figure 10). Direct observations and interviews at the Haymarket also reveal that the bus station remains inefficient, and continues to suffer from the 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 Eldon Square staircase, which does not enable public 24-hour access (15), neither is it

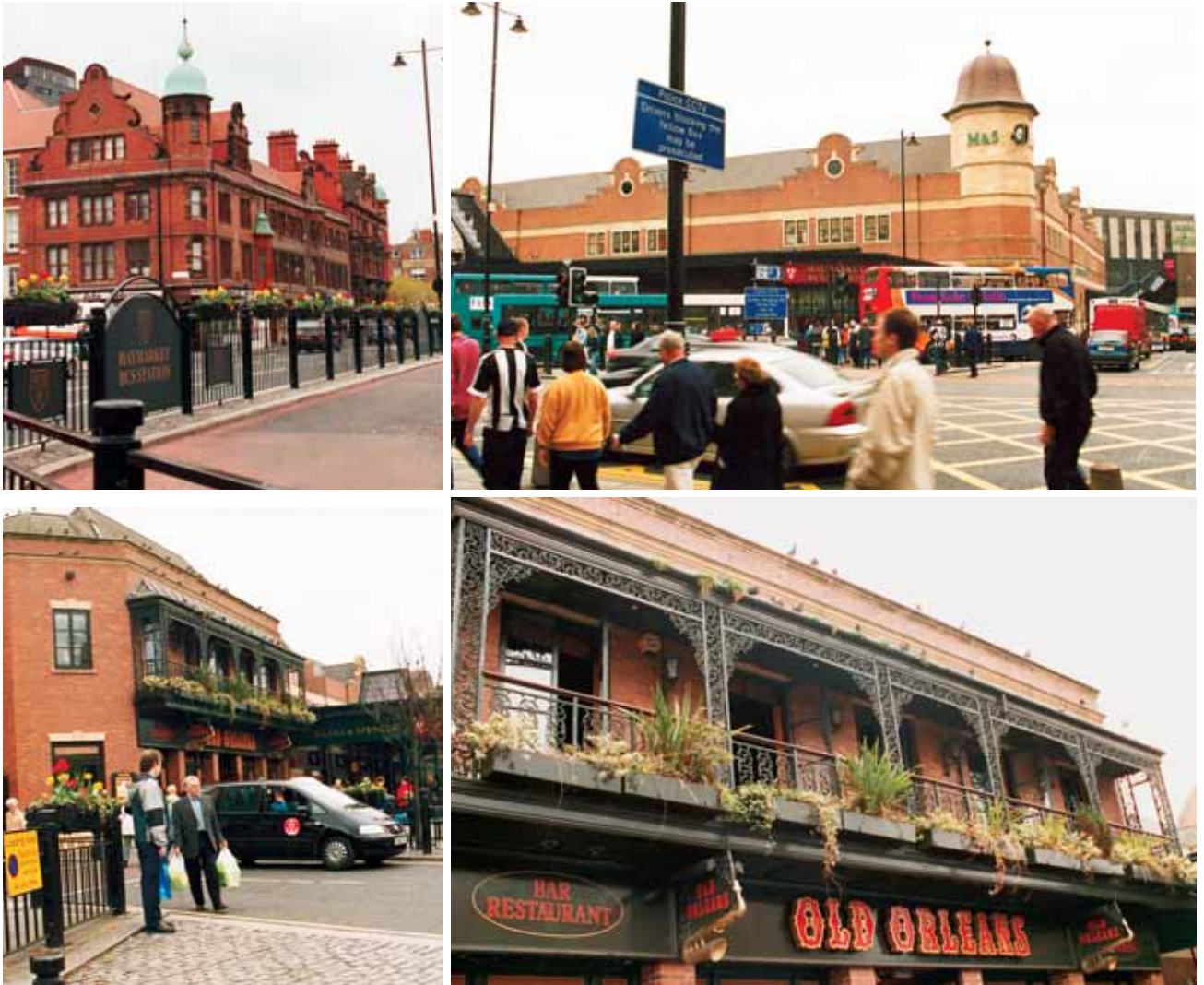


Figure 9. The Victorian building whose façade was copied for the façade of the M&S' store extension (above), and the embellished façade of Old Orleans pub and restaurant brought a 'New Orleans' theme (below), all aiming to create a grandiose image for the Haymarket (M. Akkar).

adequately accessible for the disabled or elderly people (**Figure 10**). In addition to the old problems, the new glazed canopy has made poor ventilation appear as an increasing problem for bus passengers (16). Several design and management features impinging adversely on the ideal public space's qualities of 'social inclusivity' are to some extent the outcomes of the public exclusion from the public realm development process, as they were already expressed in this process through the public objections, protests and reactions.

CONCLUSION

This paper has discussed the question of the 'inclusivity' of the public spaces in post-industrial cities by examining the HBS, a public space redeveloped as a part of the image-led regeneration policies of Newcastle. The paper, studying before, during and after the HBS' development regarding the four dimensions of 'access', found that the physical and social accessibility of the space has been relatively improved, because the new design and management have eliminated various undesirable factors, brought about an order and discipline into the space, and provided comfort and convenience for the users. The redevelopment scheme, using



Figure 10. Conflict of pedestrian and vehicular traffic (above right and left), traffic congestion in the Haymarket (below left and middle) as continuous problems of the new HBS, and Eldon Square staircase as the emerging problem area (below right) (M. Akkar).

and promoting the public space as an urban regeneration catalyst, has also turned it into a remarkably attractive, well-maintained, safer and more organised and controlled space, and improved the environmental image and ambience of the public space, which has made it a more inclusive place to a wider range of social groups. Nevertheless, the 'inclusive' and 'pluralist' qualities of the public space has been undermined by the limited public involvement in the development process, where the large-scale business interests and needs, and the City's ambition to use the public space as a visual and functional component of their image-led regeneration strategies predominantly shaped the public space design. The restricted public access to the discussion, about the development of the HBS has resulted in a public space where the physical and social accessibility was impoverished to an extent; gentrification, social exclusion and stratification have been reinforced; and consequently, the ideal public realm qualities of 'social inclusivity' have been violated to a degree.

The study of the HBS reveals at least five main trends that have also been noted elsewhere as hallmarks of the public spaces of post-industrial cities:

- the increasing involvement of the private sector in the provision of public spaces,
- the limited public involvement in the development processes of public spaces,
- increasing restrictions on the social accessibility of public spaces through surveillance and other strict control measures in order to improve their security and 'good' or 'sanitised' images,

- the tendency of public spaces towards promoting gentrification, social exclusion and stratification, and
- their new urban form significantly favouring private interest.

Five areas of similarity between the HBS and the post-industrial cities' public spaces reflect the ever smaller, more internationalised and more homogenous world in which we live. Nevertheless, we have also seen some curious differences between the HBS case and other contemporary public spaces, reflecting the different experience of Newcastle. In many post-industrial cities, new public spaces are either rarely used by the public or predominantly by a 'homogenous' public. The investigation of the HBS revealed that, with its diminishing variety of users and highly strict control measures, it is presently serving a more 'homogenous' public than previous; and is increasingly characterised by its strong tendency towards enhancing gentrification, social exclusion and stratification. Yet, as a public space, it is still accessible to a high number of people.

Urban design and planning literature, in general, illustrates public spaces of post-industrial cities as those favouring private interest at the expense of local communities' needs and benefits. The HBS exemplifies a public space significantly serving private interest. Despite various aspects in the new design and management undermining the public needs and benefits, the HBS is an example still favouring the public interest, by being a relatively inclusive and accessible environment, helping attract inward investment, creating new job opportunities, bringing economic vitality back to the declining parts of the city centre and boosting civic pride.

All these observations lead to two major conclusions. First, contrary to the wide recognition of diminishing 'inclusivity' of public spaces in post-industrial cities in urban design and planning literature, the HBS redevelopment has had both improving and diminishing impacts on its qualities of 'social inclusivity'. The general point that can be drawn from the case study and to be extended to its counterparts is that contemporary public spaces may show different shades of 'inclusivity', in which four degrees of access can vary widely. Nevertheless, in post-industrial cities where the public realm has increasingly shrunk and the private realm has continuously expanded, public space is arguably more important than ever for supporting greater sociability and community, as well as citizenship, democracy, pluralism and tolerance of diversity. The challenge for planners, designers, architects, developers and other place-making agents is to deal with the threats against the ideal public realm's inclusive characters, and to help the development of safe, accessible and inclusive public spaces in order to create the spatial experience of democracy, reduce the potential social conflicts of the contemporary society, promote an urbanism of tolerance and social cohesion, and reintegrate a socio-spatially fragmented city (Bentley et al., 1985; Madanipour, 1999; Shonfield, 1998).

Second, as in the case of Newcastle, for many post-industrial cities in Britain, especially those which have suffered from decaying urban economy and environments, the increasing tendency of enhancing the aesthetic, symbolic and economic qualities of public spaces is a crucial policy instrument in economic and urban revitalisation, while generating threats against their 'inclusive' qualities. The challenge for local authorities, planners, architects and other regeneration initiatives then is to take into consideration everyday society's needs, 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 genuinely 'inclusive public spaces', which can ensure the sustainability of any regeneration initiatives and the generation of vital and viable cities (especially city centres), can only be achieved if the image-led regeneration strategies balance everyday society's needs and interests, as well as genuine civic functions of public spaces. Here, the community involvement in the provision, design and management of public space has become increasingly important in order for local needs and interests to be met, and local opinions to be sought and acted upon. Inclusive public spaces can be only achieved by reconciling public and private aspirations, as well as economic, social and environmental objectives.

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Anahtar Sözcükler: kamusal mekan; toplumsal dahil edicilik; toplumsal dışlama; erişim; Newcastle upon Tyne; Haymarket Kentiçi Otobüs Terminali (HKOT).

ENDÜSTRİ SONRASI KENTİNDE KAMUSAL MEKANIN 'TOPLUMSAL DAHİL EDİCİLİĞİ'Nİ SORGULAMAK: NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE, HAYMARKET KENT İÇİ OTOBÜS TERMİNALİ ÖRNEĞİ

Endüstri-sonrası kentlerin kamusal mekanlarına artan ilgiye koşut, özellikle kentsel canlandırma programları ve kent pazarlama kampanyalarının ürünleri olarak, İngiltere'deki birçok kentin merkezinde çekici, belirli bir grubun ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaya yönelik, ayrıcalıklı kamusal mekanlar geliştirilmiştir. Son zamanlarda kamusal mekanlara yönelik artan ilgi umut veren bir gelişme olmasına rağmen, kentsel tasarım ve planlama yazınında sıklıkla endüstri-sonrası kamusal mekanların 'toplumsal dahil edici' özelliklerinin azaldığı iddia edilmekte; ve bu mekanların gerçekten ne kadar toplumsal açıdan 'dahil edici' olduğu sorusunu akla getirmektedir. Bu makale, toplumsal olarak 'dahil edici kamusal mekan' terimini tanımlamayı amaçlamakta; ve yukarıdaki sorudan yola çıkarak, İngiltere'nin kuzey-doğu bölgesinin başkenti olarak kabul edilen Newcastle upon Tyne'in merkezinde son zamanlarda geliştirilen kamusal mekanlardan biri olan Haymarket Kentiçi Otobüs Terminali'nin (HKOT) 'dahil edici' özelliklerinin nasıl değiştiğini incelemektedir.

'Dahil etme' kavramı, Oxford İngilizce Sözlüğü'ne göre, 'içine alan, ihtiva eden, sınırları kapsayan özellikte olan', 'doğal olarak bütüncül, kapsayıcı özellikte olan', 'dışlamayan ve dışta bırakmayan', 'ihtiva edilen özellikte olan', ve 'terim yada terimler olarak ihtiva edilen olarak adlandırılan' anlamına gelmektedir. Kamusal mekan doğası gereği 'dahil edici' ve 'çoğulcu'dur. Kamusal mekanın 'dahil ediciliği', 'erişim' kavramının dört boyutuna bağlı olarak; başka bir deyişle, i) fiziki mekana erişim, ii) toplumsal mekana erişim, iii) etkinliklere ve tartışmalara erişim, ve iv) bilgiye erişim ile tanımlanabilir. Kısaca, 'toplumsal olarak dahil edici kamusal mekan', hem fiziksel ve toplumsal mekana, hem de mekanın geliştirme ve kullanım süreçlerindeki etkinliklere, tartışmalara ve bu süreçlerle ilgili bilgiye toplumun tüm katmanlarının erişebildiği mekandır. Yukarıdaki tanım, 'toplumsal olarak dahil edici bir kamusal mekan'ın kusursuz özelliklerini göstermektedir. Aslında, kentsel mekan, farklı derecelerde 'dahil ediciliği' olan kamusal ve özel mekanların birleşiminden oluşmaktadır. Kentsel mekanın bu şekilde tanımlanması, kamusal mekanların 'dahil edici' özelliklerinin ölçümü fırsatını vermektedir. Bir kamusal mekanın 'dahil edicilik' derecelerinin

ölçülebilmesi için, o kamusal mekanın erişim ölçütünün dört boyutuna bağlı olarak, geliştirilme ve kullanım süreçlerinin incelenmesi gerekir. Eğer inceleme yapılacak kamusal mekan tekrar geliştirilmiş ise, geliştirilme öncesindeki erişilebilirliğinin değerlendirilmesi önemlidir. Böylece söz konusu mekanın, geliştirilme öncesi erişilebilirliği ile, geliştirme süreci ve geliştirme sonrasındaki erişilebilirlik derecelerinin karşılaştırılması mümkün olabilir.

Bu makalede kamusal mekanın 'toplumsal dahil ediciliği'nin incelendiği Newcastle, 1970 öncesi İngiltere'nin kuzey doğusundaki en zengin sanayi kentidir. 1970'lerdeki ekonomik kriz, kentin ekonomik, toplumsal ve fiziksel yapısına önemli bir darbe vurmuştur. 1980'lerin ilk yarısından itibaren Newcastle, endüstri-sonrası kent ekonomileri ile paralellik gösteren bir yeniden yapılanmaya gitmiştir. Kentin ekonomik yapılanması, kentsel mekanın yeniden yapılanmasını da beraberinde getirmiştir. Özellikle, kent merkezi ve çevresinde, kamu-özel sektör işbirliğinde kentsel canlandırma projeleri başlatılmış; daha çok tüketime yönelik, oldukça spekülative, ticari ve prestijli mekanlar geliştirilmiştir. Oluşturulan yeni kentsel çevrenin en önemli öğelerinden biri, çekici, yüksek kalitede inşaat malzemeleri, sanat eserleri ve diğer tasarım öğeleriyle süslenmiş kamusal mekanlardır. Bu mekanlardan biri de, kent merkezinin kuzey batısını canlandırmayı hedefleyen girişimcilerin, bu alanın imgesini değiştirme ve geliştirme, ve böylece bu alana yatırım çekme açısından potansiyel olarak gördükleri HKOT'dir.

Bugün kentin perakende ticaretinin yoğunlaştığı Northumberland Caddesi'ne çok yakın bir alanda yer alan Haymarket, 19. yüzyılın başında askeri tören meydanı, 19. yüzyılın ortalarında ise, samanpazarı, geçici lunapark, sirk ve hayvanat bahçesinin kurulduğu, ve siyasal protestoların yapıldığı bir alan olarak kullanılmıştır. 19. yüzyılın sonunda, Haymarket'in çevresini belirleyen bir dizi ev, ve Farmers' Rest isimli bir bar inşa edilmiştir. 20. yüzyılın başında kentin kuzeye gelişiminin hızlanmasıyla Haymarket, kentin en önemli şehiriçi otobüs terminali haline gelmiştir. 1960 Kent Merkezi Planı doğrultusunda, Haymarket'a uzanan Percy Caddesi genişletilmiş; kent merkezindeki en büyük alışveriş merkezi olan Eldon Square Shopping Centre geliştirilmiş; alışveriş merkezinin hemen altına, kentin diğer önemli otobüs terminali kurulmuş; Haymarket'in çevresini oluşturan konutlar yıkılmış; yerlerine tek katlı ticari kullanımlar inşa edilmiştir. 1980 sonrası, Haymarket'in kuzeyine metro istasyonu, ve güneyine çok katlı otoparklar yapılmıştır.

HKOT ve çevresinin yeniden inşasından önce, Haymarket önemli düzeyde 'dahil edici' özelliklere sahipti. Otobüs istasyonu olması, metro istasyonuna, çok katlı otoparklara ve taksi durağına yakınlığı nedeniyle, yaya, metro ve otobüs yolcularına ve özel taşıt sahiplerine fiziksel olarak oldukça erişilebilir bir kamusal alandı. Haymarket'teki kentsel kullanımlar da, mekanın toplumsal erişilebilirliğini artırmaktaydı. Buna karşılık, Haymarket ve çevresindeki trafik sıkışıklığı, yaya-araç trafiği çatışması, fiziksel yönden hızla bozulan ve eskiyen kamusal mekanı, ve Northumberland Caddesi'ne bağlantısının olmayışı gibi birçok neden, kamusal mekanın 'dahil edicilik' özelliklerini azaltmaktaydı.

Büyük mağaza zincirlerinden biri olan Marks & Spencer (M&S), 1990'ların başında, Newcastle merkezindeki mağazasını Londra'dan sonra İngiltere'nin ikinci büyük mağazası haline getirmek amacıyla, mağazasının en önemli giriş noktalarını HKOT, Northumberland Caddesi ve Eldon Square Shopping Centre'a yapacak biçimde bir tasarım önerisinden yola çıkarak, hem mağazasına hem de Otobüs Terminali'ne 30

milyon sterlin değerinde bir yatırım yapmaya karar verdi. M&S, Haymarket'daki diğer iki büyük emlak sahibi Newcastle Belediyesi ve Scottish & Newcastle Breweries ile anlaşma yaparak, HKOT ve çevresini 1990'ların ortalarında yeniden geliştirdi.

Alanın yeniden geliştirilme sürecine, Tyne ve Wear Toplu Taşıma Yönetimi, Belediye, özel otobüs şirketleri, arazi sahipleri, taksiciler birliği, M&S'in danışmanları ve inşaat şirketinin bulunduğu oldukça seçkin bir grup katıldı. Kamunun diğer katmanlarının katılımına planın askı sürecinde izin verilirken, bu süreç içerisinde toplumun birçok kesiminden HKOT projesine protestolar ve eleştiriler geldi. Bütün protesto ve eleştirilere rağmen, HKOT projesi onaylandı; ve inşasına başlandı.

HKOT, imge geliştirme amaçlı kentsel canlandırma politikaları doğrultusunda inşa edilmiş bir kamusal mekandır. Birçok yönden, HKOT, endüstri-sonrası kentlerdeki kamusal mekanların özelleştirilmesine örnek olarak görülebilir. Ancak, HKOT, son dönemde hızla özelleştirilen kamusal mekan örneklerinden farklılıklar göstermektedir. Öncelikle, HKOT'nin yeni tasarım ve işletme politikaları, kamusal mekanın birçok istenmeyen etmenini ortadan kaldırarak, mekana belirli bir düzen ve disiplin getirmiş; ve belirli bir derecede kullanıcılarının günlük yaşamını kolaylaştırıcı etkilerde bulunmuşlardır. Bu politikalar, Haymarket'ı çekici, daha bakımlı, güvenli, düzenli ve kontrollü bir mekan haline getirmiştir. Böylece Haymarket'te, toplumun birçok katmanının içinde bulunmaktan memnun olacağı bir alan yaratılmış; ve HKOT'nin fiziksel ve sosyal mekanına erişim görece artmıştır. Buna karşılık, kamusal mekanın 'dahil edici' ve 'çoğulcu' özellikleri, toplumun tüm katmanlarının projenin geliştirme sürecine erişilebilirliğinin sınırlı olması nedeniyle gözardı edilmiştir. Haymarket'in yeni tasarımı, büyük-ölçek sermayenin çıkarlarına, ve Belediye'nin imge geliştirme amaçlı kentsel canlandırma politikaları doğrultusunda şekillenmiştir. Özellikle Belediye'nin politikaları, kamusal mekanın Haymarket'in canlandırılmasında görsel ve fonksiyonel bir araç haline gelmesine neden olmuştur. Yeni Haymarket, kamusal mekanın fiziksel, politik, sosyal, sosyo-psikolojik rollerinin gözardı edildiği; buna karşılık, ekonomik, sembolik ve estetik rollerinin gereğinden fazla vurgulandığı bir mekan haline gelmiştir. HKOT'nin yeni tasarımının bu özellikleri, kamusal mekanın 'dahil edici' özelliklerinin azalmasına neden olmuştur. Ayrıca, yeni geliştirilen kamusal mekan, fiziksel ve sosyal erişimi geçmişe göre daha kısıtlı, belirli bir düzeyde seçkinleştirme (*gentrification*), toplumsal dışlama (*social exclusion*) ve toplumsal tabakalaşma (*social stratification*) eğilimlerinin bulunduğu bir çevre haline gelmiştir.

HKOT, kentsel tasarım ve planlama yazınında incelenen birçok endüstri-sonrası kentin kamusal mekanlarıyla benzerlik göstermektedir. Bu benzerlikler:

- Kamusal mekanların sunumunda özel sektörün rolü ve varlığının artması,
- Kamusal mekanların geliştirme süreçlerinde kamunun (the public) rolü ve varlığının sınırlandırılması,
- Kamusal mekanların toplumsal erişilebilirliğinin, mekanın güvenliği ve yaratılan mekansal imgenin korunması amacıyla artırılan yeni kontrol mekanizmaları sonucunda azalması,
- Kamusal mekanların seçkinleştirme, toplumsal dışlama ve toplumsal tabakalaşmayı güçlendirme eğilimleri, ve

- Kamusal mekanların yeni tasarımlarının özellikle özel yararı artırıcı biçimde şekillenmesidir.

Bu benzerlikler, yaşadığımız dünyanın gittikçe daha da homojenleştiğinin, uluslararasılaştığının ve küçüldüğünün göstergeleridir. Buna karşılık, HKOT'nin, çağdaş kamusal mekanlardan farklılıkları da bulunmaktadır. Endüstri-sonrası kentin kamusal mekanı öncelikli olarak homojen bir kamuya hizmet ederken, HKOT hala yüksek sayıda kullanıcı tarafından erişilebilir bir mekandır. Kentsel tasarım ve planlama yazınında, çağdaş kamusal mekanların yerel topluluğun ihtiyaç ve faydası pahasına, özel yarara hizmet ettiği iddia edilmektedir. Kamusal yararı zedeleyen yeni tasarım ve işletme politikalarına rağmen, herkes tarafından ulaşılabilen açık kamusal mekan özelliğini koruması, Haymarket ve çevresine yeni yatırımlar çekerek, yeni iş olanaklarının yaratılmasını sağlaması, kentin ekonomik, sosyal ve fiziksel olarak çökmekte olan bir alanına yeniden canlılık getirmesi gibi nedenlerden dolayı, HKOT kamu yararını gözetilen bir örnektir.

Bütün bu incelemeler sonucunda, iki önemli saptama yapılabilir. Bunlardan birincisi, kentsel tasarım ve planlama yazınındaki kamusal mekanların 'dahil edici' özelliklerinin azaldığı kabulünün aksine, son dönemde geliştirilen HKOT'nin bazı 'dahil edici' özelliklerinin geliştiği, bazılarının da azaldığıdır. I. Bir başka deyişle, Haymarket örneği, endüstri-sonrası kentlerin kamusal mekanlarının 'erişim'inin, dolayısıyla 'toplumsal dahil ediciliği'nin farklı derecelerde olabileceğini göstermektedir. Ancak, kamusal alanın hızla küçüldüğü ve özel alanın sürekli genişlediği günümüz kentlerinde, toplumsal yaşamın gelişimini önemli ölçüde destekleyen, demokrasi ve çoğulculuğun mekansal pratiğinin hayata geçirildiği ve geliştirildiği, farklılıkların hoşgörüsü ile karşılandığı kamusal mekanlar, daha da önem kazanmaktadır. Kamusal mekanlar, sürekli artan toplumsal çatışmaların uzlaşmasını sağlayacak, ve toplumsal ve mekansal parçalanmayı tekrar bütünleştirecek bir kentleşmenin yapı taşlarından biridir. Kamusal mekanın 'dahil edici' özelliklerine yönelik gelişen tehditleri öngörebilmek, bu tehditlere karşı mücadele etmek; güvenli, herkesin erişebildiği kamusal mekanların geliştirilmesini sağlamak, günümüz kent bilimci ve karar vericilerin önde gelen sorumlulukları arasındadır.

Bu incelemede yapılabilecek ikinci saptama, Newcastle gibi, birçok endüstri-sonrası kentin kamusal mekan tasarımlarında görülen güçlü eğilimlerden birisi ile ilgilidir. Birçok imge geliştirme amaçlı kentsel canlandırma projesiyle, kamusal mekanların estetik, ekonomik, ve sembolik özelliklerini ön plana çıkararak, buna karşılık fiziksel, politik, sosyal ve sosyo-psikolojik yönlerini gözardı eden tasarımlar yapılmakta; ve kamusal mekanların 'dahil edici' özelliklerinin azalmasına neden olmaktadır. Kent bilimci ve karar vericilerin önündeki diğer bir önemli konu, kamunun günlük yaşam ihtiyaçlarına cevap veren ve kamusal mekanların geniş kamusal işlevlerini göz önüne alan kentsel çevreler yaratmak; ekonomik canlandırma ve imge yaratma amaçlı politikaların kamusal mekanların tasarımında tek yönlendirici olmamasını sağlamaktır. Bu noktada, kamusal mekanların tasarım ve planlama süreçlerine toplumun her kesiminin katılacağı kamusal alanların (*public sphere*) oluşturulması şarttır. Gerçek 'dahil edici' kamusal mekanların oluşturulması, kentsel canlandırma projelerinin toplum tarafından benimsenmesi ve sürdürülebilmesi açısından hayati bir önem taşımaktadır.