EMILY PRIEST

M1

A406
Exiting North Circular Road

The noise of the engine grows louder, the windows vibrate quicker, we are pushed into our seats further. Climbing from 30 mph to 60 mph over a mere 20 metres we feel the purchase between tyre and road. We pull up from the dark under the croft of concrete columns carrying London's North Circular and rise from under a masonry railway tunnel tagged with 10FOOT graffiti.[1] At the peak of this ramp our view pans down from sky to road.... we veer right into a humming sweep of cars spanning four lanes in both directions. We are at the start of the M1, England's 'first *major* stretch of motorway' (Merriman 2007: 20).

The M1 runs north-south through the UK, it was built to connect London, the West Midlands and Leeds. Spanning nearly 200 miles today, it slices through land to connect cities, suburbs and countryside. Having grown up in a suburban area dependent on cars and motorways – particularly the M5, which connects Dudley to the wider West Midlands – I have come to see how such infrastructure both connects and distances us from our surroundings. The M1 is particularly significant within the British landscape as its orientation is indicative of England's axiality with itself and Europe. The idea of contact is a useful term to critique the motorway as an infrastructure that facilitates both connection and separation across multiple scales, because as much as the M1 provides contact through mobility, it has become a border to the land it cuts through. This essay examines the M1 to

1 10FOOT is a well-known graffiti artist in London who is known for painting their name '10FOOT' in large letters on urban infrastructure such as bridges, rooftops and trackside walls.

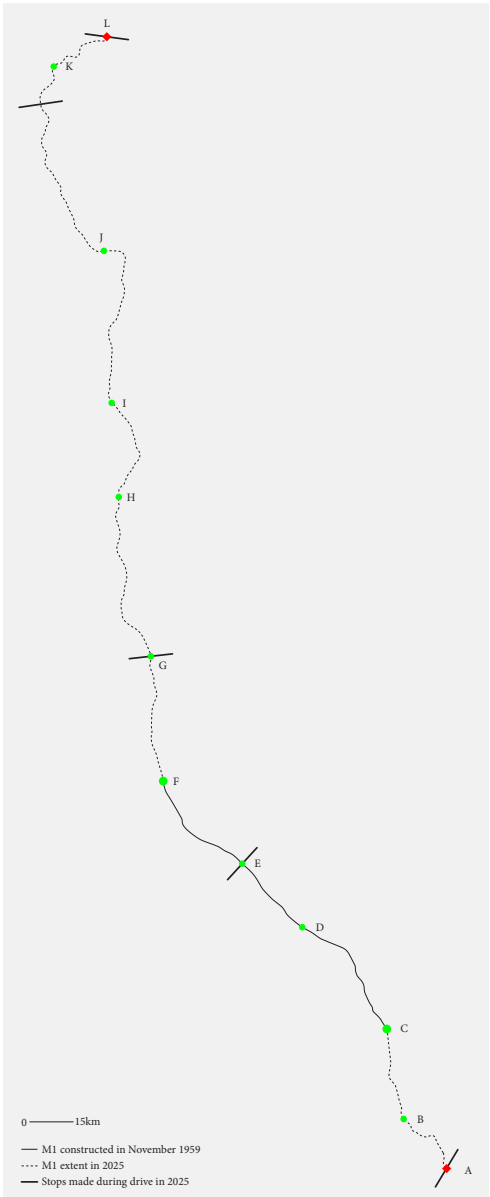


FIGURE 1
Diagram of M1 motorway route showing initial and current stretch; A–London, B–Watford, C–Luton, D–Milton Keynes, E–Northampton, F–Rugby, G–Leicester, H–Nottingham, I–Mansfield, J–Sheffield, K–Central Leeds, L–Beyond Leeds. Illustration: Emily Priest

argue that while motorways enhance our connectivity through uninterrupted speed, they simultaneously diminish human and geographical contact across multiple scales, from the driver's experience to systems of global logistics. As fieldwork, and in reference to architect Alison Smithson's *AS in DS: An Eye on the Road* (1983), I drove the entirety of the M1 from London to Leeds and back again in May 2025 to provide a personal and substantiated critique that balances the motorway's current condition with its conception and construction. The following essay determines the M1 as a space of paradox, where contact generates isolation, and movement masks dislocation.

The initial stretch of the M1 opened in November 1959, running from Luton to Rugby (Figure 1). This was almost a year after the opening of England's first actual motorway stretch, Preston Bypass, measuring just over eight miles (Merriman 2007: 21). Initially known as the London to Yorkshire Motorway, the M1 was far longer and wider than its predecessor, and received national publicity for its 72-mile length. 'Exotic' and 'distinctive' when new (Merriman 2007: 21), the M1 was a symbol of British modernity and post-war prosperity. The earliest southern section was initially built as a dual two-lane carriageway (about 7.3 m in total width) with a hard shoulder on the outer edges (2.4 m each), making an approximate overall width of 12m. This section was later expanded as were many others, with some of the widest today accommodating up to four lanes of traffic in each direction (about 29.2 m in total width), plus hard shoulders (3.3 m each), plus a central reservation (3.65 m, the width of one traffic lane), totalling 39.45m. This thickening alone, brought on by increased traffic, has caused a growing physical separation between road and land, as well as a larger distance between drivers and the neighbouring surroundings, turning the M1 into a much wider border than originally intended. The M1 has only ever been for vehicles and this prioritisation for 'one type of user inevitably impacts journeys for others', so wrote mathematician Nelo Magalhães, resulting in 'fragmented' space that has only become more fragmented by its expansion (Magalhães 2025: 7).

A406 to A1081

London to Luton

We pass under white lettering on blue background.... the traffic on the other side is more congested as it crawls towards London near Junction six. There is no barrier to the outer motorway edge.... the tarmac hard shoulder turns to grass. The central reservation is marked by a concrete bumper that metamorphoses into a pair of low galvanised steel crash barriers enclosing patchy planting.... the barrier on our side casts a shadow, 'an endless millipede walking down the carriageway' (Smithson 1983: 101). It walks along a micro-desert where dust, seeds, and debris collect as they are blown into the middle by displaced air.... we witness the desert fluidly rise and fall into a green ribbon of shrubs, trees, a lawn and back to a desert– which 'only heightens the arid effect' (Nairn 2024: 61). There is something uncanny about such frictionless transitions. Approaching Luton, there is

a moment where our car glides a patch of road lower than the one ahead allowing a far-stretched view. The 'arrow-straight four-lane "carway"' (Merriman 2007: 25) reveals itself albeit with all the 21st-century highway clutter it now carries.

The M1 required a totally new approach to road signage to show drivers how to use it. The graphic designer, Margaret Calvert, proposed a new wayfinding system that increased lettering size by three times and introduced a new lowercase sans serif typeface known as Transport. The signage was part of the expectation that the M1 would forge 'progress through the countryside [...] in a non-stop belt of traffic' (Fairbrother 1972: 267). But in doing so, it caused towns, cities and landscapes to be 'battered without mercy' by new 'steam-roller roads', so wrote Ian Nairn (2024: 52, vi) as part of *Outrage*, a 'prophecy of doom' about England's reduction to a placeless utopia. The M1 was an outcome of Britain's gaze towards Germany's Autobahn, whose first stretch opened in 1935, Italy's Autostrada, and the US Interstate Highway System, which was being completed around the same time. Britain felt it needed an adequate framework to support a 'modern community'; such roads were likened to 'arteries or veins' carrying nutrition to all parts of the country (Merriman 2007: 65). Those planning the motorway system believed the new infrastructure would 'raise the value of local land, encourage frontage development, help to reduce the cost of repairing ordinary roads, increase speeds' and essentially boost agricultural and peripheral industry (Merriman 2007: 27). The M1 did increase speeds and may have raised the value of local land. But its frontage is now populated by anonymous warehouses and depots owned by international private companies, making the view in (Figure 2) a recurring one. It may have relieved pressure on 'ordinary roads' but it is itself not well maintained, and the specificity of place that Fairbrother and Smithson attribute to such smaller, older roads comes from being developed alongside specific land and ownership boundaries; a type of geographical sensitivity disregarded by motorways. There is an absence of locality in exchange of transit: we don't visit the M1, we simply use it to get somewhere else. It is infrastructure built precisely for this purpose. This lack of stasis creates a feeling of dislocation. We count down the miles to our destination on the road signs, disregarding the places we pass, which appear as weightlessly as the micro-desert.

We travel a sharp line through fields that gradually slip and slide up and down.... there is a big retaining wall with trees crowding over from back gardens, lorries and vans run in equal amounts to cars. As we approach the Luton exit, cars move left to the outer lane and hard shoulder. The lanes are busy, so early ordering is important. The cars pass over the solid white line of paint bordering the hard shoulder.... this line is ribbed to make cars vibrate. When crossed, the line causes the tyre to turn movement into vibration, which causes the car to make noise and alerts the driver. This experience is audible and bodily to urge caution – and is perhaps the most direct feeling of contact we feel. But we are not getting off at Luton, nor Rugby, we are heading for Leeds.



FIGURE 2
Logistics shed near Milton Keynes, May 2025. Photo: Emily Priest



FIGURE 3
'HELCH' written upside down on an original M1 motorway bridge, May 2025. Source: Emily Priest

The car as a translational device was an observation made by Smithson in *AS in DS: An Eye on the Road*, a collection of diary entries that Smithson wrote during drives in the family's Citroën DS. She documents their experiences on the road, the surrounding landscape and 'the evolving sensibility of a passenger' from the 'comfort' of the car (Smithson 1983: 1, 84). Smithson's (1988: 1) records speak to Denis Cosgrove's notion that landscape is a 'cultural image' by accounting her experience of driving, and therefore consuming, the landscape. Our evolving sensibility to landscape is affected by its appropriation; as Cosgrove (1998: 14) argues, it is the 'consequence of a collective human transformation of nature'. *AS in DS* is a peculiar example of this as Smithson is not just *seeing* the land before her, she is experiencing it from inside a car. This alters the relationship to her surroundings, as the car shelters and distorts any direct contact with the outside.

AS in DS was written during the popularisation of long-distance road travel, car modernisation and early use of the M1. Like the motorway, the Citroën DS was a symbol of modernity with which Smithson associates herself in the title. It had hydro-pneumatic suspension for ultra smooth driving. It looked like a spaceship and it was fast. It marked a 'change in the mythology of cars' (Barthes 1972: 89). Unsurprisingly, Smithson's (1983: 5) writing is romantic: 'Is it not wonderful to be able to drive off to every place in this world you would like to go to without any effort to speak of?' But it errs caution: 'A dilemma arises when everybody has a car and uses it to reach one and the same destination' ; a concern that remains relevant today with the principle of 'induced traffic', as Magalhães (2025: 8) explains, 'the provision of extra road capacity results in a greater volume of traffic'. Smithson (1983: 16) equates the freedom afforded by the car with a sense of individuality, 'you can get in your car and seemingly go wherever you want to in whatever order you choose' , highlighting its ability to separate from others and the outside: 'the glass windowed box of the car encourages sedentary pleasures' (Smithson 1983: 84). This reduction of contact –if we consider full contact to be fully at one with the landscape before us, artificial or otherwise– was accelerated by motorway systems and the inevitable increase in vehicles. From driving on the M1 today, the romanticism with which Smithson writes is far less apparent. Our experience chimes closer to feelings of loneliness and monotony, similar to geographer Nan Fairbrother's (1972: 275) remark: 'travel by motorway is at present a curiously remote experience, cut off from the life of the areas we pass through' . Smithson's account is nostalgic but serves as a valuable, sensorial and personal account of driving. Her excitement is due to long distance driving and the Citroën DS being new. She is experiencing speed and a sense of freedom for the first time. Today both sensations are regulated and monitored by digital surveillance, and through speed, distance and repetition, the motorway causes drivers to feel a lack of physical and sensorial contact with anything outside the car.



FIGURE 4
The original M1 nearing completion at Chalton south of Toddington Services, 24 July 1959.
Photo: Ben Brooksbank.
Credit: Creative Commons.

A1081 to A45
Luton to Northampton

With Luton behind us, the road weaves into four lanes and a hard shoulder.... the lanes free up.... we pass Milton Keynes. The hard shoulder has turned into a darker and sticky-looking tarmac. Overhead structures and bridges enlarge as we move forward and pass under them. Brown gritty concrete bridges sit on three solid columns, one on either side of the motorway and one in the middle. There is more graffiti.... one reads 'HELCH' but has been written upside down (Figure 3).... CCTV cameras perch on these bridges like crows.... we are being watched. There are other lighter more expressly modular concrete bridges and many motorway gantries displaying signs, junction numbers, smart motorway screens[2], and speed limits. Mechanical clutter, or perhaps 'agents' as Nairn might have termed them, that clash with the sullenness of the bridges which themselves carry a clunky gloominess, but at least – by tilting to reach the change in topography on either side– try to take hold of their surroundings. More graffiti.... we pass a LIDL housed in another huge gradient blue coloured shed. The blue makes a sad attempt to merge with the sky (Figure 3). There are many of these sheds. Each one has a big, branded sign facing the road telling us what is inside, but when only

2 The UK's smart motorways use electronic systems to control speed and traffic. Drivers are informed through overhead signage which is regularly updated to show changing speed limits and alerts of congestion or traffic accidents ahead. Their purpose is to improve flow and reduce congestion.

seeing a corner, or a glimpse through blurry bushes, we see that the attempt at camouflage, if only for a moment, works. This is a sensation not well captured in this photo, as the camouflage seems to require movement.

The original M1 'concrete two-span over-bridges' (Merriman 2007: 83), shown in Figure 3, were designed by Sir Owen Williams and Partners, the architects appointed in 1955 to design the London to Yorkshire Motorway. Standardised according to 'cost and speed of construction' (Merriman 2007: 84), the bridges were criticised for their 'static' demeanour (Crowe 1960: 94). They were incredibly important to the functionality of the M1's uninterrupted length because the bridges made adjacent connections to the land being severed. Historic images show a barren infrastructure (Figure 4), a 'concrete channel, an urban sluice' as termed by Smithson (1983: 24). This infrastructure today sits secondary to smart motorway technologies, gantries and CCTV cameras that speak to Michel Foucault's reading of Bentham's Panopticon more than they do to Smithson's accounts as we drive in 'a state of conscious and permanent visibility' (Foucault 1977: 201). The M1's smart motorway systems and CCTV 'automatizes and disindividualizes power' (Foucault 1997: 202) through the constant and remote surveillance of the motorway. This is the 'faceless gaze' of National Highways (Foucault 1997: 214), now seen atop Williams and Partners' bridges (Figure 5). That is not to say speed limits are bad, they are essential, but they create a psychological barrier in the 'political control' they represent to our sense of place (Virilio 1986: 27). This surveillance also protects the motorway as an asset. Logistics earn the UK millions of pounds per day, so traffic jams come at a significant cost. Speed limits and warning signs are updated and changed by National Highways to avoid this. The graffiti seen on Williams' bridges often appears in areas beyond the reach of CCTV surveillance. Perhaps these markings are small acts of resistance against the systems of control that now shape and monitor the road.

We climb a hill and just as quickly sink back down.... we are pushed below the land which is held back by retaining walls. The motorway becomes very narrow and our focus rarely shifts beyond the road.... we take stock of noises, some come from the car and others filter through it. We can hear the engine, the engines of other cars, the air conditioning (it is warm and midday), and the right indicator tick. Near Newport Bagnell, traffic signs above us warn of a blocked lane, a warning managed by National Highways from one of its Regional Operations Centres.... we slow down together with the cars at our front and sides.... the cars travel at the same pace as though we are moving together on a conveyor belt. Now wider, the motorway is rimmed with green which, when looked at from the side window is blurred. The patches fall away into flat fields.... the fields enlarge before us in the form of green verges so that we can no longer see where we are without looking forward to the road or at a sign

The blurriness recalls Smithson's (1983: 16) 'moving view', which she incorporates into her writing through the use of an elongated ellipsis –'....'– that the reader might interpret as either slow

or fast motion. Slow, as though the four dots create a pause when reading; and fast, as if the Citroën DS has already swooped past the feature Smithson tries to write down. The possibility of slowness suggests an intermission, a moment of contact with the text, while the possibility of speed implies the very opposite – we move onto the next thought before digesting the one before. Comparatively, Smithson (1983: 16) is precise about the stillness of the car interior: the passenger 'sees that landscape from a forward directed seat; [...] probably moves the head less than twenty five degrees right, slightly more perhaps left; more often the eyes will simply follow a feature through these degrees.' , describing the disjunction between movement and stillness. She explains how this relationship distorts or limits our register of what we see from the road, 'the car movement allows the viewing of each (tree) specimen in three-quarters round: if not a mite more....' (Smithson 1983: 131). These comparisons tell us that Smithson can specify the conditions inside the car more accurately than what is outside.

A45 to A50
Northampton to Leicester

The right most zone of the lane is a place for motorway remains. Blown out tyres and fragmented pieces of rubber, crates, sign brackets, the odd traffic cone and general detritus from the road sit on the sideline of the central reservation long left behind (Figure 6). They wilt on the ground, some lean against the barrier and others attract dunes of sand, grit and dirt.... how long have they been there? Who cleans them up? This kind of trash build-up would never be tolerated on a street and is testament to how little the M1 is maintained, while being monitored constantly. Originally built as a monument to modernity, the M1's original infrastructure is now cluttered by litter as well as standardised components. What does this mean for contact? Monotony consumes attention, but it drains us rather than engages us. The litter shows how little the M1 is cleaned or cared for at a human scale and how much it is disregarded as a place. We do not feel connected to this road, instead it makes us feel passive and weary. In this tiredness we notice that all the lorries are on the outer lane waiting to exit near Northamptonshire. Not many nowadays have corresponding cabs and cargos. Their graphics are often different.... There is a car towing a caravan and another car towing a lawnmower and another car towing a car. Amongst the lorries, there are short episodes where the motorway feels domestic, everyone is using it to carry out errands, to get home, to go on holiday, to get from A to B. This was near Lutterworth.

We noticed that large logistics companies such as Culina Group carry cargo with other branding on them having acquired other logistics companies such as Eddie Stobart. Culina Group is one of the largest food logistics companies in the UK with a total fleet of over 5,500 vehicles (Culina Group 2021). European Cargo Services (ECS) has plum and yellow-coloured cargo, it is another international logistics company manoeuvring cargo between the UK, Ireland and Europe, hence its use of the M1. ECS's annual turnover has increased significantly since Brexit,



FIGURE 5
Approaching Milton Keynes, travelling north on the M1 motorway, May 2025.
Photo: Emily Priest



FIGURE 6
Blown-out tyres, dust and detritus collect near central crash barrier, May 2025.
Photo: Emily Priest

from £400m in 2020 to £524m in 2022 (ECS 2024). The placeless landscape of sheds and lorries we see before us are outcomes of the UK's global trade network. The M1 runs through the middle of the 'golden logistics triangle' a nickname given to an area including the Midlands containing a high number of distribution centres (National Statistics, 2022). The M1 no doubt plays a part in the 'multiple circulations of capital, and complex movements across great distances' (Cowen 2014: 1) that Deborah Cowen explains is the reality of global logistics, aligning the infrastructures, technologies, spaces and workers involved in the international 'circulation of stuff' with militarisation and war (2014: 5). The M1 may play a relatively small part in this, but the consideration that its monitoring is also for the purpose of 'supply chain security' transforms it from a national artery to one of global flows. This seems to validate the alienation felt by a single driver on a motorway, because what is ostensibly public space doubles as a logistics system under surveillance. We feel a lack of relatability and a certain desertification is experienced through the universal clutter, logistics infrastructure and vehicular debris.

A50 to A636
Leicester to Wakefield

At Junction 22, we pass quarries belonging to Ibstock. They are entirely invisible from the motorway, but a Google search en route shows that Old Cliffe Hill Quarry covers 47 acres of land.... we pass East Midlands Airport.... we cross the River Trent which runs adjacent to the motorway.... on the right we pass a large power plant. The bridges are skeletal and less uniform here. The car's side windows frame a faster image than the windscreen. The greenery on the edge of the road is abstracted into horizontal flickers of colour and tone. Far away features appear clear and are seen in slower motion.... As they draw closer, they move faster and disintegrate when they pass our sides.

Driving on the M1 and comparing this to Smithson's account, makes it clear that the mobility enabled by the car distorts our perception of landscape and our ability to read its features. This frustrates our relationship to land as a site of contact and this dislocation extends to our phenomenological experience. Smithson writes:

> '(we) do not sense the air outside, smell something only after it passed through the ventilation system, we read the weather through the glass of the windscreen or the side windows, feel the sun through this glass, are wonderfully protected from the most violent of storms in the wildest of landscapes. This is normality.' (Smithson 1983: 17).

The car alters our sensibilities through a delay, shelter and filtering. While driving across the M1, we found there were no smells, the weather was fair and our experience of touch (or of the car touching the ground) was repetitive and mundane. Our sensibilities were being altered as Smithson describes, but to a more extreme extent, showing that long distance driving on this type of infrastructure exacerbates the car's ability to alter and reduce our connection to landscape.

Acid yellow fields cover our view on the way to Sheffield. Such a bright and artificial colour is made even less real by the blurriness that comes with speed. Certain elements remain clear in the fuzziness, such as the white road marks and traffic cones. Other elements are smoothed out and abstracted such as the crash barriers and tarmac. This causes us to disregard the presence of these objects and see the landscape as an overall plane rather than a specific location, as shown in Figure 7. Speed and distance cause us to see land in layers, making the motorway figuratively displaced from its surroundings just by the visual abstraction produced by our 'car-moved-seeing' (Smithson 1983: 16).

The blurry view is not accidental, it was deliberately engineered and sanctioned by the Landscape Advisory Committee in 1959 as part of a broader vision for the motorway. Endorsing 'simple, large-scale massed plantings' as essential for a 'vast and fast' infrastructure (Merriman 2007: 90), the committee rejected earlier proposals of 'fussy, ornamental, colourful and urban' planting (Merriman 2007: 89), revealing a preference for abstraction and uniformity. This process led to another recurring view from the M1 that lacks contact through a lacking specificity. That the planting was planned to be suitably monotonous to contend with distance and speed is another example of the M1's paradox of connection and dislocation, as it



FIGURE 7
Side view of the M1 motorway edge condition near Nottingham, May 2025. Source: Emily Priest

shows the land bordering the motorway was designed to be purposefully disengaging. The flanking vegetation needed to be interesting enough to mask ugly parts of the motorway infrastructure; cheap enough to provide feasible coverage; hardy enough to survive with minimal care and maintenance; and bland enough so as not to distract drivers. As a result, we experience a disjunction between this kind of greenery and the signage, one being non-descript, the other delivering data and of high visibility. We feel we are in the countryside, but we are removed from it and the view we see out of the side window is just as constructed as the one in the windscreen.

A636 to M621
Wakefield to Leeds

Near Huddersfield the M1 splits across two levels, a verge grows in between the north and south routes as we veer into a corner. The tarmac turns coarse and the car vibrates more audibly.... soon after, the colour of the ground lightens, blending to a brown hue from the previous greys and blacks. The ground is patchy from levelling repairs, filled in potholes, added servicing and the widening of lanes.... this section of the motorway feels particularly forgotten.... tarmac has been carelessly thrown down and levelled in a half-hearted attempt at repair. No effort has been made to blend the new with the old, the edges of which have been brutally stitched together with wobbly lines of sealant. A short while later, the road's surface is grooved, a new type of antiskid surface for airports has been laid. A police car slows traffic and escorts a car off the motorway onto an exit. This car must have been caught on camera, most likely for speeding, and the nearest police car has picked up on the offence. What was once a vast open stretch of unsupervised fast-paced freedom, is now a heavily monitored corridor.

From Smithson's accounts and historic photos, we know that the M1 and long distance driving did once facilitate a sense of freedom and desire, but now the M1's increased use for global logistics, its navigational clutter, lack of maintenance and the continual presence of CCTV monitoring is evidential that it is much more of a machine than a public infrastructure. That the M1 is no longer a desirable place to be, must have something to do with the placelessness felt by its drivers. The increase in logistics made material by the growing sheds, warehouses and lorries that populate the M1 landscape affects our perception of it. Smithson does admit to abstraction and a loss of clarity, describing the land she sees from the car as a 'patchwork', 'pool' and 'carpet' (1983: 39, 45, 95).

The land she sees is reduced to planes rather than specific locations, but the land use along the M1 today is so much less diverse than what Smithson would have seen. The 'planes' we see now are even further from our expectations of nature and we are much less in contact with the suburbs, fields, quarries, rivers and landmarks that the M1 still connects and could – with an alternative approach to its use and maintenance – provide better contact to.

M621 to A1(M)
Beyond Leeds

There is an estrangement in passing Watford, Luton, Milton Keynes, Northampton, Rugby, Leicester, Nottingham, Mansfield, Sheffield and now Leeds – never through them, always next to them – without gaining any real understanding of these places. Smithson speaks about her altering sensibilities but drives with curiosity and enthusiasm. For her, driving is exciting and contemplative. Adopting her writing method has allowed me to approach the M1 in a personal but also pseudo-archaeological way, observing how, through specific moments and details, it exchanges a sense of place for the efficiency of connection at a national scale. I find the motorway's contradictions are integral to this: it is public space but is an asset to private logistics; it enables mobility but regulates movement; it is open space but is constantly under surveillance; it is substantial but not a destination; it is a landscape but is one of patchy asphalt and graffiti. These examples reveal how such infrastructure, and other types of border architecture, can manipulate our sense of place and control human contact through movement and surveillance. My understanding of the M1 is now both granular and global, personal and academic, proving the value of site writing, or in this case, driving as research. I have aligned personal experience with texts written since the M1's conception, adding a further layer to our understanding of motorways that fronts their role in everyday life. I find it has enriched the writing process by combining academic study with situational learning, a kind of research that bridges reading with direct contact.

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Figure References

Figure 1: Priest, E. (2025). Diagram of M1 motorway route showing initial and current stretch; A–London, B–Watford, C–Luton, D–Milton Keynes, E–Northampton, F–Rugby, G–Leicester, H–Nottingham, I–Mansfield, J–Sheffield, K–Central Leeds, L–Beyond Leeds [Drawing]. Drawing by author.

Figure 2: Historic England (n.d.). Tracking progress on the M1 [Photograph]. Image requires license – see essay document.

Figure 3: Priest, E. (2025). Logistics shed near Milton Keynes, May 2025 [Photograph]. Photo by author.

Figure 4: Priest, E. (2025). 'HELCH' written upside down on an original M1 motorway bridge, May 2025 [Photograph]. Photo by author.

Figure 5: Brooksbank, B. (1959). The original M1 nearing completion at Chalton south of Toddington Services, 24 July 1959 [Photograph]. Creative Commons.

Figure 6: Priest, E. (2025). Approaching Milton Keynes, travelling north on the M1 motorway, May 2025 [Photograph]. Photo by author.

Figure 7: Priest, E. (2025). Blown-out tyres, dust and detritus collect near central crash barrier, May 2025 [Photograph]. Photo by author.

Figure 8: Priest, E. (2025). Side view of the M1 motorway edge condition near Nottingham, May 2025 [Photograph]. Photo by author.