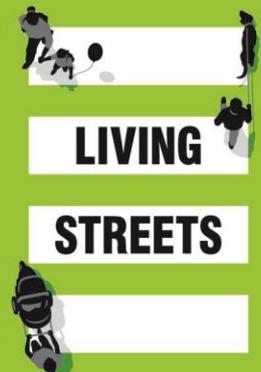


Better Streets: Key issues in Scotland

Social Housing Partnership Fund for Improved Cycling & Walking Facilities 2020-21



We are Living Streets Scotland, part of the UK charity for everyday walking. We want to create a nation where walking is the natural choice for everyday, local journeys.



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Executive Summary

In 2019 Living Streets began assessing conditions for pedestrians near social housing, alongside work by Cycling Scotland as part of the Social Housing Partnership Fund. We have collected evidence on 47 urban sites in Scotland, understanding issues in detail, and gaining a clear idea of the improvements needed to encourage everyday walking.

Despite current Scottish Government policy, we found little evidence at local neighbourhood level that pedestrians are at the top of transport hierarchy. Whilst we did see examples of good practice, in most cases pedestrian movement, or the wider sense of place in residential streets, were afterthoughts.

The key issues included:

- Poor **footway quality** in terms of issues like surface, width, and the design or absence of dropped kerbs, but also poor overall footway designs.
- **On street parking** dominating streets, restricting crossing opportunities and obscuring sight lines between pedestrians and drivers.
- **Minor junction design** which prioritised vehicle movement, even on local streets
- The dominance of **middle-status streets**, which neither have proper support for pedestrians to cross, nor a design adequate to slow traffic.
- **Major roads**, where the pedestrian environment is particularly poor, and opportunities to cross are limited, yet which are prominent on many pedestrian journeys.
- An absence of **passive surveillance** across wide urban areas.
- Limited availability of **walkable facilities** such as local shops, and particularly long or unpleasant walks to supermarkets or other key facilities.

This work demonstrates that across Scotland the pedestrian environment is of poor quality near social housing. We saw no evidence that issues were limited to these locations, or in fact to Scotland. Our recent work investigating Scottish business parks demonstrated similar problems in very different locations¹. Two recent reports by Transport for New Homes, provides evidence of similar issues even in the most recent housing developments in England.²

In many cases we have been able to suggest simple improvements, and the importance of these should be emphasised. Footway maintenance, enhanced crossing provision, and better parking management are all important, particularly for children, older and disabled people.

¹ “Out of Town and Out of Step” Living Streets Scotland, 2020

² “Transport for New Homes, Project Summary and Recommendations”, July 2018 and “Garden Villages and Garden Towns, Visions and Reality”, Transport for New Homes, 2020



These simpler interventions on their own won't lead to major changes in how people in Scotland choose to travel. If the Scottish Government wants to realise targets in terms of physical activity and traffic reduction then more fundamental changes are needed. A neighbourhood or network approach to improving conditions for pedestrians is vital. This will entail substantial street redesign, community engagement and a level of resource beyond that previously allocated by councils.

Details of some of the bigger changes that might be required are discussed in the accompanying report '**Better Streets: Ideas for change.**'

Introduction

In 2019 Living Streets began assessing conditions for pedestrians near social housing, delivering this alongside work by Cycling Scotland as part of the Social Housing Partnership Fund. We have collected evidence on 47 urban sites in Scotland. The work explored locations ranging from mid-sized rural towns (e.g. Inverurie, Montrose, Kelso and Selkirk), to neighbourhoods in large urban settlements (e.g. Edinburgh, Cumbernauld, Glasgow, Greenock and Johnstone). We inspected the street environment near tower blocks, tenemental districts and family homes in suburban areas.

This report collates key findings from the last two years, summarising what we've learned about overall conditions for pedestrians across these locations. We hope that it will help to inform policies on street design, management and maintenance.

Individual reports can be viewed at www.livingstreets.org.uk/socialhousingassessments

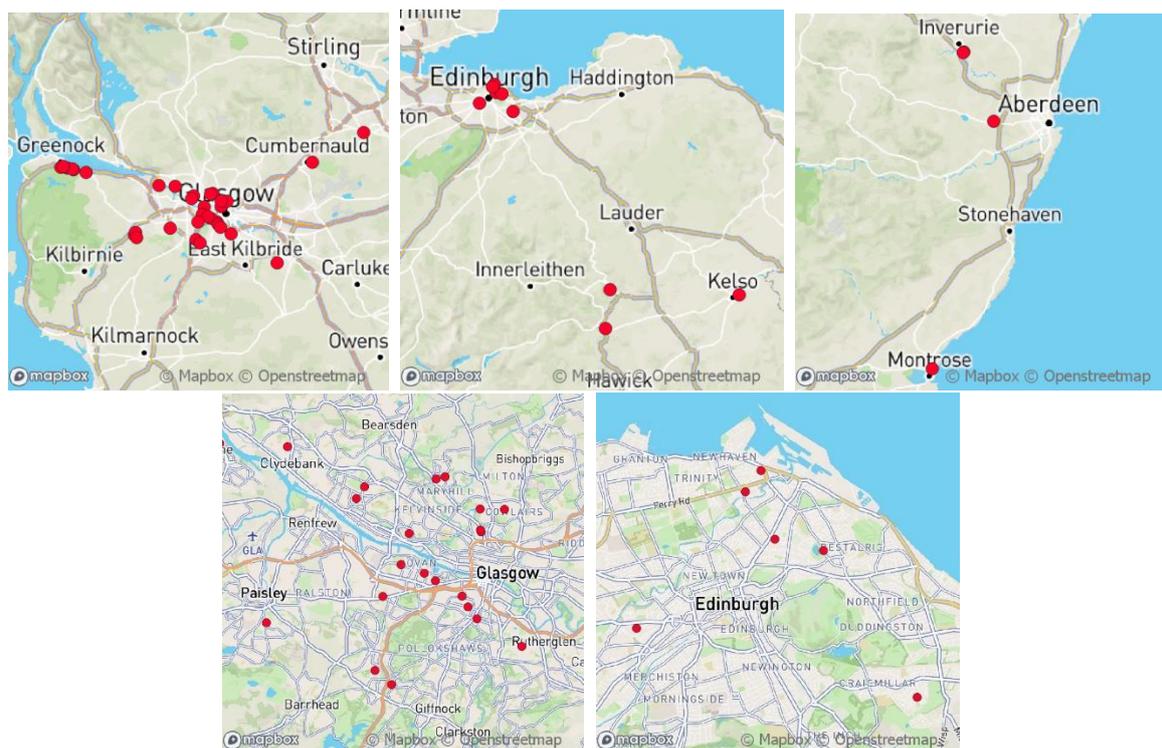


Figure 1: An overview of locations assessed during this work

While we saw isolated examples of more positive practice, this work provided comprehensive evidence of a catalogue of issues facing most pedestrians on many everyday journeys. Whilst the quality of the pedestrian experience was place specific none of the locations were free from some of the serious issues we've listed in this report.

Critically, the assessments showed why so many people with access to a car would choose that option rather than traveling by foot for local journeys.

This report should be read alongside the accompanying '**Better Streets: Ideas for change**' which describes some opportunities for much greater change, looking well beyond piecemeal projects or more routine maintenance.

The issues

Our assessments looked at fine detail like the quality of surfaces or whether dropped kerbs are provided. They also studied the wider environment for less obvious issues which might discourage trips on foot, or using a wheeled mobility aid like a wheelchair or mobility scooter.

We found a complex situation comprising multiple interrelated challenges and barriers to pedestrian movement. For clarity we describe the issues according to 7 themes:

- Footway quality
- Parking
- Minor junction design
- Middle-status streets
- Major roads
- Passive surveillance
- Walkable facilities

Language

We've consistently used the three phrases below (or close equivalents) throughout this report in order to make clear how often a problem occurred:

- "normally found"
- "often found"
- "sometimes found"
- "rarely found"

This document is intended for use both by the wider public and by those responsible for the design and management of streets. We use the following words for clarity:

Footway	The space beside a carriageway often described as 'the pavement' ('pavement' also means the material surfacing a road)
Carriageway	The section of a road intended for driving on.
Pedestrian	People walking, but also those using wheeled mobility aids like a wheelchair or mobility scooter.
Passive surveillance	The sense that an area feels watched over, and more welcoming to a pedestrian, if occupied buildings have windows looking onto it.

Footway quality

We often found that footways (pavements):

- were insufficiently maintained, limiting who can use them,
- lacked step free access between carriageway and footway, even at key crossing points.

Where vehicle access was provided to private housing across a footway (a 'vehicle crossover'), we normally found that a slope ('crossfall') was provided across the whole footway to make access by vehicle easy. It was rare for us to find the alternative of a short steep ramp onto an otherwise level footway.

Elsewhere we often found that:

- vehicle access to private property was provided by minor access lanes (or equivalent), breaking the continuity of the footway, even where these accesses appeared from their condition to be rarely or never used for actual vehicle access,
- such minor accesses often had very poor surfaces, and normally lacked dropped kerbs from the footway.

We sometimes found sections of footway which:

- were too narrow for many users,
- had sections of low kerbing which might make access to a carriageway easier for some, but that these normally lacked tactile paving to warn people with a visual impairment about stepping onto carriageway space.

Some of the issues described here are obvious to most observers and might lead to complaints. Others are less so. For example, most people recognise where surfaces are poor or where a footway is too narrow, but few would recognise that crossfall at vehicle crossovers results from a design choice rather than being a necessity.

Dropped kerbs (or raised carriageway tables), providing step free access to a carriageway, have become much more common in town centres, but we normally found them to be missing in residential streets. Even when these existed, we often found that they were of sufficiently low quality as to restrict who would be able to use them.

Excessive crossfall, or ramps which occupy a large portion of the footway, cause considerable disadvantage to many pedestrians, and particularly those using mobility aids. It is not always appreciated that excessive crossfall makes it difficult to propel a wheelchair in a straight line, or that mobility scooters may tip where this is more extreme. In slippery winter conditions excessive crossfall disadvantages almost all pedestrians. Importantly, these

issues can be avoided by using designs which enable vehicle access with a shorter steeper ramp, leaving sufficient level³ footway for pedestrians.

In comparing the observations above it is striking that step free access onto footways is so often provided at driveways, for what is only occasional access by private vehicle, yet that it is so rarely provided for the many disabled pedestrians struggling at key crossing points.

We question whether councils have considered accessibility issues, including the continuity of footways, at the planning stage, or as a public sector equality duty. These issues create significant and sometimes impassable barriers for some disabled people and disadvantage many others.

For more ideas about possible improvements refer to the section 'Footway quality' in 'Better Streets: Ideas for change'.

³ Strictly footways will not be entirely level, even relative to the overall topology, with a minimal crossfall remaining to enable drainage.

Photographs illustrating issues



Poor surface. Break in footway continuity for minor access. Poor surface on minor access.



Excessive crossfall across whole footway. Lengthy sections of footway lacking a kerb detectable with a long cane.



Excessive crossfall to support vehicle access



Poor surfaces



Break in footway continuity for minor access. Lack of dropped kerbs.



Break in footway continuity for minor access which appears unused. Poor surface on minor access.

Parking

Where an area had dense residential use we normally found that parked vehicles:

- were allowed to dominate the character of local streets,
- made it challenging to find crossing points,
- limited sight lines even at obvious crossing points, making crossing more hazardous.

Where an area had dense residential use, we sometimes found that:

- parked vehicles completely blocked or significantly narrowed footways (pavements).

In writing about the domination of streets by parked vehicles we're not only considering issues facing pedestrian movement, but also how this prevents the use of those streets for wider purposes. Where parked vehicles dominate we think that neighbours are less likely to stand chatting, children are unlikely to play, people are unlikely to sit, and people become less likely to try to make the street or their property look attractive. These principles are well established by studies dating back to the 1970s and repeated in the 1990s in Bristol⁴.

Figure 2 is a simplified sketch of this situation at a residential junction, which is seen from above.

Where parked vehicles block sight lines this makes crossing more difficult for all pedestrians, but particularly for those whose eye height is lower. This group includes children and people using mobility scooters or wheelchairs. Even if it is physically possible to cross between parked vehicles it becomes difficult to see moving vehicles, and in turn people driving find it difficult to see pedestrians intending to cross.

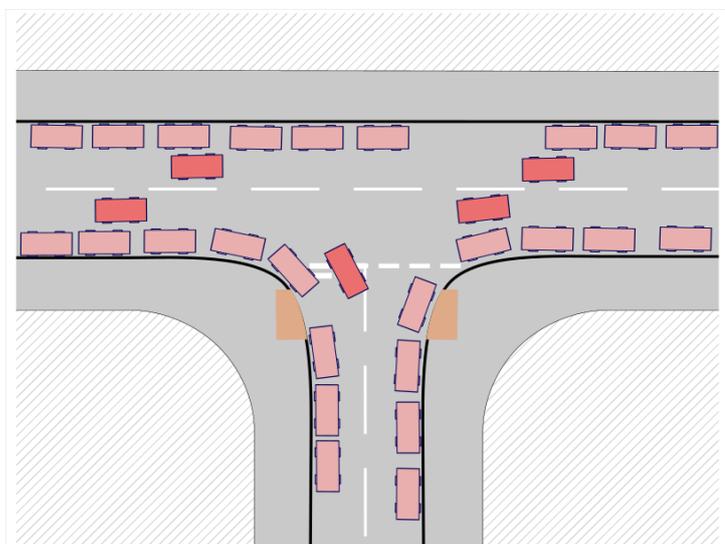


Figure 2: Parked vehicles dominating at a residential junction (Red rectangles represent moving vehicles, and pink parked vehicles)

⁴ Joshua Hart and Prof. Graham Parkhurst (2011) Driven To Excess: Impacts of Motor Vehicles on the Quality of Life of Residents of Three Streets in Bristol UK, University of Bristol

Where passage along a footway is blocked pedestrians may be forced to walk on the carriageway. Not all pedestrians will be able to do this, particularly where there is no level access to the carriageway. In a few quieter residential streets traffic movement was rare and

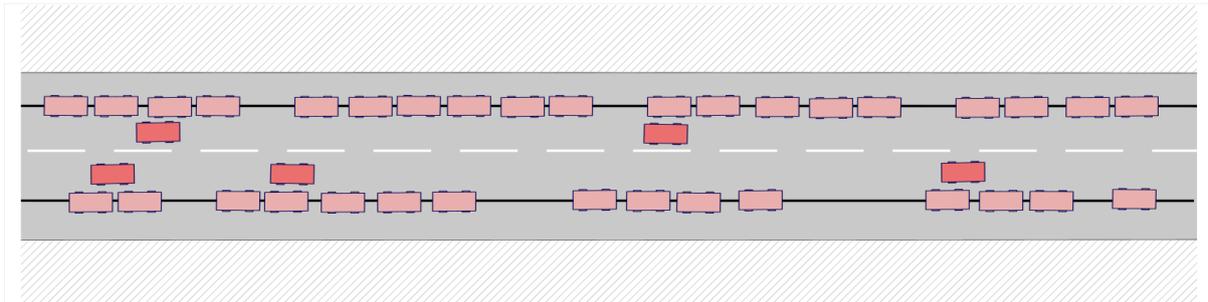


Figure 3: Parked vehicles blocking footway

slow, but often we found that footways were blocked on streets which weren't like this. In places we concluded that people had parked on the footway in an attempt to keep a carriageway clear specifically because of the speed and volume of traffic on it.

For more ideas about possible improvements refer to the section 'Parking' in 'Better Streets: Ideas for change'

Photographs illustrating issues



Parking blocking footway in residential street



Entire footway taken for parking



Parking narrowing footway in residential street



Parking entirely on footways on a residential street



Dropped kerb blocked



Crossing between parked vehicles using a mobility scooter

Minor junction design

We normally found that:

- the kerb line at junctions, even on residential streets, was laid in a wide curve to facilitate the movement of large vehicles,
- small vehicles are able to navigate these curves at speeds which are higher than desirable,
- this style of design has been used to prioritise vehicle movement over conditions for pedestrians, even within residential areas.

In those locations where dropped kerbs were provided to facilitate access across a side road, we often found that:

- these were provided close to the widest section of carriageway,
- they sloped significantly toward the more major road rather than the direction of travel.

It seems clear that current practice continues to prioritise the movement of larger vehicles, and the speed and flow of smaller vehicles, over conditions for pedestrians.

'Designing Streets' policy outlines how minor junctions should be designed to prioritise pedestrian movement, specifically highlighting the importance of 'small corner radii' in designs. We rarely found that junctions, even the most minor, were designed as indicated in this policy.

Figure 4 shows a junction with features we find to be typical in Scotland.

The way that the kerbs on a junction like this define a gentle corner, and a wide mouth on the side road, allows vehicles to be driven in or out of the side road while maintaining some speed, and large vehicles to take the corner more easily. Pedestrians cross a wide section of carriageway. To do so safely they need to predict whether vehicles approaching at speed, including from a long way behind them, will turn into the side street. There may be limited safe crossing time.

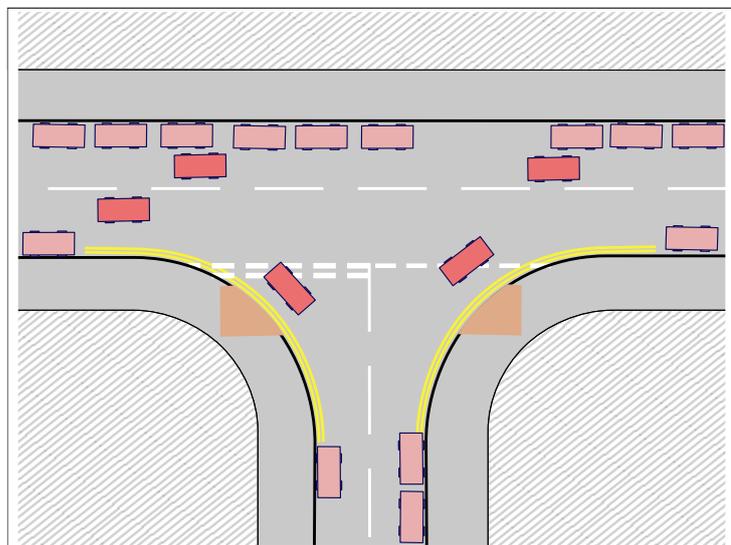


Figure 4: Typical junction layout (large corner radii)
(Red rectangles represent moving vehicles, and pink parked vehicles)

Such design strongly undermines any sense that drivers should give priority to crossing pedestrians, as indicated in the Highway Code (rules 8 and 170).

Where dropped kerbs were provided, we normally found that these were near the widest section of carriageway, at the mouth of the side road. This perhaps provides an illusion that streets have been made accessible to those with disabilities, particularly when tactile paving is included (as in figure 4). In reality, in addition to issues of carriageway width, we believe that such dropped kerbs are often difficult to negotiate because they don't slope in the direction of travel. While the presence of tactile paving is positive this perhaps provides more a warning that a kerb is absent than an indication of a suitable place to cross.

Figure 5 illustrates the same junction as in figure 4, but redesigned to prioritise pedestrian movement. This design means smaller vehicles need to slow significantly before turning. Occasional larger vehicles will need to use the full carriageway width to turn.

We found that junctions with tighter corners weren't entirely absent, often being present in areas of older tenement housing. Unfortunately, parked vehicles normally dominated junctions in these locations, with the most severe issues where restrictions weren't in place.

Some pedestrians might feel they need to choose narrower points to cross, away from the junction and further down the side street. However we found that in doing so pedestrians often would face the issues discussed in the previous section.

For more ideas about possible improvements refer to the section 'Minor junction design' in 'Better Streets: Ideas for change'.

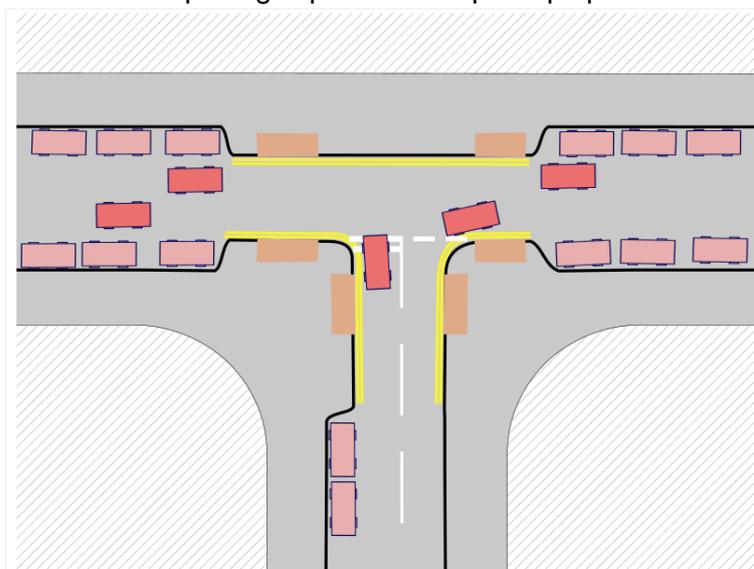


Figure 5: Junction redesigned to slow vehicles and aid crossing

Photographs illustrating issues



Low quality dropped kerb sloping toward major road



Tight kerb corner beside tenements, with problematic parking



Wide side road mouth beside major road (dropped kerb and tactile paving visible opposite).



Poor quality low/dropped kerbs, wide junction mouth beside major road.



Close up detail from above-right photo, showing low kerb without tactile paving warning.



Crossing the widest part of the mouth of a side road, beside a major road, using a mobility scooter.

Middle-status streets

We normally found:

- Areas where people live include many streets which we might describe as 'middle-status'. These are not managed as 'main' roads (e.g. arterial roads) with proper support planned for pedestrians to cross, but nor are they quiet, easily crossed streets carrying slow moving local traffic.

We found that these middle-status streets were often dominant in residential areas. They may have come to function as poorly adapted vehicle distributors through use, or through design. They lacked the type of facilities, such as controlled crossings and parking restrictions, found on major roads. They also lacked the kinds of street design which would create slow vehicle speeds.

The presence of these middle-status streets meant that there was rarely a clear distinction in street design between areas with higher and lower speed limits (e.g. 30/40 mph versus 20 mph).

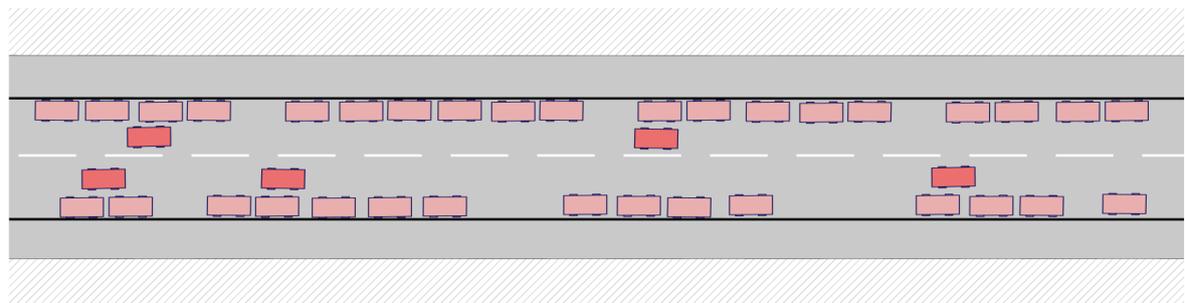


Figure 6: A typical middle-status street. Marked as if for high speed traffic, yet with high levels of parking, and with no support for pedestrians to cross

Some pedestrians will be able to negotiate most of these middle-status streets with only minor inconvenience, accepting the risks involved. However many others will find that they present a much bigger barrier.

We found that genuinely quiet residential streets were rare, and their quiet status usually resulted from their lack of connection for through traffic. Only rarely did we find street design used to adapt existing streets so that they felt to be places where slow vehicle speeds felt natural.

We did often find point closures restricting traffic on individual streets in a residential area, for example with bollards at a road end. However we found that other through-routes



normally remained available in these same residential areas, helping to define the presence and location of the middle-status streets in the area.

For more ideas about possible improvements refer to the section 'Clear road hierarchy' in 'Better Streets: Ideas for change'.

Photographs illustrating issues

Each image shows a substantial stretch of a street which passes through residential areas, which has few (if any) formal controlled crossings for pedestrians, and which is wide enough to encourage problematic speeds.



Carwood St (Belville/Ingleston St), Greenock



Sinclair St, Greenock



Knightswood Rd, Glasgow.



Shields Rd, Glasgow.



Marionville Road, Edinburgh.



Southbrae Drive, Glasgow

Major roads

Where the places people live are bordered or sub-divided by major roads – designed with a focus on vehicle volume, speed and flow – we often found that:

- pedestrian journeys are defined by diversions to reach crossing points, poor conditions at bridges or underpasses, or long crossing times at signalised crossings (i.e. crossings with traffic lights),
- pedestrians have become accustomed to ignoring formal crossing points because these are too far apart, or because waiting time to cross is excessive,
- these were designed in a way that encourages people to drive at speeds above the applicable limit.

We sometimes found that:

- these were located or managed in such a way that we thought that they wouldn't ever carry the volume of traffic that their design seemed to invite.

These major roads often define the character of an area where people live, and safe crossing points constrain the routes available to pedestrians. It might be inevitable that such roads exist, but we often found inconsistency how they were designed or managed.

For example, we sometimes found that a major road had been designed with only occasional support for pedestrians to cross, or with features to discourage this, yet with bus stops positioned well away from crossing points.

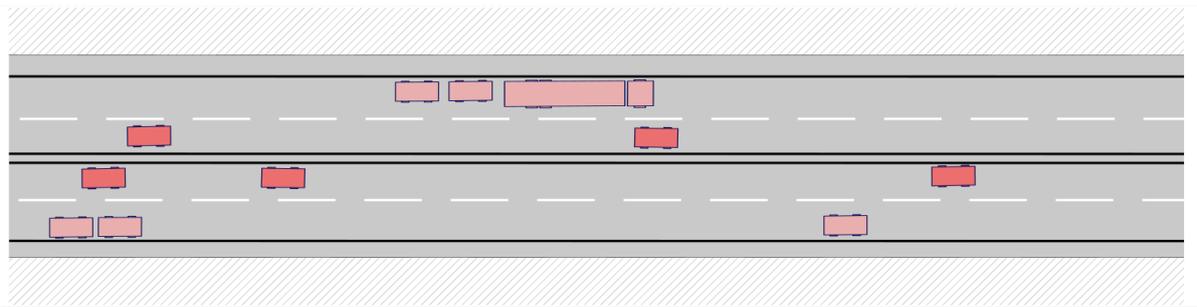


Figure 7: Road marked as if for 4 lanes of flowing traffic, but carrying only two (pink vehicles are parked, red moving).

Figure 7 shows a situation we often found to exist on multilane urban roads. The road appears as if a dual carriageway, but parked or stopped vehicles, mean that this isn't how it functions. Passing opportunities are rare meaning that most of the time it carries a single flow of traffic in either direction.

We didn't carry out detailed analysis, but we also found situations where we judged that limitations to network capacity elsewhere would mean that individual multi-lane roads would never carry the more significant volumes of traffic they appeared to have been designed for.

In each of these situations it seems reasonable to conclude that the redundant carriageway width encourages faster vehicle speeds, often above the posted speed limit, rather than increasing road network capacity.

We believe that alternative designs might limit peak vehicle speeds, maintaining or improving traffic flow, and improving conditions alongside the carriageway, without decreasing overall network capacity and with marginal impacts on parking provision.

There are also issues with minor junctions on major roads, much as discussed in the section earlier on minor junctions.

Figure 8 shows a junction between a major multilane urban road and a side road. Parked vehicles mean the multilane road will be carrying single vehicle flows in either direction, and that the minor carriageway can only carry relatively slow moving vehicles. However the junction itself can carry vehicles at considerable speed.

We normally found that where such side roads carry less traffic the junction is unsignalised (without traffic lights). This leaves pedestrians vulnerable, presenting a difficult and sometimes dangerous crossing point.

All these designs arise from historic choices made to prioritise vehicle flow and speed over conditions and safety for pedestrians.

For more ideas about possible improvements refer to the section 'Improving major roads' in 'Better Streets: Ideas for change'.

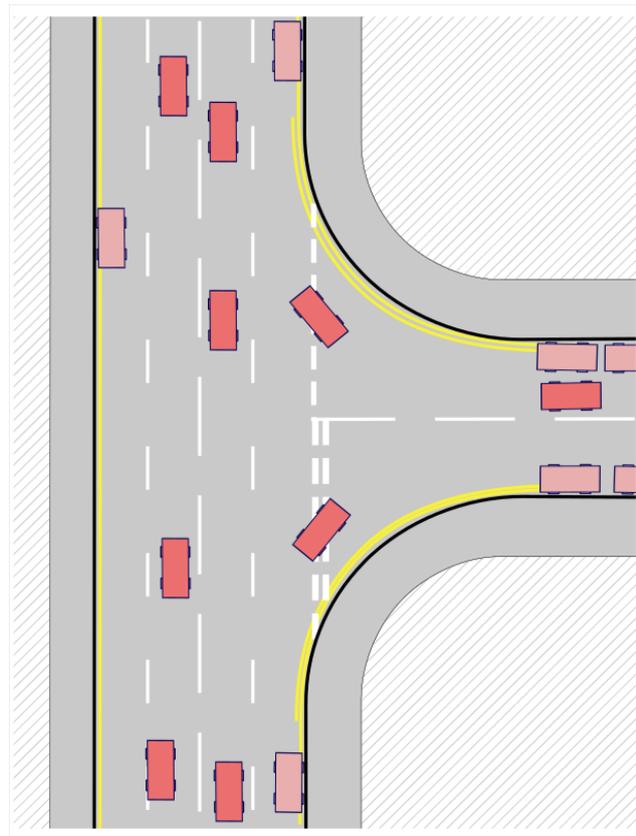


Figure 8: Major road, unsignalised junction with side road

Photographs illustrating issues



Lindsay Road, Edinburgh
(old image, to be changed for tram works).



Great Western Road, Glasgow.



Anniesland Road at Scotstounhill Station



Lincoln Avenue, Glasgow



Maryhill Road, Glasgow



Kilbowie Road, Clydebank

Passive surveillance

We often found that

- routes from places people live to local facilities, or to other important destinations, required pedestrians to pass through spaces which lacked a sense of passive surveillance,
- these spaces were unwelcoming, particularly after dark or later at night.

We normally found that the lack of passive surveillance in these areas arose from one of the following:

- non-residential land uses which had developed alongside motorways, major dual-carriageways, busy roads, railways, rivers and canals,
- industrial land uses, or brownfield (or unoccupied) land
- green spaces,
- distributor-style roads,
- car-orientated developments with large car parks (and vehicle accesses to these), such as retail parks or larger supermarkets
- tunnels and bridges under/over linear barriers like waterways, railways, and motorways.

The phrase 'passive surveillance' refers to the way in which an area can feel more welcoming where occupied buildings have windows looking onto it. Even where a pedestrian is alone, without actual sight of other people, good passive surveillance means they don't feel isolated. A lack of passive surveillance of a street or area can create a barrier for pedestrians, particularly after dark or later at night. In Scotland many everyday winter journeys take place after dark.

Problems with a lack of passive surveillance can arise from land uses which are positive in other ways. Industrially focused areas may provide employment but become unwelcoming out of hours. Green space is an asset for a wide range of reasons, but even well-tended parks often become unwelcoming after dark.

Some of the less obvious issues we found arose from a lack of 'active frontage' along a street. A lack of passive surveillance was an issue not because buildings which could have provided this were absent, but because they had been designed to turn their back on a key route. Pedestrians could be near to residential property or to shops but they had to pass behind or between them, or alongside walls lacking windows. In some cases the level of passive surveillance would vary according to times when buildings were occupied.

We've used the phrase 'distributor-style roads' to refer to a style of linking road created in car-orientated design for residential areas (see maps in figures 9 and 10). Such roads



Figure 9: Distributor-style road

are designed for the movement of vehicles. Residential property does not front onto them. We found many locations where a road had intentionally been designed on this basis. We also often found locations where a road of this character had been allowed to develop over time.

We often found that pedestrian-only crossings, bridges or underpasses – over or under linear barriers like motorways, railways or canals – had been designed or located so there was a lack of passive surveillance of them. We found that these linear barriers could also be problematic simply because of the physical severance they created.

Less obvious examples of linear barriers included cuttings or embankments previously used for railways, and disconnections in street patterns which had arisen because residential areas were built at different times. In some places old railway land had been used for paths, which were an asset for walking or cycling. Here it might have been easy to miss the issues of a lack of passive surveillance of these paths after dark, or that the linear barrier, with limited crossing points, was still present.

Areas that lacked a sense of passive surveillance might feel more welcoming due the presence of other pedestrians, people cycling, or even passing vehicles. This may provide an extended window of time during which a route would be more welcoming, even after dark.

We also noted that in some locations the ugly environment, noise, pollution, the experience of being dazzled by headlights and splashed by vehicles, and the proximity of fast-moving vehicles, added to levels of anxiety and discomfort. Different people might be more sensitive to these issues, with some wishing to avoid an area completely.

For more ideas about possible improvements refer to the section 'Place making' in 'Better Streets: Ideas for change'.



Figure 10: Distributor-style road

Photographs illustrating issues



Greenock. Route to nearest supermarket separated from major carriageway, lacking passive surveillance.



Greenock. Key route to town centre, lacking passive surveillance.



Possilpark, Glasgow. Key route toward city through former industrial area



Possilpark, Glasgow. Key route to city alongside road designed for vehicle-capacity/flow.



Possil Road, Glasgow. (crossing under canal)



Glasgow, beneath M8 motorway.



Sinclair St, Greenock (crossing under railway).



Glasgow. Footbridge over motorways.

Walkable facilities

We normally found that important basic facilities essential for a community, such as key supermarkets, had been:

- developed in locations chosen to appeal to those arriving by car, and
- designed to prioritise those arriving by car

These issues sometimes extended to the design and location of some schools or other facilities, but they were most obvious in regard to everyday shopping.

We often found that areas were served by small convenience-style shops, but that it seemed likely that those who could do so would travel to a larger supermarket.

We normally found that larger supermarkets were in locations more easily reached by car, for example on the edge of residential communities, in commercial or industrial areas, or near major road junctions.

The result was walking routes that often:

- were too long to be convenient, and sometimes beyond realistic walking distances,
- were alongside major roads, making them unpleasant,
- required complex and time-consuming crossings of larger roads,
- entailed complex or risky negotiation of large car parks and their access roads,
- lacked passive surveillance, making them unwelcoming, particularly after dark.

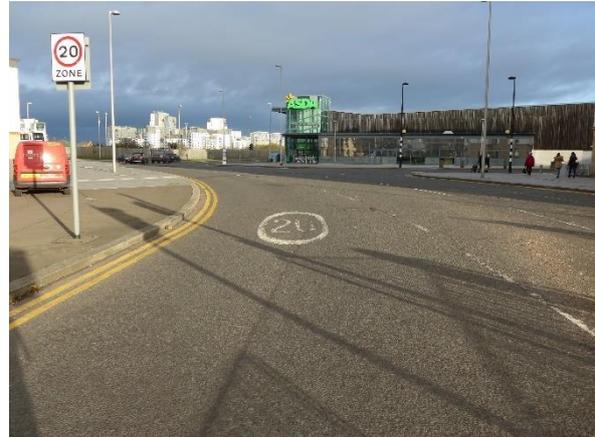
We considered that increased car use has led to increased demand for facilities targeted at those with a car, and a reduced demand for alternatives. This meaning the move toward car-orientated provision providing yet more incentive to secure access to a car.

For more ideas about possible improvements refer to the section 'Place making' in 'Better Streets: Ideas for change'.

Photographs illustrating issues



Ocean Terminal, Edinburgh.
Access to shopping centre requires negotiating roundabout exits and passing a multistorey car park. A pedestrian 'desire line' can be seen worn in the grass away from the surfaced footway.



Asda store, Newhaven, Edinburgh. Built on old dockland away from the traditional shopping area, with wide approach roads and large car park. Shop frontage adds little sense of passive surveillance to the access road.



Greenock. Main vehicle access to large supermarket provided by a major road junction.



Large retail park, built around car park, outside historic town centre.

Positive observations

While this report is written to highlight the issues found during our work, we also made individual more positive observations. In this second year of the project the following examples stood out:

Assessment area	Google Streetview or map links
<p>East Pollokshields stood out because the dense tenement housing seems likely to provide a sense of passive surveillance of the local streets.</p> <p>Our study focused on Albert Drive, which has a range of local shops, closely connected to the surrounding residential area. In places the kerb line of Albert Drive (pictured below) has been substantially altered, effectively putting parked vehicles into parking bays, shortening crossing distances at junctions.</p>  <p>McCulloch Street (below) provides an example of how a street design can substantially change how a street feels. Here the carriageway is no longer wide and straight, and there are several raised tables making crossing pedestrians obvious and ensuring they have good visibility.</p> 	<p>Albert Drive</p> <p>Closure of Leslie Street</p>

At **Halfwayhouse** recent work to install play equipment may have positively improved the sense of passive surveillance of Berryknowes Avenue, which we considered a key route to the nearby supermarket.

Berryknowes Avenue

We reported issues with a lack of connection of the path network behind housing in **Corseford**, Johnstone. However, we were told that this did provide a space where playing children were considered to be safer from traffic.

Corseford (map)

We observed that **Govanhill** had dense tenement housing, and that Victoria Road provided key shopping facilities. In particular we noted that a medium sized supermarket was located on Victoria Road, and that this faced onto Victoria Road. Recent work to improve Victoria Road, and to provide segregated support for cycling, has significantly narrowed crossing distances in places, for example at the crossing shown in the photo below. On the second image the positions of the original and new kerbs are highlighted using red and yellow lines.

Supermarket
Victoria Road
Calder Street junction
Langside Road junction
Govanhill Street junction



More widely in Govanhill we observed places where there had, in the past, been work to significantly reduce carriageway widths at some key junctions. One of these, on Calder Street, is pictured below. In the second image the positions of the original and new kerbs are highlighted using red and yellow lines.



Govanhill also has examples of the alteration of residential junctions to significantly narrow crossing distances, with a raised table proving level access to the carriageway. In the second image below the original positions of the kerbs, and the new kerbs, are highlighted with red and yellow lines.



<p>The area around Lyle Street in Greenock has relatively dense tenement housing, and residential streets which seem likely to slow traffic, creating conditions where several local shops exist despite the proximity of the area to the town centre.</p>	<p><u>Lynedoch Street</u></p>
<p>Although they are now in need of repair, the small community in a cul-de-sac at the east end of Stock Street in Paisley probably continues to benefit from long-established measures to define parking spaces (rather allowing parking to completely block footways).</p>	<p><u>Stock Street, Paisley</u></p>
<p>We observed major issues with the way that the Silverburn Shopping Centre turns its back on the local community of Priesthill, but the proximity of a centre like this to the community most likely means easier access to large stores (including a supermarket) than for many comparable communities.</p>	<p><u>Silverburn Shopping Centre (map)</u></p>
<p>The community at Sutherland Street, Haymarket, Edinburgh has routes available to some of the nearby local shops along inner-city streets, with some sense of passive surveillance. The dense community here means a wide variety of local shops and mid-size supermarkets are available nearby. Some footways were recently resurfaced by the City of Edinburgh Council to prevent trips and falls.</p>	<p><u>Haymarket Terrace shops</u></p>

Conclusions

The 47 properties, locations and surrounding communities which we've assessed, varied considerably in location and character, yet none were free of some of the serious issues we've listed in this report. Many of these issues were common. For example we reported bigger issues around a lack of passive surveillance in all but one report in this second year of work.

We saw no evidence that these issues were limited to locations where housing associations manage property and assume that the picture we've gained is of conditions experienced by pedestrians much more widely.

Despite current Scottish Government policy our work found little evidence at local neighbourhood level that pedestrians are at the top of transport hierarchy. Whilst we did see examples of good practice, in most cases pedestrian movement, or the wider sense of place in residential streets, were afterthoughts.

The appendix highlights how different issues combined in the 18 locations assessed in the second year of this project.

Where several issues are present the overall effects come from the interaction of these issues. We found that for many of the locations this combination created community severance, with major barriers between communities and surrounding areas.

Many basic daily journeys as a pedestrian, in most of these areas, are lengthy, difficult or unpleasant. This encourages use and ownership of private cars and other private motor vehicles, at least where people can afford these. In turn this leads to conditions for pedestrians deteriorating further.

In many cases we have been able to suggest simple improvements, and the importance of these should be emphasised. Footway maintenance, enhanced crossing provision, and better parking management are all important, particularly for children, older and disabled people. A recent document from the 'Mobility and Access Committee for Scotland' (MACS) highlighting a similar message was entitled 'Small Changes can make a Big Difference'⁵.

These simpler interventions on their own won't lead to major changes in behaviour. It seems clear that the situation we found in the communities we assessed has arisen over decades. If the Scottish Government wants to realise targets in terms of physical activity and traffic reduction then more fundamental changes are needed. A neighbourhood or network approach to improving conditions for pedestrians is vital. This will entail substantial street redesign, community engagement and a level of resource beyond that previously allocated by councils. Details of some of the changes that might be required are discussed in the accompanying document '**Better Streets: Ideas for change.**'

A priority is establishing pilot projects to understand the costs and benefits of transforming streets at a neighbourhood scale, and communicating lessons learned more widely. Only then will it be possible to create streets where pedestrians come first.

⁵ "Small Changes can make a Big Difference": Guidance from MACS on promoting accessibility through active travel measures

Appendix: Distribution of issues

This table provides a rough indication of how often each of the issues listed has been highlighted as a key point in our assessments – listing only the 18 assessments carried out in the second year of this project.

	Footway quality: Narrow footways	Footway quality: Crossfall on footway	Footway quality: Lack of dropped kerbs	Parking: Vehicles blocking footways	Parking: Dominance of streets	Minor junctions: Vehicles prioritised	Middle-status streets: Presence of	Major roads: Difficulty crossing	Major roads: Dominance of	Passive surveillance: Issues with linear barrier crossings	Passive surveillance: Need to travel through areas lacking	Passive surveillance: Presence of distributor-style roads	Amenity location: Design of amenity	Amenity location: Access along major roads	Amenity location: Distance to amenity
Lyle St, Greenock			Y		Y		Y	Y			Y		Y	Y	
Farrier Ct, Kelso			Y								Y			Y	
Meigle View, Galashiels	Y	Y	Y			Y	Y						Y		
Arden, Glasgow			Y	Y	Y				Y		Y		Y	Y	
Corseford, Johnstone	Y		Y		Y	Y					Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sandy Flats, Johnstone					Y		Y	Y			Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Spateston, Johnstone	Y		Y		Y	Y		Y			Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sutherland St, Edinburgh	Y	Y	Y							Y					
Cumlodden Dr, Glasgow			Y					Y		Y	Y	Y		Y	
Glenavon Rd, Glasgow			Y			Y	Y			Y	Y	Y		Y	
Stock Street, Paisley			Y	Y		Y	Y				Y				

Wester Common,
Glasgow
Burns Rd,
Cumbernauld
Priesthill,
Glasgow
Toryglen,
Glasgow
Albert Dr,
Pollokshields
Berryknowes Av,
Glasgow
Craigie St,
Govanhill

	Footway quality: Narrow footways	Footway quality: Crossfall on footway	Footway quality: Lack of dropped kerbs	Parking: Vehicles blocking footways	Parking: Dominance of streets	Minor junctions: Vehicles prioritised	Middle-status streets: Presence of	Major roads: Difficulty crossing	Major roads: Dominance of	Passive surveillance: Issues with linear barrier crossings	Passive surveillance: Need to travel through areas lacking	Passive surveillance: Presence of distributor-style roads	Amenity location: Design of amenity	Amenity location: Access along major roads	Amenity location: Distance to amenity
Wester Common, Glasgow	Y									Y	Y			Y	
Burns Rd, Cumbernauld								Y		Y	Y	Y	Y		
Priesthill, Glasgow	Y			Y		Y	Y	Y		Y		Y	Y	Y	
Toryglen, Glasgow	Y	Y		Y		Y	Y			Y			Y	Y	
Albert Dr, Pollokshields	Y			Y						Y	Y				
Berryknowes Av, Glasgow						Y		Y	Y	Y				Y	
Craigie St, Govanhill	Y				Y	Y				Y					