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The Journal of Public Space is addressing social sciences and humanities as a major field, and is interested also in attracting scholars from several disciplines. It will perform as a scholarly journal but also as an interdisciplinary platform of discussion and exchange by scholars, professionals, organizations, artists, activists and citizens, whose activities are related to public space.

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## **Call for papers | 2019 issues**

The Journal of Public Space welcomes full papers for 2019 issues, to be published in April, August and December.

**Deadline for April issue: January 10, 2019**

**Deadline for August issue: May 10, 2019**

**Deadline for December issue: September 10, 2019**

Submissions will be ongoing throughout the year.

Submission can be made:

- using the OJS platform by registering online. If you are already a registered author you can log in using your username and password;
- by sending an email to the Editor in Chief Luisa Bravo at this email address: [jps@cityspacearchitecture.org](mailto:jps@cityspacearchitecture.org).

Before submitting, please read:

- the Focus and Scope of the journal
- the Author Guidelines

Full papers should be between 5.000 and 8.000 words.

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Cover image: Schouwburgplein in Rotterdam. Picture by Eric Fecken

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EDITORIAL

**Strengthening our civil servants' mission  
for the common good**

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This issue of The Journal of Public Space marks our Editorial Team's fourth year of activities, that I'm proudly leading as Editor in Chief. Over the past three years we have published eight issues, 121 papers from more than 140 authors from 30 countries, engaging more than 60 academic reviewers at the global level. More than 50% of those papers were double blind peer reviewed, following academic standards; other published papers included reports from United Nations events (like the Habitat III conference and the 9<sup>th</sup> World Urban Forum) or reports concerning art-based or placemaking-led projects, professionals' viewpoints, artists' portfolios, editorials from influential scholars, leading experts affiliated to global NGOs and practitioners serving as guest editors.

While we receive submissions through our website, via the Open Journal System platform, we are also currently working on two special issues this year: one to be published at the end of the summer on *The Entrepreneurial City. Social Entrepreneurialism and New Forms to Interact in Public Space*, in collaboration with The Chinese University of Hong Kong in Hong Kong and the International Forum on Urbanism (IFoU), and the other, to be published at the end of the year on *Public health and well-being in public open spaces through climate responsive urban planning and design*, in collaboration with James Cook University in Australia.

On May 29, at the first UN-Habitat Assembly in Nairobi, I signed a Letter of Agreement with UN-Habitat—the United Nations Human Settlements Programme—on behalf of City Space Architecture which marked the beginning of our cooperation to further develop The Journal of Public Space. In addition to celebrating this amazing achievement that we accomplished a mere six years after founding City Space Architecture and three years after launching The Journal of Public Space, we recently welcomed two new academic partners, who will be cooperating with us during the coming years: KTH Royal Institute of Technology, Centre for the Future of Places, based in Stockholm (Sweden) and RMIT University, based in Melbourne (Australia).

The network around the journal is expanding and providing exciting opportunities and new partnerships. We are already planning special issues for 2020, and beginning to organise our participation in the 10<sup>th</sup> World Urban Forum that will take place in Abu Dhabi in February 2020. We are building momentum on public space culture and we are currently redefining our strategic approach, in order to become more inclusive and to cover a broad range of topics and fields of expertise, from different perspectives.

In this issue we are publishing two viewpoints related to the Placemaking movement, one from Ethan Kent, Co-director of the newly established PlacemakingX and Senior Fellow at

Project for Public Spaces in New York, and another from Jeroen Laven, Anna Bradley and Levente Polyak from Placemaking Europe, the European chapter of the global Placemaking movement, founded by STIPO in Rotterdam. Each viewpoint opens a new section of the journal, aimed at incorporating placemaking as a relevant field of action: we are interested in publishing articles related to design projects and community-led interventions, collecting successful and also unsuccessful stories, from research into action, from theory to implementation, providing case studies, best practices on capacity building, education and empowerment, tackling the complexity of the process, at the community and governmental level, from top-down to bottom-up, with a particular focus on youth. We want to open the discussion to all those who are actively working and fighting daily, on the ground, to promote public space as a common good, to those who are agents of change and are pushing local, regional and national governments to change, to adapt, to reconsider policies and regulations and to look for solutions related to innovation and creative bureaucracy. At the same time we are inviting leading academic scholars to join our Editorial Team, as part of the Scientific Committee, to contribute to our mission by providing insightful advice and qualified contents for the journal. We are starting a very exciting journey and we know that we will only be successful if we are, all of us, able to work together.



Figure 1. Luisa Bravo, Editor in Chief of *The Journal of Public Space*, at the first UN-Habitat Assembly in Nairobi, with Laura Petrella, Leader of the City Planning Extension and Design unit at UN-Habitat, signing the Letter of Agreement for the cooperation in developing *The Journal of Public Space*, during an event at the City Stage, on 29 May 2019.

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## Dressed bodies and built environments: the interactive composition of public space

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### Abstract

The human body has been pivotal in much architectural research. Researchers of public space often underscore its interactive and transformative qualities as linking to a broader understanding of the different individual social practices taking place in such spaces. What seems to be lacking however is an analysis of the relationship between the dressed body and the built environment which together constitute a public space. The aim of this paper is to explore and elaborate on the interaction between dressed bodies and architectural structures and outline an alternative approach to understanding the different aesthetic forces at play in the constitution of public space. Using a photographic series of piloted experimental sites, this paper points out how the aesthetics of fashion enrich, contribute to, and change the aesthetics of urban architectural environments. The result prompts a clearer understanding of the interaction between dressed bodies and architecture and offers guidance for future research designed to bridge the gap between the aesthetics of the scale of the body and the scale of building and infrastructure in the constitution of public space.

**Keywords:** fashion, architecture, public space, environmental composition, urban design

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## **I. Fashion and architecture: some common-ground notions**

Dress and shelter are fundamental to social life. While conditions in the physical world frequently force us to put on clothes and shelter in dwellings, the social world only asks that we be dressed and live in houses. Dress, as Entwistle (2000) notes, not only protects our modesty and reflects a natural body or a given identity, it also enhances that body and through the materials used adds a diversity of meaning to it that would otherwise not be there. As such, dress negotiates the tension between the human desire to stand out and be different and the equally human desire to fit in and be accepted (Simmel, 1911). Similar needs and desires are also consequential in architectural design. The need to feel at home and be “camouflaged” within the environment, to fit in and be accepted, is central to architectural constructions. In addition, in the exercise of fashion, this process of assimilation is not merely a physical operation. Dressing in clothing requires us to assimilate on a mental level, to *think* ourselves into the environment (Leach, 2006). Similarly urban space and urban cities have also been recognised as the self-awareness of inhabitants’ psychological, social, and economical production (Lefebvre, 1991). In his documentary film *Notebook on Cities and Clothes*, Wenders (1989) elaborates:

*Identity ...of a person, of a thing, of a place. Identity. The word itself gives me shivers. It rings of calm, comfort, contentedness. What is it, identity? To know where you belong? To know your self worth? To know who you are? How do you recognize identity? We are creating an image of ourselves. We are attempting to resemble this image... Is that what we call identity? Between the image we have created of ourselves and ... ourselves? Just who is that, ‘ourselves’ ? ... We live in the cities. The cities live in us. Time passes.*

Fashion and architecture do not only express ideas of personal, social, and cultural identity and reveal a person’s aesthetic pleasures or narcissistic self-absorption; dress and built environments also reflect similar interests of the targeted audience and clients. Perhaps this is particularly true for consumers and clients who celebrate the fluid play with signs and simulacra in dress and in architecture that works to dissolve the connection between political economies and the real (Baudrillard, 1983; 1998) and where fashion consumption is increasingly more integrated in the shaping of contemporary architecture and its public spaces (Koolhaas et al. 2002). Architecture, like fashion, has also been affected by the contemporary idea that current westernised societies are identifiable by the individual rather than the collective, an idea of individualism that is marked not only by neoliberal nationalism and capitalism that urge ownership of property – or clothing – and the freedom of choice, but also the laying of claims to the particular and the authentic (Rajagopalan, 2012). Thus originality, authenticity, and differentiation, in the sense of the present-day individual and her ambitions are not only tied to dress but to buildings and cities and the object at large. As Benjamin points out, “Fashion, like architecture, inheres in the darkness of the lived moment and belongs to the dream consciousness of the collective” (Benjamin, 2002: 393). The relationship between fashion and architecture is also further expressed in both disciplines—at times similar and at other times twisted—they lie between history

and the present, those in power and those under it and between the culturally sophisticated and the naïve. In Benjamin's (2007: 261) words:

*Fashion has a flair for the topical, no matter where it stirs in the thickets of long ago; it is a tiger's leap into the past. This jump, however, takes place in an arena where the ruling class gives the commands. The same leap in the open air of history is the dialectical one, which is how Marx understood the revolution.*

Sabatino, for example, has demonstrated in a series of cases that the issues of what he calls the primitive or savage “exemplify a diffused phenomenon that has engendered the competing politics of modern identity that in turn have shaped nineteenth- and twentieth-century architecture and urbanism” (Sabatino, 2008:362). On a similar note, Morton (2000) has commented that even where world expositions have aimed to separate the ‘native’ from colonialism—for example where one “demonstrated Europe's sophistication in art deco style, while the colonial pavilions were ‘authentic’ native environments for displaying indigenous peoples and artifacts from the colonies,”—the two are instead often mixtures of both. These problematic issues are also seen in fashion (Rovine, 2009), where the matter is complicated further still, by the notion that what constitutes “a dress” or a “liveable house” may vary within a particular culture and from culture to culture; what is an appropriate house or legal or illegal dress also varies from situation to situation as well as from nation to nation.

More particularly, the competition or struggle between the savage and the cultivated, between the historic and the contemporary, between the colonised and the coloniser have also been manifested in three realms applicable to both architecture and fashion: (1) in the dialogue between culturally-developed styles and more archaic typologies, (2) in the desire to restore nature to the city or in clothing, or to exit the city or fashion in search of rural environments and elemental clothing, and (3) in the desire to integrate the tectonics and technologies of vernacular architecture and fashion with contemporary construction practices of buildings and clothing (Sabatino, 2008; Loppa, 2003). In more pragmatic terms, perhaps, and regardless of moral and ethical considerations, relatable approaches of both architecture and fashion to materials engineering and new technologies have raised questions about the interdisciplinary nature of contemporary design. Here the architects’ “fearless adoption of new design technologies and the resultant construction methods” have for example been compared with the fashion designers’ “struggle for liberation from convention” to shape and redefine the appearance of the female body (Hodge et al., 2006: 11).

Fashion and architecture do however not only share similar socio-functional aims and challenges; each of them also competes and challenges one another in the process of constituting urban environments and public spaces through its constructed elements. As Reinhardt (2007: 182) observes, “both clothing fashion and architecture produce surfaces that convey a cultural message relating to occupation, program, status, or individual profile.” They operate on several different levels beyond personalised configuration for habitation and protection from direct exposure to disturbing influences (Barnard 2002) or establishment of a private and secure zone within a determined boundary (Semper, 1989). As clothing constructions and built environments are three-dimensional spatial geometries that together establish most of our everyday spaces, places, and situations, architectural constructions cannot be understood without

considering their relationship to the dressed body. Similarly, while the dressed body is most often situated in a constructed environment, it cannot be fully understood without reference to its built environment. Researchers have explored the relationship between the body and buildings (e.g. Dodds and Tavenor, 2002); what is lacking is an analysis of the relationship between fashion as the dressed body and architecture as the built environment from the perspective of how together they establish the dynamic aesthetics of urban environments, public spaces, and infrastructure.

In this paper I will adopt a first-person perspective to present a proposal for a methodology that attempts to artistically analyse the co-created aesthetic impact that the interaction between dressed bodies and buildings has on public spaces. A central reason for developing such a method is to find paths to in-depth artistic analyses that can bridge the gap between fashion theories that leave out the built environment and architectural theories that leave out the dressed bodies in the process of aesthetically co-producing public spaces, urban environments, and interior places.

## **2. Co-creation of public space through the interaction between dressed bodies and built structures**

A public space has been described as the stage upon which the drama of communal life unfolds and as a place that provides channels for movement, nodes of communication, and common ground for play and relaxation. As such, a public space in its being a human-made environment may be said to “afford[s] casual encounters in the course of daily life that can bind people together and give their lives meaning and power” (Carr et al., 1992:45). In line with this thinking around constructed public space, Carr et al. suggest how to best design such spaces, using a framework where three critical human dimensions would guide the process of designing public spaces: the users' essential needs, their spatial rights, and the meanings they seek.

In architecture, this approach may be related to the conventional idea that the built environment is not immediately responsive to change. Reinhardt (2007) explains that while various spatial, material, or structural alternatives may be explored in the design phase, during construction a selection results in the artificially constructed space becoming a constant. If variation is inscribed into the constructed space, it may still all too often induce conformity because it generally allows for only a series of predetermined alternatives through structures or environments that accommodate multiple functions at the same time, sequentially, or at periodically recurring events (Preiser et al. 2017) rather than being responsive to unforeseen contingencies. If the built environment is instead to be flexible, adaptable, and a responsive space, Reinhardt (2007:182) argues, these options must be embedded into the architectural spatial system, both in the design process and in the built space itself: “strategies of compression, intensity, or elasticity might therefore enable a dynamic spatial capacity—in response and interaction—not exclusively through a physical operation, but through phenomenal or interpretative shifts.”

One such shift in perspective is presented by Grosz (2001), who contends that change and emergence, traditionally viewed as outside the concerns of space, must become more integral to the processes of design and construction. For example, an issue that surfaces in the consideration of the fabrication of bodies through dress is the case against architecture's historical indifference to sexual specificity: what does the

existence of at least two sexes have to do with how we understand and experience space? In fashion, the contrary has been argued. Lipovetsky (1994: 149), for example, concludes in her analysis of fashion and change that today's fashion economy has created a social agent in its own image: "the fashion person who has no deep attachments, a mobile individual with a fluctuating personality and tastes" with such openness to change that it "requires a rethinking of the classic charges brought against frivolous society, accusing it of organized waste and bureaucratic-capitalist irrationality." The result, she argues, is a new type of kinetic, open personality fundamental to societies in rapid transformation and constituted through fluctuations in dress. While designers of public spaces on the one hand may be guided by frameworks similar to the one suggested by Carr et al. (1992) — the users' essential needs, their spatial rights, and the meanings they seek — other research related to the functional and expressional aesthetics of the interactions between body and space recognise the vague dynamics and ambiguous meanings that are not only attributed to public spaces but also emerge from them (Kenniff, 2018). Lefebvre (1991: 26) expresses it this way:

*(Social) space is a (social) product [...] the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power; yet that, as such, it escapes in part from those who would make use of it.*

For Lefebvre, then, the street is a central space for understanding innovative social practices; it transforms the spatial-temporal form of the space itself into something that it was not before (Lefebvre, 2003). From this perspective, often influenced by the revival of the 1980s' material-semiotic method of actor-network-theory (e.g. Latour 2005), human and non-human aspects are considered to have reciprocity and shared agency in the co-construction of socio-material assemblages. As Fariás (2009:14) maintains:

*The notion of urban assemblages in the plural form provides an adequate conceptual tool to grasp the city as a multiple object, to convey a sense of its multiple enactments. There are many reasons for using this notion. Firstly, it is a term that provides a concrete and graspable image of how the city is brought into being and made present in ensembles of heterogeneous actors, material and social aspects. This idea of a socio-material and socio-technical ensemble is the most literal meaning of assemblage.*

From this more dynamic perspective, strategies for giving form to and constructing urban environments are also guided by notions such as those Gehl (2010) has presented: lively, safe, sustainable, and healthy. In his argument for the lively space, however, Gehl goes further and argues that constructed urban landscapes must also be considered through all the human senses, a more concrete, or abstract, aesthetic approach. However, while these different approaches emphasise the more interactive and transformative qualities of public space in different ways, they still consider individuals from the perspective of habitation, dwelling, or carrying out different activities such as walking or moving in the given space. Still overlooked is how dressed bodies in their interaction with built environments challenge and co-construct public spaces — habitat and occupational patterns — and how this mutual interaction may give

rise to volatile and unexpected spaces through its relationship with the built environment.

### **3. Method**

In the shift from the understanding of the aesthetics of space as something emerging from the interaction between dressed bodies and constructed environments and from space as a socio-material construction to space as more of an abstracted aesthetical composition, Leibniz's (2006) notion of space as an unconventional a-priori may be useful. In this kind of space—in which both space and time are not considered real entities but virtual relationships—space is a process that develops through the structuring of matter as a result of the relationship between objects, a view that corresponds to the hypothesis that dressed bodies co-create the aesthetics of public space in their interaction with the built environment. As unconventional a-priori, such space is also not the sum of ideal spatial relations but prior to its parts and divisions. In other words, spaces co-created by dressed bodies and built constructions (may) give rise to new spatial typologies. In Leibniz (2000:47) words:

*I observe, that the traces of moveable bodies, which they leave sometimes upon the immoveable ones on which they are moved; have given men occasion to form in their imagination such an idea, as if some trace did still remain, even when there is nothing unmoved. But this is a mere ideal thing, and imports only, that if there was any unmoved thing there, the trace might be marked out upon it. And it is this analogy, which makes men fancy places, traces and spaces; though those things consist only in the truth of relations, and not at all in any absolute reality.*

For Leibniz, according to Evangelidis (2018: 3), this suggests that spatial and temporal relationships between objects and events are immediate and not reducible to space-time point relations, and all movement is the relational movement of bodies. As such, space is infinitely divisible and space is an order of potentialities – in this case aesthetic potentialities.

Moving from understanding the aesthetics of clothes and buildings in a more representative way to the aesthetics of spaces as a dynamic expression emerging from the interaction between dressed bodies and dressed spaces also means that the traditional 'context plus object gives meaning' is disturbed. Hegel (1949) notes that to use a method that methodologically positions the result in a historical sketch or to trace the process of how it came to light is perhaps of interest but is of no significance to the expounding of philosophical truth, or in this case, is of no significance to judging the aesthetic effect of dressed bodies and dressed space on the construction of social spaces. Instead of forming a context that adds rigor to the understanding of particularities by looking at it from different perspectives, a universality may be evaluated from the other direction: the expressed potential of the proposition expressed through the art model that is established through a repetition of cases different in degree (Deleuze 2004). As a consequence, while theory in many embodied analyses appears in text, theory by context through text is here replaced by theory through self-institutional and self-referential visual/ material systems (Versluis and Uyttenbroek, 2014); each case is both an exercise and outcome of an inquiry (Wood et

al. 2011). For this reason, the proposed method builds on the photographic work of Hilla and Bernd Becher (Lange, 2006), where single images are grouped in grids where each image reflects the others from different perspectives. From this standpoint, the significance of Becher's work is here lies not so much in the content of the work itself but in its normative and self-instituting epistemological structure. The method may be described as photographic clustering, or as Stimson (2004) drawing on Foucault argues, an epistemology and a system of dispersion that is "neither a configuration, nor a form" but instead a process or "a group of rules that are immanent in a practice" (Foucault, 1976: 37, 46).

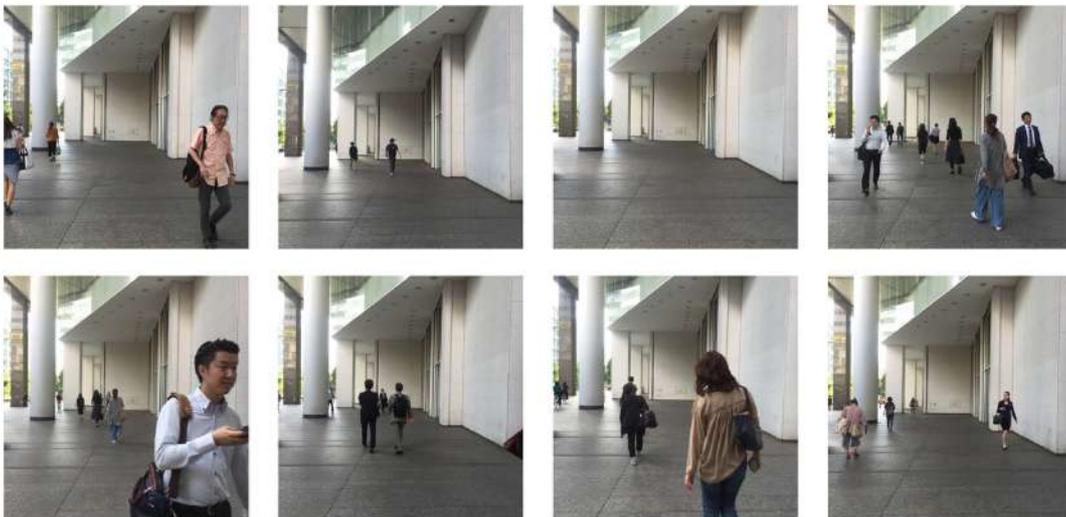
The focus of this photographic method, or the type of methodology that this method suggests, is firstly an expressional opportunity and a challenge to the way spaces are established aesthetically at a foundational level before any more precise and particular theoretical meaning-making occurs. The method aims to be sensitive and open to the diversity of meanings and expressions that are generated on a more sublime level. For example, while a fashion brand may give rise to more framed connotations or designs in architecture may utilise a clearer semiotic structure, the multitude of expression in the interaction of simple dressed bodies and 'dressed spaces' is much more complex and open to meanings, and meanings tend to emerge more from the process of interaction (Wiberg, 2018; Baudrillard, 2002). Through employing the method I will also propose some of the connections that can be made between the various theorists in these related areas on a fundamental aesthetic level, suggesting how one might make a study of public space and urban environments through photography. In doing so, I will also outline a theoretical perspective that takes as its starting point the idea that public space and urban environments are co-constructed and that dressed bodies are fundamental in constituting social order.

#### **4. Results & Discussions**

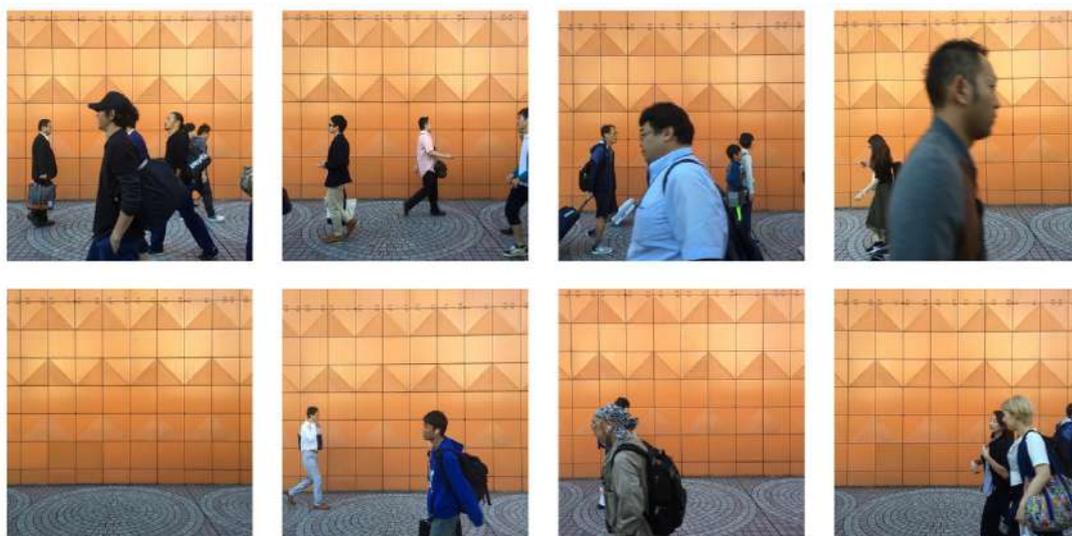
The following settings present the pre-study and pilot of this method. The investigation is based on three different spaces with three different aesthetics in relation to form and material in the dressed bodies and the built constructions. While it is common to consider public spaces as non-profit, non-commercial, places for social gathering like squares and parks (e.g. Carr et al. 1992), I will in this pilot study also include semi-public sites of consumption such as hotels, museums, streets, and other spaces. This choice is based on the argument that consumption has become integral in the formation of architecture (Koolhaas et al., 2002) and the formation of social urban gathering places (Zukin, 1995), and in ways similar to non-commercial places, allows people to interact and gather in social congregation apart from the home (Oldenburg, 1991, Lofland, 1998). Much as Humphreys (2010) and Zukin (1995) have, I will look at cases of public spaces in the broader sense of "non-domestic physical sites that are distinguished by their relative accessibility" (Humphreys, 2010: 764), those that more accurately reflect the everyday practice of urban life. The settings for the pilot test are: A, fig. 1-8 an arcade; B, fig. 9-16, a street; C, fig. 17-24, a church; D, fig. 25-32, a museum.

In the first print, A, which could be described as a semi-open and more sublime form of arcade, the inclusion of dressed bodies appears to have a direct effect that almost appears to grow gradually, or even exponentially, with the expressions of the dress as well as the sheer volume of bodies. On the other hand, a rather subtle introduction of a

pink color in traditional form has already had a strong impact in that a single body works to shift the entire dynamics of the space, something that does not occur in the same way with multiple bodies dressed in more traditional formal wear in black, white, and blue. This is contrasted in setting D, where the number and type of expression of the dressed bodies in relation to the room is more constant, where the strong black graphic postures and the internal relationship between the two dressed graphic bodies are significant for their overall impact on the perceived space. In instances, the built structure and dressed bodies together seem even to amplify each other into an all-new dynamic. In example B, the street, which is marked by a strong sensory and material presence of a building material (colour) and pavement material (texture), the dressed bodies appear to be more marginalised, conditioned by the frame of the wall and the pavement.



*Fig. 1-8. Example A, arcade.*



*Fig. 9-16. Example B, street.*



Fig. 17-24. Example C, church.



Fig. 25-32. Example D, museum.

In addition, when the number of people increases and move closer to the point of the observer, the built structure remains strong and dominant. In example D, also based on a strong sensory and corporeal structure, the composition and movements of the dressed bodies appear in contrast to rather than elevated by the structure. The structure which is at first strong and clear, almost solitary in its form and materiality, seems immediately to give way for the interaction with a single dressed body, or even half-dressed body. This process also appears to continue to the point where not only the dressed bodies but the dress itself takes over and dominates the dynamics of the space. As the dress gets abstracted from the body however it is evident in some of the instances that it is no longer a faceless body. When one or several particular “dresses” open up their faces and glance at the observer, the dynamics of the space is changed yet again, and the bodiless dress with a face takes over the space.

## **5. Conclusions: congregations and constructions**

The aim of this pilot study was to develop a method of artistically analysing the aesthetic construction of public spaces by focusing on the interaction between dressed bodies and built constructions from a first-person perspective. The examples demonstrate that the dressed bodies have a significant impact on the aesthetics of the space as perceived by the observer and occupant of the space. Conversely the degree and type of the impact—in the sense of cultural meanings or functionalities—are more complex to determine. However, the more fundamental aesthetic qualities of the space as an a priori structure for meaning-making and other particular social functions and expressions are made evident. Moreover, in the example a primary dynamic sensory experience is at play that dominates the composition and perception of the space as the dressed bodies interact with the built structures.

The need to consider dress and dressed bodies in the understanding of public space is apparent. Not only does it confirm the notion that dressed bodies are overlooked in their interaction with built environments in challenging and co-constructing public spaces – habitat and occupational patterns – it rather suggests that dressed bodies may be the starting point for designing public space. The result demonstrates further that methods should be developed to help design spaces from the notion of dressed bodies before any activity is considered. Finally, the result suggests theories of fashion dealing with the dressed body be considered and connected to theories of public space and urban environments to encourage more dynamic conceptions and more dynamic possibilities of space.

Several limitations exist in any pilot study. Although certain dynamics and ambivalence arising between the forces of the dressed bodies and the built structures could be identified, they remain perhaps more suggestive than rigorous because of the small number of examples, limited number of people, or similarly, first-person perspectives. Moreover, while the structure of the particular photographic approach in this study, such as perspective, framing, lens angle and the clustering of the images, may on the one hand be required for the photographs to be effective in a visual cluster analysis, on the other hand, different ways of photographing may be developed for a more complex dynamic analyses of different variables in the relationship between dressed bodies and built environments in the co-creation of public space. Similarly, while one method of photography may be appropriated for a particular issue related to a particular constructed public space, different methods of photographic analysis may need to be explored to appropriately analyse different modes of dressing and building that together co-create public or semi-public space aesthetics. Thus, although the methods have been proven valuable for one form of aesthetic analysis of the co-creation of public space by dressed bodies and built environments, further development of the method is suggested.

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## Street vending management in Bangkok: the need to adapt to a changing environment

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### Abstract

This research paper proposes that the administration of street vending in Bangkok is incompatible with both changes in the economic and social situation in Thailand and a significant growth in street vending around the world, reflecting a growing appreciation of its important role. To support this argument, the paper presents; street vending policy measures that have been implemented since the founding of Bangkok in 1973; the paradigm shift in employment since the Asian Economic Crisis in 1997; and empirical data from a study of street vending in four districts in Bangkok in 2016. The study collected data from street vendors and buyers in Bangrak, Pathumwan, Phranakhon and Samphanthawong. The sample size of the vendors in each district was 100 and participants were selected through random sampling. A sample of 50 consumers in each district was selected through convenience sampling. From a policy perspective, the main findings of the study document a recurring pattern of efforts to restrict street vendors' access to public space for the purposes of vending, despite strong consumer demand and the valuable role vendors play in urban public space. The municipal policies are also, often, at odds with national economic development policy. The survey data referring to vendors and consumers indicates continued strong supply and demand, despite restrictive policies implemented by the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA). From the documentary study and the field data, the paper recommends that the BMA should realign the administration of street vending in accordance with the roles and functions of the livelihood as well as the dynamics of the economic and social situation, and international trends.

**Keywords:** municipal administration, street vending, economic and social dynamics

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## **Introduction**

Despite street vending being a clear occupational phenomenon around the world, there are few good estimates of the number of those engaged in the trade. In this paper, street vending refers to the “trading of goods of various types on a daily basis, including food items, to the general public, in a street, land, sidewalk, footpath, pavement or any other public space from a temporary built-up structure” (Nirathron, 2005). The concept of public space in Thai society is complex, and while engaging with these conceptualisations is not the focus of this article, we acknowledge work that has been done in the area (Oranratmanee and Rachakul, 2014; Yasmeen, 2006).

The mainstream stance on street vending in various countries in the global south, including Thailand, is centered on a juxtaposition between the necessity of its presence for livelihoods and its intrusion on public space, its being an obstacle to traffic, and its creating what is often seen as unfair competition for larger businesses. As an economic activity in the informal economy, street vending is often viewed as a backward economic activity, generating less income for the community when compared to formal trading, thus impeding productivity, prosperity and “modern” urbanisation (Cross, 2000: 40; Department of City Planning, 2012). Bangkok has its own unique pattern of urbanisation and gentrification, as explained by Askew (2002). The fact that there is always conflict for space, in particular in urban areas, puts street vending in a risky position compared to formal businesses, particularly with respect to pedestrians. Thus, curtailing of street vending has become a universal phenomenon though we have seen a resurgence in street vending around the world, including in the global north (Poon 2015). Street vending continues to thrive because it operates at a low cost and is able to satisfactorily respond to consumer needs. It also generates employment and livelihoods, especially among workers with a relative lack of education and skills. More recently, the issue of “inclusive cities” has been raised in favour of street vending, since it helps create equal opportunity among the general public, especially the poor and disadvantaged: providing them with the opportunity of a better urban life, employment and livelihood, as well as social inclusion (The World Bank, 2015). It also relates to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), with reference to SDG 11: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable (Simon, 2016; Dahmen, Leslie, Bhushan, & Rani, 2014).

The Bangkok Metropolitan Administration (BMA) has been making attempts to curtail street vending since 1973, continuing during the first governor’s administration despite periodic relaxation in light of the economic and political situation. However, some important changes took place when the Act on the Maintenance of Cleanliness and Orderliness in the Country, B.E. 2535 (1992) was passed, authorising local officials (with the approval of traffic officials) to allow the sale of goods in “public places or establishments”. Statistically, the period that saw the most relaxation was between 2011 and 2013, which designated more than 700 temporarily permitted areas for street vending. Over 20,000 vendors were officially registered, not to mention a far greater number of cases which went unregistered (Nirathron, 2017). Since 2014, these temporary vending places have been gradually disallowed under the operation known as “Returning the Pavements to the Public”. The BMA has allocated a number of designated selling areas to affected vendors. Unfortunately, in several instances, they are not located in places where vendors can generate enough income (Nirathron, 2017). Some have returned to sell at the original sites (Public Relations Division, BMA, 2017). As of November 2017, there were only 232 temporary permitted areas.

The BMA's management of street vending attaches importance to spatial arrangements, while economic development clearly follows the trend of neo-liberalism, driven by globalisation, in which self-employed work has become more prominently associated with a larger gap in income disparity. (Nirathron, 2006). However, attempts to provide street vending space have not had much success, while the number of vendors continues to grow, thus causing obstacles to traffic flow. The issue has been raised on social media where groups such as the "Thai Group against Street vending" and "Hey, this is Thailand Footpath", which advocate for pedestrian rights, were formed: calling for a stringent regulation of street vending. This paper recommends that a review be made of the BMA's management of street vending which, despite its consistency, is not compatible with changes in the social and economic situation. The paper is divided into five sections. The first section describes schools of thought on the informal economy and the development of street vending, together with theories that explain the presence of street vending in various phases. The second section discusses the development of street vending management in Bangkok, which, despite its consistency, does not correspond to the socio-economic situation. The third section presents the findings of the study on vendors and buyers in four districts of Bangkok, thus re-affirming the role and importance of street vending in the generation of work and reduction of economic disparities. The fourth section summarises and presents recommendations for the management of street vending in Bangkok in light of the changing economic and social situation.

### **Schools of Thought on the Informal Economy and Development of street vending in Bangkok**

As a largely informal economic activity, there a number of schools of thought regarding the informal economy in general that warrant being summarised here (see Table 1). The Table builds on Chen's work published in 2012 by adding a new category referred to as the "inclusionist" school, advocating the need for pro-poor urban planning and collective organisation, which is an approach this paper finds attractive for both analysis and planning purposes.

*Table 1: Schools of Thought on the Informal Economy  
(Brown and McGranahan, 2016)*

<b>School of Thought</b>	<b>General view and focus</b>	<b>Causal roots of informal economy</b>	<b>Policy Implications</b>	<b>Major influencers</b>
<b>Dualist</b>	The informal economy is a pre-modern sector acting as an intermediate space between the mainstream formal system and complete unemployment. Focused on 'survivalist' activities by the working poor with few (if any) links with the formal economy.	Labour supply far exceeding the demand brought about by industrialisation.	More state regulation designed to foster informal productivity and more appropriate forms of access to resources, including capital, in addition to the removal of unnecessary state restrictions.	K. Hart / International Labour Organization (ILO)

<b>Legalist</b>	The informal economy is a market-led response by entrepreneurs to excessive state regulation (as opposed to a temporary condition of excess labour supply). Focused on 'plucky' micro-entrepreneurial activity.	Excessive state regulation.	Less state regulation and more free market policies designed to enable/unlock the growth potential of informal entrepreneurs (particularly through the legalisation of informal property rights).	H. de Soto
<b>Voluntarist</b>	The informal economy is a result of producers and traders who choose to operate informally after weighing the costs and benefits of informality versus formality. Focused on opportunistic informal producers and traders.	Efforts to avoid taxation and costly regulation in the formal economy.	Bringing of informal firms and their workers into the formal regulatory environment in order to increase the tax base and reduce unfair competition for formal businesses.	A.R. Levenson & W.F. Maloney
<b>Structuralist</b>	The informal economy is an attempt by formal sector capital, acting with the complicity of the state, to reduce wages and enhance flexibility by exploiting unprotected informal workers. Focused on vulnerable workers exploited by formal sector capital.	Capitalist growth in the context of economic crises.	More regulation of commercial and employment relationships between the informal and formal economies in order to address unequal relationships between 'big business' and subordinate producers.	M. Castells & A. Portes / C. Moser
<b>Inclusionist</b>	The informal economy is a result of anti-poor policies and regulations and systems of governance that exclude the poorest informal producers and traders from accessing formal employment and basic urban services and space in the city to both live and work.  Focused on the political agency of poor informal dwellers and workers in cities.	Anti-poor policies and regulations, and increasingly neoliberal systems of urban governance.	Collective mobilisation among informal residents and workers as a counter-hegemonic practice of resistance and inclusion.  Holding local governments accountable for poor urban dwellers and workers in the process.	I. Lindell / F. Miraftab / D. Mitlin / V. Watson

Vending was one of the most traditional forms of trade in Thai culture before the establishment of Bangkok. Most vending in early Bangkok was done along the canals until the roads were constructed during the reign of King Rama I (Hongladrom et. al. 1986). A study on street vending in Bangkok mentions its important role in the rise of the economic status of Chinese migrant workers during World War II and the migration of Thai workers from rural areas after 1980 (Nirathron, 2006).

The increased number of Thai street vendors in Bangkok in the period after World War II can be explained in terms of the Dualist School and the Structuralist School in that the growth was due to the role of “re-production” of capitalism whereby goods and services were provided cheaply to workers, thus helping to reduce their cost of living. When workers were able to live on low wages, their capitalist counterparts could retain more of the surplus value and minimise the friction caused by discrepancy in the capitalist economy. Taking up street vending occupations was, therefore, a strategy for survival for rural surplus workers, most of whom had a low income and little education. As they could not get a job in the formal economy, by implication these activities were undertaken for survival purposes. This trend became exacerbated in 1997 when the Asian economic downturn resulted in a large number of workers being laid off. Many turned to street vending in order to earn income. A new set of explanations for the expansion of street vending is seen in the paradigm shift in international employment in which technological development and intensive competition in the production and manufacturing sectors have resulted in greater “flexibility” in employment. However, it is clear that since 1997 the number of vendors who are not poor have been increasing (Nirathron, 2006). More middle-class vendors have joined this occupation. A prominent example is Mr. Sirivat Voravetvuthikun, a realtor affected by the economic crisis in 1997 who decided to sell sandwiches on the street (Thaipublica 2012; Sirivat Sandwich, 2013; Yasmeen 2003). Yasmeen and Nirathron’s 2014 study further confirms this trend (Yasmeen and Nirathron 2014).

Vendors who are not poor are seen more frequently in public and private places. They enter the market not because they have no other choice, but rather because they see a greater business opportunity and more flexibility in terms of managing their time (Maneepong and Walsh, 2013; Pruecksamars, 2013). This phenomenon is in line with the suggestion of the Legalist School that the entry into the street vending occupation is attributable to the vendors being content to be “informal” workers. The idea is also in line with the Voluntarist School in that the decision to choose street vending occupations is made on a voluntary basis. The reasons for choosing street vending occupations are not merely economic but are supported by other factors such as freedom and flexibility to manage their time and life. It can be argued that the latter explanation is in line with the employment trend seen in the new generation of workers born after the 1980s who desired greater flexibility in their working life as opposed to fixed working hours subjected to employment uncertainties. Such an explanation is confirmed by the surveys undertaken by the Thai National Statistical Office which evidenced that from 2008 to 2012 the proportion of the self-employed workers in the country had increased among workers of all levels of education (Office of National Economic and Social Development Board, 2013), while traders with limited occupational opportunity continued to resort to street vending as occupations. Thus, there is a clear difference in the role of street vending in generating employment and income for vendors with different economic statuses. This phenomenon is even seen in more developed nations (Nirathron, 2017). Nevertheless, given the importance of street vending for the livelihoods of the urban poor, as well as a source of affordable goods, the emerging Inclusionist School is a useful way to conceptualise the informal economy as well as advocate for pro-poor policies and collective mobilisation.

### **Management of street vending in Bangkok: approaches not compatible with economic and social changes**

The management of street vending in Bangkok over the years has reflected an ambivalent attitude towards the acceptance and rejection of street vending, while the national policy has been geared towards the promotion of self-employment as a means towards poverty reduction and economic self-reliance since the 3<sup>rd</sup> National Economic and Social Development Plan.

Ever since the establishment of the BMA in 1973, regulation of street vending has been on the agenda of every BMA executive team (Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, 1995, p. 55). The BMA's attempt to remove street vending from Bangkok footpaths was initiated when its first governor took office in 1973. Yet, poverty and economic downturns caused by subsequent oil crises forced the administration to relax its measures and "promote" selling food on the pavements to lower the cost of living of the general public. BMA district offices therefore turned to promoting the sale of cheap street food on the pavement (Bangkok Metropolitan Administration, 1995).

Although the BMA views street vending as a problem of orderliness against a certain paradigm of urbanisation, the Maintenance of Cleanliness and Orderliness in the Country Act, B.E. 2535 (1992) authorises the Administration, with the approval of traffic officials, to demarcate temporary places for vendors and penalise those who sell their wares outside the permitted areas. Meanwhile, complaints have been made by the public as to the sale of goods in the prohibited areas, though many people do not agree with the strict measures taken against the vendors. There has been news about the exploitation of street vending in the form of "unofficial service fees" – or bribes – extorted from the vendors in exchange for permission to do business even after the government's recent operation of "Returning the Pavement to the Public" (Public Relations Division, BMA, 2018).

Based on the study of the development of the policy on street vending management since 1973, it has been found that, on the whole, despite some policy differences in each administration there are recurring patterns in the management of the issue. In other words, attempts have been made to regulate street vending areas and solve problems as they come without due consideration of the impacts that may follow. There has been no long-term approach to the issue that can reflect the understanding of the changes in economic and social realities. The policy and measures on the management of street vending can be summarised as follows (Nirathron, 2017; Yasmeen and Nirathron, 2014)<sup>1</sup>:

1. 1973-1977: This represents the attempt to regulate, with the issuance of bylaws. "Street vending" was defined and put under control, requiring permission from the Bangkok governor to operate. Temporary permission was granted in some areas. Measures were seriously supervised and enforced. Vendors staged demonstrations, and the government compromised.
2. 1977-1981: Initially strict measures were enforced, but the oil crisis forced the BMA to permit vendors to sell their goods as a means to generate employment and lower costs of living. Attempts were made to supervise the work by establishing "municipal police", responsible for regulation and control but the unit was subsequently

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<sup>1</sup> The duration of each period represents the term of office of Bangkok Governor. Thus, the year at the end of one period will be the same as the beginning of the next. Details of the development of the management of Bangkok governors can be found in the author's research on Management of Street Vending in Thailand: Situation and Desired Policy Direction (Nirathron, 2017, pp. 66-73).

abolished. Individuals who exploited the vendors by claiming that they could negotiate with officials for the permission to do business were arrested.

3. 1981-1985: This period marked a strict supervision together with promotion of self-employment. Temporary selling places were designated; however, the attempt was subsequently abandoned, as the BMA had no legal authority to do so.
4. 1985-1992: The “City Law Enforcement Department” was established, responsible for controlling vending that might obstruct the pavement, while permission was temporarily granted at “designated areas” with a “clean, safe, and orderly” slogan to promote harmonious coexistence between vendors and pedestrians. Regulations and laws were successfully amended to make it possible to designate temporary vending areas. At the same time, the 6<sup>th</sup> National Economic and Social Development Plan was announced, promoting self-employment in various forms for the first time.
5. 1992-1996: This was an important transitory period in which two important acts were legislated, authorising the BMA to designate temporary vending areas with the approval of traffic officials. Places were designated and marked with clear signs. A registry of vendors was set up, together with their records, in temporarily-permitted vending areas, while those selling outside the designated areas would be fined.
6. 1996-2004: An important economic event took place in 1997 – the *Tom Yum Kung* Crisis. The government created a “Thai Help Thai” project to support small-scale, self-employed people. A survey of vendors was conducted to find out how many there were and to set up additional temporarily-permitted vending areas. This was a time when food sanitation was given important consideration. People Bank Projects were created, providing funding support for small-scale, self-employed entrepreneurs, especially street vendors.
7. 2004-2008: Arresting and fining vendors who sold their goods outside the permitted areas continued. More temporary vending areas were designated. An important development was the creation of hawkers and street vendors committees at district level, illustrating that important stakeholders were encouraged to participate in the management process, albeit to a limited extent.
8. 2009-2014: Supervision and control continued. Those who sold their goods outside the permitted areas were fined. The BMA admitted that street vending would not disappear from Bangkok and recognised the significance of its cultural dimension. Therefore, a project entitled “street vending, a Bangkok charm” was created to promote tourism. More temporary areas were designated in 2013.
9. 2014-2018: Another regulation was put in place, putting an end to all the temporary vending areas to “return the pavement to the public”. The BMA set up new areas for vendors. Some rejected the new proposals, while others went back to sell in the original places, risking being fined and arrested.<sup>2</sup>

The above-mentioned management measures all reflect how a spaced-based approach has been adopted without due regard to the integration of social and economic needs. Public space has been routinely prioritised over other dimensions despite the significant roles and functions street vending plays. First, street vendors “play a structural role in Bangkok’s economy and food system, providing affordable services for formal and informal workers alike” (Reed, Roever and Nirathron, 2017). They also play a valuable role in animating public

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<sup>2</sup> As of December 2017 there are 10,578 street vendors in 232 designated areas. The plan to cancel all designated areas is still in place.

space through their making it safer by serving as “eyes on the street” in the words of the famous urbanist, Jane Jacobs (Ibid.; Yasmeen 2006). Nevertheless, measures restricting vendor access to space have been strictly enforced and then relaxed and so on. Nor is sufficient consideration given to street vending as an activity that generates both work and income that can be developed into a bigger business enterprise. Measures, in the past, were, at times, relaxed for economic reasons, together with lack of good governance surrounding the management of the issue. As a result of the approach, focusing only on spatial arrangements, street vending continues to exist but without long-term development strategies. Interestingly, after the launch of the “Return the Pavement to the Public” operation, one still sees a substantial presence of street vendors. This phenomenon concords with the argument that in the face of attempted curtailing, street vending continues to thrive (Wongtada, 2015; Bromley, 2000). The BMA’s management style does not take into consideration other important dimensions and potential impacts, rather it focuses on street vending as an obstacle to the smooth flow of traffic. Furthermore, action is often taken during times when the government is all-powerful as a result of military dictatorship. More importantly, not only does the prevailing approach reflect inherent management problems, but it also shows how the management style is not compatible with the changing economic and social realities as well as the economic and social functions of street vending (Reed, Roever and Nirathron, 2017).

Over the years, measures against street vending have changed for various ostensible reasons ranging from unsightliness, disorderliness, and lack of cleanliness to the obstruction of the right of way of pedestrians. The incidences of obstruction have become more obvious due to the increased number of vendors and the development of public transportation such as skytrains and underground trains which increase the use of the pavements.

At the national level, it has been the Thai government’s policy to promote employment since the 3<sup>rd</sup> National Economic and Social Development Plan (1972-1976). The policy clearly recognises the role of self-employment as a tool for poverty reduction as indicated in the 4<sup>th</sup> National Economic and Social Development Plan (1977-1981). An interesting point to note is that the State’s attitude towards street vending is built on poverty-reduction activities as enunciated in the 6<sup>th</sup> National Economic and Social Development Plan (1987-1991), leading to economic self-reliance among the people as per the 9<sup>th</sup> National Economic and Social Development Plan (2002-2006). The creation of the People’s Bank projects to support small business enterprises is an example that reflects the important role of small businesses and self-employment in income generation for the people as well as a clear indication of the government’s stance toward the street vending occupation. The information from the Government Savings Bank confirms that a number of street vendors are able to move up from being subsistence workers to becoming traders with savings and able to expand their businesses even further (Government Savings Bank, 2013), a fact indicative of their entrepreneurial acumen. Similarly, the 11<sup>th</sup> National Economic and Social Development Plan (2012-2016) also mentions the support of self-employment and small business enterprises by providing training and access to funding sources. In the 12<sup>th</sup> National Economic and Social Development Plan (2017-2021), the strategies on justice and reduction of inequality affirm the creation of social and economic opportunities, occupations and income generation activities (Office of National Economic and Social Development Board, 2016).

### The current street vending situation in Bangkok: an argument in support of the role of street vending in the generation of work and reduction in economic discrepancy

In April 2016, a survey was undertaken involving both vendors and their customers across four districts in Bangkok. The objective of the study was to gain an understanding of the demographic characteristics of vendors and buyers as well as collect baseline information such as length of time in the business, goods sold, etc. In the study, the numbers of vendors within and outside of the temporarily permitted areas, as provided by the City Law Enforcement Department, were used to estimate the total vending population in each district. 100 street vendors in each area were selected, based on convenience sampling. The total number of vendors in the four districts was estimated at 400. The buyer population, on the other hand, could not be similarly estimated. Instead, a minimum of 50 buyers were sampled in each area, their selection was based on convenience sampling, from among buyers who were buying goods from street vendors. The total number of buyers sampled was 200. The findings of the study are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Characteristics of vendors

Data	Districts in Bangkok								Total (n = 400)	
	BangRak (n = 100)		Pathumwan (n = 100)		Phranakorn (n = 100)		Samphanthawong (n = 100)		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
<b>Sex</b>										
Female	75	75	64	64	75	75.00	77	77.00	291	72.75
<b>Age</b>										
Less than 40	24	24	36	36	26	26.00	33	33.00	119	29.75
40-49	35	35	35	35	30	30.00	20	20.00	120	30.00
50-59	24	24	20	20	21	21.00	30	30.00	95	23.75
60-69	15	15	6	6	14	14.00	16	16.00	51	12.75
70 years and older	2	2	3	3	9	9.00	1	1.00	15	3.75
<b>Education level</b>										
No school	4	4	5	5	4	4.00	3	3.00	16	4.00
Primary	48	48	38	38	40	40.00	47	47.00	173	43.25
Secondary	18	18	21	21	21	21.00	14	14.00	74	18.50
High School	15	5	17	17	14	14.00	10	10.00	56	14.00
Vocational	9	9	9	9	10	10.00	11	11.00	39	9.75
College	5	5	9	9	10	10.00	15	15.00	39	10.50
<b>Domicile</b>										

Street vending management in Bangkok

Data	Districts in Bangkok								Total (n = 400)	
	BangRak (n = 100)		Pathumwan (n = 100)		Phranakorn (n = 100)		Samphanthawong (n = 100)			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bangkok	39	39	30	30	50	50.00	49	49.00	168	42.00

**Can street vending generate enough income**

Yes	90	90	89	89	87	87.00	90	90.00	356	89.00
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**Selling Location**

Permitted area	64	64	54	54	32	32.00	74	74.00	224	56.00
Non-permitted	36	36	46	46	68	68.00	26	26.00	176	44.00

**Goods sold\***

Food (57.14% of responses)

No. of responses	n= 106		n=116		n=103		n=109		n=434	
Ready-to-cook	31	29	38	33	20	19.42	17	15.60	106	24.42
Prepared food	19	18	11	10	11	10.68	9	8.26	50	11.52
Fresh food/vegetables/fruits	8	8	8	7	12	12	18	17	46	11
Ready-to-eat food	0	0	1	1	5	5	4	4	10	2
Others (beverages)	5	5	18	16	6	6	7	6	36	8
Total food groups	63	59	76	66	54	52	55	51	248	57

**Length of time in business**

Less than 1 year	3	3	4	4	1	1	1	1	9	2
1-3 years	12	12	22	22	15	15	15	15	64	16
4-5 years	7	7	13	13	7	7	7	7	34	9
6-10 years	24	24	35	35	19	19	22	22	100	25
More than 10 years	54	54	26	26	58	58	55	55	193	48

**Reasons for choosing this livelihood\***

No. of responses	(n=218)		(n=205)		(n=181)		(n=192)		(n=796)	
Dislike being an employee	74	34	80	39	56	31	56	29	266	33
Flexible time	54	25	40	20	33	18	44	23	171	22

Data	Districts in Bangkok								Total (n = 400)	
	BangRak (n = 100)		Pathumwan (n = 100)		Phranakorn (n = 100)		Samphanthawong (n = 100)			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Good income	34	16	45	22	38	21	28	15	145	18
Can't find other work	29	13	18	9	20	11	26	14	93	12

Average and lowest daily value of selling stock (in baht)					
Average value of selling stock	2,397.60	1,952.30	1,893.30	2,706.70	2,237.48
Lowest value of selling stock	200	200	200	200	200

\* Can choose more than one.  
Percentages may not add up due to rounding.

The vendor characteristics such as age and educational level, reasons for choosing this livelihood, length of time in business, desire and no desire to find other work may initially concord with the theories accounting for the presence of street vending; but at the same time they reflect a transition towards a new set of theories that reflect the significance of street vending as a source of employment and income as well as an occupation with potential for development.

The study found that female vendors account for 72.75 per cent of respondents. The Pathumwan area has the lowest percentage of female vendors. Forty-four percent of vendors sold outside permitted areas. Most vendors had completed no more than 9 years of education. More than half of the vendors surveyed had more than 10 years of experience in the occupation. A quarter of them had worked for less than 5 years. Most of them sold in the Pathumwan district. A high percentage of vendors (54 per cent if one combines “dislike being an employee” and “flexible time”) cited autonomy and flexibility as reasons for vending though there were some vendors who cited “good earnings” (18 per cent) and “having no choice” (12 per cent). A high percentage of vendors sold food (57 per cent). The average daily value of selling stock, or merchandise, was 2,237.48 baht and the average daily income after selling this merchandise was 3,208.40 baht. Inferential statistics found no difference between daily investment between food and non-food vendors. In all four districts, the minimum value of selling stock was 200 baht. The vendors who had low value selling stock tended to earn less. Other issues were discussed informally with vendors. For example, with respect to opinions on the administration of street vending, vendors suggested that low-income vendors should have priority over the space. They also agreed that cleaning fees must be collected and that the number of vendors should be limited.

The study found that Pathumwan district offered the highest earning opportunities. A lower percentage of female vendors are active in the Pathumwan district, compared to other

districts. This may be related to higher income-earning potential but more research is needed to confirm this.

Below is a narrative interpretation of the findings of the survey of buyers, reflecting the importance the role of street vending plays in their lives (Table 2). The study on buyers found that most of them were labourers. 35 per cent earned no more than the daily minimum wage. 40 per cent of buyers purchased from vendors on a daily basis. The most cited reasons for buying were convenience and lower prices compared to purchasing from formal enterprises. The customers surveyed believe that the increase of street vending is due to unemployment and that the new generation of workers prefer autonomy and flexibility. Almost 97 per cent of buyers contended that street vending is significant. In discussions not reported in the table, consumers recommended that the areas permitted for vending must be specified and closely monitored and that the number of vendors must be limited.

Table 2: Characteristics of buyers

Data	Districts in Bangkok								Total (n = 200)	
	Bangrak (n = 50)		Pathumwan (n = 50)		Phranakorn (n = 50)		Samphanthawong (n = 50)			
	No	%	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Sex</b>										
Female	25	50	21	42	34	68	31	62	111	55.50
<b>Age</b>										
Less than 20 years old	7	14	11	22	9	18	8	16	35	17.50
20-59 years	43	86	35	58	36	54	41	82	155	63
60-69 years	-	-	2	4	5	10	1	2	8	4
Total	50	100	50	100	50	100	50	100	200	100
<b>Occupations</b>										
Students	9	18	20	40	17	34	17	34	63	32
Employees with monthly wages	16	32	10	20	9	18	13	26	48	24
Employees with daily wages	12	24	6	12	10	20	4	8	32	16
Government/state enterprise	1	2	4	8	6	12	6	12	17	9
<b>Average monthly income (baht)</b>										
Less than 9,000	12	24	28	56	16	32	14	28	70	35
9,000-15,000	22	44	11	22	21	42	14	28	68	34
15,001-20,000	7	14	5	10	4	8	9	18	25	13

Data	Districts in Bangkok								Total (n = 200)	
	Bangrak (n = 50)		Pathumwan (n = 50)		Phranakorn (n = 50)		Samphanthawong (n = 50)			
	No	%	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%
More than 20,000	9	18	6	12	9	18	7	14	31	16

**Highest level of education**

No school	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1
Primary	7	14	8	16	11	22	2	4	28	14
Lower Secondary	8	16	4	8	3	6	5	10	20	10
Upper secondary-vocational diploma	20	40	25	50	17	34	13	26	75	38
First degree-higher	15	30	13	26	19	38	29	58	76	38

**Accommodation**

Rented house/room	25	50	27	54	19	38	18	36	89	45
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**Frequency of buying**

Every day	24	48	21	42	20	40	13	26	78	39
3-5 days/week	14	28	24	48	11	22	20	40	69	35

**Most frequently bought goods\***

## Food (60.37%)

No. of responses	(n=140)		(n=148)		(n=118)		(n=129)		(n=535)	
Food prepared at point of sale	29	21	26	17	21	18	22	17	98	18
Fresh food/vegetables/fruits	24	17	21	14	20	17	21	16	86	16
Prepared food	22	16	27	18	19	16	18	14	86	16
Ready-to-eat food	10	7	12	8	6	5	15	12	43	8

**Reasons for buying\***

No. of responses	n=146	n=165	n=152	n=155	n=618
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Street vending management in Bangkok

Data	Districts in Bangkok								Total (n = 200)	
	Bangrak (n = 50)		Pathumwan (n = 50)		Phranakorn (n = 50)		Samphanthawong (n = 50)			
	No	%	No.	%	No	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Price (25.31%)</b>										
Cheap	35	24	33	20	28	18	24	16	120	19
Negotiable	5	3	14	9	10	7	8	5	37	6
<b>Convenience (50.65%)</b>										
Near home	21	14	34	21	16	11	24	16	95	15
Saves time	21	14	18	11	20	13	24	16	83	13
On the way	18	12	15	9	20	13	29	19	82	13
Near workplace	19	13	9	6	13	9	12	8	53	9
Why street vendors increase										
Unemployment	34	46	40	49	37	49	33	44	144	43
Autonomy	22	30	19	23	19	25	19	25	79	26
Is street vending necessary?										
Yes										
Convenience	28	21	26	16	30	18	29	21	113	19
Employment	22	16	31	19	33	20	27	19	113	19
Reduce social problems	17	13	28	17	23	14	24	17	92	15
Consumers should have choices	24	18	27	16.77	24	14	25	18	100	17
Cheap goods	28	21	27	17	28	17	21	15	104	17
Unique goods	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0
Tourism	8	6	9	6	15	9	8	6	40	7
Culture	8	6	12	7	13	8	6	4	39	7
No	7	35	3	15	4	20	6	30	20	100

\* Can choose more than one.  
Percentages may not add up due to rounding.

The buyer information reflects the importance of street vending for the general public. The fact that many buyers do not enjoy a high income reflects its function in the reduction of economic disparities. The reasons for buying cited are price and convenience.

## Summary and Recommendations

The BMA's approach to the management of street vending, alternating between stringent and relaxed measures, reflects its way of thinking which pays much importance to area-based management. On the other hand, the persistence of street vending in Bangkok reflects the roles of street vending in the realms of poverty reduction, reducing inequality and entrepreneurial development, and its ability to respond to the needs and lifestyles of younger generations. Data from the research pointed out that street vending plays a predominant role in Bangkok and the management of street vending should not be limited solely to spatial management, although one cannot deny the importance of spatial management in considering the pedestrians who are a major stakeholder in the use of public space. However, discussions with vendors and consumers show both groups are willing to make compromises in terms of restricting selling spaces and regimenting cleanliness.

Under such circumstances, the authors recommend that the management of street vending in Bangkok be based on the following premises:

- Affirmation of the status of street vending in terms of its ability to; generate work and income; reduce economic disparities; eradicate poverty; offer entrepreneurial support; and serve as a mechanism to absorb the impact of employment termination;
- Taking into consideration other aspects as mentioned above, and not only spatial aspects in the administration of street vending;
- Promoting integrated strategic management, taking into consideration the stakeholders concerned, the role and function of street vending in its various dimensions, including managing problems derived from street vending; and
- Putting the importance attached to regulating access to public space into perspective. The management need not be identical in every area but should be based on the same concepts and policies.

Based on the above premises, recommendations are as follows:

1. Setting strategies for the management of street vending to ensure its clear status with regard to its ability to generate work, income, employment and business operations. Case studies from other countries can be applied which feature a clear understanding of the necessity of an integrated approach to the management of areas designated for street vending purposes, including vendor characteristics, connectivity with the agencies concerned, and other mechanisms conducive to successful management;
2. Setting up or assigning an agency to look after street vending affairs in a serious manner, with clear duties covering more than regulating street vending, and with an integrated understanding of the issue in terms of economic, social and cultural dimensions;
3. Promoting sustainability-oriented management rather than solving immediate problems, attaching importance to the creation of inclusive and sustainable cities; and
4. Encourage vendors to form groups, with clear representation, to ensure their participation in the management of street vending on the basis of corporate social responsibility.

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## Not in my face please. Stress caused by the presence of smokers in places with restorative qualities

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### Abstract

Non-smokers' spatial transactions with smokers in semi-outdoor areas with restorative qualities have been investigated. In the process, the impact of smoking in break spaces on non-smokers' behavior in negotiating mutual spatial boundaries was studied. The areas with restorative qualities were defined as places where regular visitors spend their break time to relieve work-related stress or seek temporary relaxation. Regularly used as break areas, three covered-overhead walkways located in different building precincts in the same academic setting were sampled in order to elicit narratives relating to perceived environmental deprivation among regular visitors. In-depth, semi-structured interviews had the aim of eliciting and unfolding these narratives where they emerged as a result of different modes of environmental deprivation. Discourse analysis of the transcribed interviews led to a systematic distillation of five themes associated with the presence of smokers in the studied restorative settings. The study revealed that participating non-smokers had devised both control and coping mechanisms to deal with the smokers' behaviors, such as sending subtle non-verbal cues and repositioning their gaze. Moderated by furniture and landscape configuration, spaciousness, and visual and physical distance, smokers and non-smokers passively negotiated these spatial transactions in each of the respective walkways.

**Keywords:** smokers' presence, restorative environments, work-related stress, spatial negotiations

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## Introduction

*People always come up to me and say that my smoking is bothering them...  
Well, it's killing me.*

*- Wendy Liebman*

Dialectically captured in Liebman's words, public smoking offers insights into an act of abject spatial-aspatial consciousness (Cross & Hopwood, 2007). Although smoke-free workplace agreements assure the rights of non-smokers, smoking is being tolerated in some break areas outside the work environment. Hence, this study looked into somewhat little-known aspects of spatial negotiations between smokers and non-smokers in areas with moderate restorative qualities. Furthermore, it naturalistically looked into migratory elements and mechanisms related to public smoking that occur in places where both smokers and non-smokers spend their break time on a regular basis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Very little evidence exists surrounding the impact of smoking in restorative environments, specifically on workers and other users spending time in academic settings. Even fewer studies have investigated structural factors that facilitate or impede the therapeutic qualities of such environments, especially when it comes to the potentially negative influence that the presence of smokers can have on these environments. Dissimilar to healthcare settings, the terms *healing* or *restorative* have not often been used in research literature to describe the workability of other specialised work environments, apart from a few notable cases in the financial sector (Dunham et al., 2001). However, where work-related stress is considered, not only in healthcare settings but also in other specialised work environments, specific positive outcomes could be potentially obtained via providing access to nature and its restorative qualities. Both active recreational and passive observational activities contribute to stress relief and subsequent attention restoration (Ulrich, 1999; Sargent, Williams, Williams, Johnson, 2017). What is largely unexplored, however, is how non-smokers perceive the presence of smokers in non-smokers' "places of escape" in academic settings where individuals aim to attain a temporary state of relaxation during their break time to assist them in dealing with day-to-day stress. Building on existing research, this study hypothesised that both physical and visual distance between smokers and non-smokers have the capacity to reduce stress caused by the presence of smokers, smoke, and cigarette butts. Furthermore, it also extended this hypothesis by projecting that spatial transactions among non-smokers could occur via movable furniture and landscape features where they facilitated the negotiation of visual and physical distance from smokers.

Although a growing body of research has examined the role of therapeutic or restorative environments in healthcare settings and assisted living facilities, few studies have focused on spatial negotiations in moderately therapeutic areas in the workplace, particularly in academic settings. Noticeably, this developing discourse has still not branched into the theme of smoking in areas where definitions of both restorativeness and publicness openly remain broad and diverse (Hartig, Kaiser, & Bowler, 1997). However, in attention restoration theory, Kaplan and Kaplan, (1989, 1995, 2001)

proposed four factors of restorativeness; being away (a state that calls on mental content that is different from that which is ordinarily elicited); extent (the environment's content and structure, which can occupy the mind for a period long enough to allow directed attention to rest; fascination (effortless attention); and compatibility (relating to an individual's inclinations and the kinds of activities facilitated by a particular setting). Publicness, on the other hand, a slippery term, has been attributed to a hybrid of ownership, control, physical configuration, animation and civility (Varna, 2014).

Fragmented literature on smoking in the domains of publicness and restorativeness largely remains an uncontested ground consisting of narrow specifications limited to micro-segments of social discourse. For example, a study concluded that the observation of smoking in public places including universities leads some youths to conclude that smoking is socially acceptable in community settings (Alesci, Foster, & Blaine, 2003). Thrasher and Bentley (2006) assert that smoking among college students is influenced by their environment, which likely supports their perception of smoking as a normal, socially acceptable practice. Another study investigating impressions of smoking and experiences of disapproval surrounding public-smoking found that smokers are sensitive to the social disapproval that comes as a result of their actions (Louka, Maguire, Evans, & Worrell, 2006). While disapproval from those close to them was accepted, disapproval from the general public was not. However, it is also probable that anti-smoking measures and associated disapproval of smoking affect perceptions of cultural norms around smoking among the general public (Nyborg & Rege, 2003; Parry & Platt, 2000). Kim and Shanhan (2003) found that smokers who have experienced unfavorable public sentiment are more willing to quit smoking than those who have not. They further suggest that by outlawing smoking in public and private places, "smoke-free" acts not only protect non-smokers from second-hand smoke but also enforce behavioral changes among smokers. On the contrary, the smoking area in a restorative environment worked as a refuge where social interaction was not possible (Cerwén, Wingren & Qviström, 2016).

According to studies, the universities from USA have reported that regular exposure to second-hand smoke compromised environmental quality and had a subsequent impact on the psychophysiological health of students and staff (Wolfson, McCoy, Sutfin, 2009). Further studies offer evidence on ways in which outdoor smoking near building entrances affect the quality of indoor spaces (Sureda, Fernandez & Lopez, 2013). Suggesting a somewhat sympathetic attitude towards outdoor smoking, respondents from a large Australian university felt that there should be places on campus for smokers to smoke (Burns, Hart, Jancey, Hallett, Crawford, & Portsmouth, 2016). Irrespective of the presence of restorative qualities, both smokers and non-smokers chose outdoor over indoor when it came to offering designated places for smokers to smoke (Braverman & Hoogesteger, Johnson, 2015; Loukas, Garcia & Gottlieb 2006). Although limited, recent literature on public smoking has a substantial focus on vaping and e-cigarette related practices in public spaces. A recent study showed a difference between reported vaping in public and private places in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Australia which have different regulatory environments for personal vaporizers. This study further concluded that the level of vaping in smoke-free public places reflects the regulatory environment and in addition that social acceptance of vaping increases with exposure and experience (Lee, Yong,

Borland, Mcneill, & Hitchman, 2018). Following the criminalisation of smoking in enclosed public places, smoking has been moved to areas with evening economy (Quercia, Schifanella, Aiello & McLean, 2015).

### Subjects and Methodology

A college campus setting was sampled to investigate the hypothesised association between alterations to the restorative qualities of a place frequented by workers for break-time relaxation and the presence of smokers in the venue at the same time. The three overhead walkways studied connected two masses of buildings within the same compound at a single storey height level above the ground. This elevation offered a broad range of vantage points and view corridors including pedestrian and vehicular movements, mature landscape, buildings with period architecture, and a few parking bays facing in at least two opposite directions. The walkways also contained a few removable seating options and spaciouly organised plant containers along balustrades. All three of them were roofed with translucent claddings, which provided refuge from the year-round harsh sun and occasional torrential rain thus establishing an enclosure, yet an outdoor-like ambience.

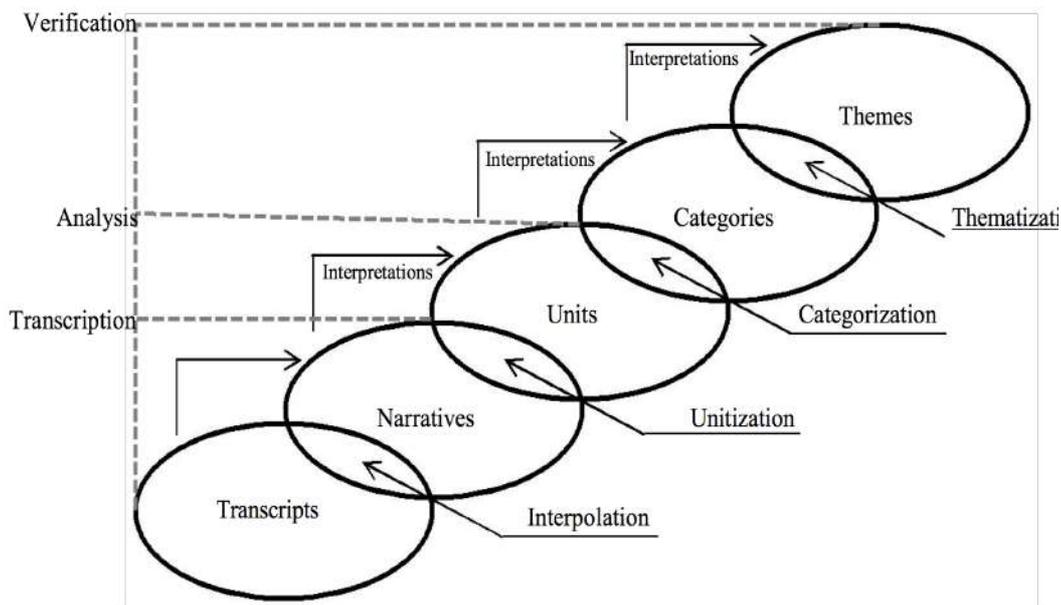


Fig. 1 Systematic acquiring of themes via the naturalistic-inquiry process (Subasinghe, 2012)

Thirty-four non-smokers who frequent the sampled areas for various types of socialising such as lolling, loitering, strolling, reading, and making telephone calls were recruited through their employers. In-depth, open-ended cognitive interviews were conducted among the participants, who volunteered to make recommendations for improving the restorative qualities of the overhead walkways. Four of the 34 subjects did not want to extend the interview with a view to making recommendations because they believed smokers should be utterly banned from the area in order to secure the restorative

nature of the walkways. A second set of interviews was conducted to verify prototype themes that emerged from the first set of interviews. The subjects were probed to sort the most representative units from respective interview transcripts into prototype themes with a resulting matching rate of 92 per cent between author's choice and subjects' choice. At the beginning of the first set of interviews, the interviewer asked a *grand tour* type question such as "tell me what a typical day is like for you?" to open up an avenue for a *rapport interview*, establishing the interviewer as a listener rather than as an interrogator (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Klein, Calderwood, & Macgregor, 1989; Massarik, 1981). This was intended to elicit as much free recall from participants as possible while minimising threats to indeterminacy. Using rapport-building statements and questions such as "tell me more", "what else?", "so/then" and "sounds interesting", the interviewer elicited environmental perceptions related to stress relief, again with open-ended questions such as "how often do you use outdoor environments to chill out?" Based on the supposition that human activities and experiences are essentially categorical in nature, interviews were unitised and subsequently coded by the author into somewhat distinctive categories (Canter, Brown, & Groat, 1985). As diagrammed in Figure 1, these recurring categories were further sorted into emerging themes to curate their essence into achieving self-standing status (Subasinghe, 2012).

## Discussion and Results

The following discourse analysis details the outcome of the transcribed interviews that led to the taxonomisation of five themes associated with the presence of smokers in the studied restorative settings. However, a nondescript yet potential theme emerged from discussions with a few participants who quit smoking a few years ago. They had a somewhat sympathetic attitude towards smokers and strongly believed in protecting exclusive areas for them. The majority of respondents (87%) expressed deep displeasure towards smokers' use of the walkways and would likely visit the area more frequently if smokers were "out of my face". The rest of the respondents thought that the residual effects of smoking, such as the presence of cigarette butts, smoke in the air, and sharing space with "strangers", was more harmful to the ambience of the walkways than the actual presence of smokers. As diagrammed in Figure 1, the following themes which emerged from the discourse analysis are organised according to idioms or their approximations suggested by the participants in their efforts to represent the nature of a particular deprivation.

**Not in My Face.** Response to the presence of smokers was heavily moderated by how familiar the non-smokers were with the smokers. As long as smoke or smokers were not in direct contact with them, the non-smokers tolerated the smokers based on their level of familiarity, either professional or personal. Friends and colleagues were seen as a less intrusive category which deserved "understanding" or some level of sympathy. In contrast, professional contacts were treated as a somewhat intrusive cohort, though still deserving of respect. However, for both categories, visual or physical distance was critical because walkway users found that disruptive levels of exposure to smoke lessened their feelings of understanding or respect. While non-smokers' socialising with familiar smokers was restricted to the exchange of a few words, non-smokers engaged

*Not in my face please*

each other in lengthier social behaviors that involved chatting, listening to music, exchanging food, sharing reading materials, and a limited amount of intragroup activities. Participant 16 stated:

*“As long as they are far away enough from me so that I can’t smell the smoke, I’m fine, but some days no matter how far away you are, man, you seriously can smell those folks. A couple of my friends also come here for smoking, but they don’t really bug me that much. We don’t really socialize here, just nodding and waving at each other! I often see a few of my bosses here, too. I don’t show my sour face to them. It’s easy to stay away from them as much as possible, so I make it a point to either leave the place or to distance myself from them. So we hardly notice each other.”*

While professional and personal obligations did not moderate non-smokers’ ultimate preference that smokers not inhabit the same space, their tolerance level was somewhat moderated. The non-smokers employed simple ways to share the same space with their friends and business contacts who smoke, such as physical and visual distancing. Distance seemed to help them dissociate unfriendly habits from their relationships. Such tactics helped non-smokers easily escape smokers without compromising their personal and professional affiliations. However, when several occupants used the overhead walkways at the same time, especially non-smokers, maintaining adequate distance from the smoke was more difficult and further challenged coexistence between the two groups.

**Burning Your Bridges.** Territorialisation of the overhead walkways was another way non-smokers controlled the length of stay of smokers. Quite often this was launched as a spontaneous group action by the non-smokers. When non-smokers outnumbered smokers, non-smokers tended to extend their territory to corners normally occupied by smokers, thus obstructing access to ashtrays in the area. Typical reactions to this kind of territorial superiorisation had the smokers leaving the walkways, shortening their stay, or finding alternative locations for smoking.

When “smoking corners” were empty, it was observed that the non-smokers stuck to their usual areas, even though many of them were crowded together. Participant 11 averred:

*“I have my favorite corner and always make sure that I stay away from smoking spots and ashtray bins. Those places are just gross. No matter how often they empty the bins, they stink. When we have a whole bunch of us together, I feel like claiming the place for ourselves. Most of the time when we hang around in their area, they smoke like crazy fast and then disappear in no time. I think they kind of understand what they are doing is not cool and if they still want to smoke here that they have to do it really quick.”*

Planters, furniture and suchlike further moderated the perceived distance from smokers. Furthermore, temporary spatial demarcations with movable furniture were

established where additional reinforcements were needed. Extending the designated areas for non-smokers indicated that reclaiming their original space for stress relief and passive socialising was important. The occupation of corners usually inhabited by smokers was seen as more than a spontaneous extension of boundaries; it was also a reaction to the negative use of a place with restorative qualities. Arguably, because this was a group action, spatial transactions between the two groups might have a bearing on broader environmental stress in the workplace.

**Sending a Message.** Sending a subtle non-verbal message similar to a broken cough was often practiced among the walkway users who felt strongly about the presence of smokers. When the non-smokers were desperate for a break in a semi-secluded outdoor type environment, especially after stressful work in studios, the presence of smokers made them feel more vulnerable. Upon entering the walkways, a direct view of smoker-corners immediately caused adjustments in the non-smokers' behavior. Such altered behavior, including sending non-threatening clues, required varying degrees of time and coping strategies depending on the intensity of the scene in the smoker-corners. More smokers caused them to be more cautious or have more controlled reactions than a few smokers or a single smoker did. Participant 29 commented:

*“No one wants them there; they are just an unfriendly, gross bunch of people grouped in the corners of the bridge. Sometimes there are so many that they fill the whole space. I have my way of sending the message, but sometimes they don't care. They act like they haven't heard us, so I have to cough fanatically to make the message clear.”*

As Participant 29 demonstrated, non-smokers also expressed displeasure with smokers through their descriptions of the smokers' physical appearance and behavioral attitudes. Additionally, smokers' occupation of the corners at the very ends of the walkways, as well as their grouping behaviors such as socialising while smoking, threatened non-smokers' sense of privacy and safety. The non-smokers further felt that the walkways were relatively tight when smokers were present compared to the sense of space they experienced in the absence of smokers. This perceived crowdedness may have led the non-smokers to send non-threatening, but distinct messages to limit the smokers' possible extension of their unofficial spatial boundaries or to shorten the length of their stay.

**Escaping to Smoke.** For non-smoking users of the overhead walkways, the transition point from indoors to outdoors signified an exit from their demanding work in “walled” interiors into more accommodating open “interiors”. The concentration of smokers in the partly secluded corner immediately next to the exit door caused the non-smokers' to lower their expectations. The smoke itself intervened with their escape route more than the actual presence of the smokers. Alarming levels of smoke were not only considered as a severe threat to the quality of the air space, but also an exploitation of the non-smokers' extended tolerance. According to Participant 21:

Not in my face please

*“They smoke so close to the entrance so that you have to practically walk through the smoke. The smell takes away the quality of the place. When I’m on the bridge I do pay attention to smokers, but I rather prefer that they don’t look at me. It does really irritate me when they don’t give us an escape route even. I can deal with the stupidity of risking your own life, but not ignorance towards other people’s lives and personal space. Blowing clouds in your face is not just a stink issue, but it’s about not having respect for people who really care for this space.”*

Moreover, the non-smokers felt that the quality of the transitional space between the interior and exterior was compromised because of what they call the three S’s: the Smoke, the Smell, and the Society among smokers. While the smoke issue was perceived as a lack of respect toward non-smokers, the smell was considered to compromise the restorative quality of the space. The socialising (society) among smokers emulated a notion of normalcy of smoking, which non-smokers felt was utter social misconduct that would eventually grow into a larger issue regarding the legitimisation of smoking in healing environments. As long as smoking was done in an apologetic manner with minimal visual or physical interference with the intended purpose of the space, the non-smokers did not push for intervention. Even though the experience of smoke and smell has no significant effect outdoors, the society or grouping of the smokers added weight to the overall undesirable psychological presence of the smoke and smell.

**But Is Not Butt.** Most of the non-smokers who acknowledged smokers’ right to use the walkway agreed that scattered cigarette butts caused reactionary levels of environmental degradation. Furthermore, these discarded cigarette butts were viewed as an abuse of the restorative spatial qualities of the skywalk, which added to the stress of the non-smokers whose prime purpose for visiting the space was stress relief. Even scattered cigarette butts that had fallen out of bins were seen as the direct responsibility of the smokers rather than accidental in nature due to misplaced lids or mishaps during cleaning. Spatial negotiations might have occurred in the event of a direct violation of “rules” such as openly throwing butts elsewhere, not disposing of them properly into bins, or letting them fall on the floor. In addition, scattered cigarette butts were seen as a deliberate mode for smokers to extend their spatial boundaries or spatial claim for smoking. Participant 15 noted:

*“I understand they too need to chill out here, but dare they not throw cigarette butts all over the place. Everybody has their own limits of eating (bearing) consequences from other people’s misbehaviors. Well, when you don’t take care of yourself, one can’t expect them to be sensitive about a place. You would notice some of those people who trash this (walkway) are the people who have very clean offices or work stations, so it’s clear that they don’t see this as a place that means something to a lot of people. We have more tolerance than they do, but it might explode at any moment and that will be really unpleasant.”*

Participant 15's feeling seems to be that of an unspoken, but mutually agreed pact which had been disrespected. The majority of the non-smokers expected smokers to appreciate their tolerance at least by keeping the place free from the remains of smoking. The notion that something that should not be tolerated at all, has gone above and beyond its bearable limits, consequently led to a feeling of resentment. Part of the resentment might be a result of building administrators not having set specific rules and regulations or even general instructions regarding smoking or designated smoking areas. There was a clear feeling that the issue could even lead to physical confrontations as a direct reaction to environmental deprivation. The noted difference between the treatment of personal and public spaces was also seen as a deliberate exploitation of the skywalk by the smokers.

## Conclusions

Unless the work itself is about health and wellness, work-related, day-to-day stresses tend not to receive much attention and thus, rarely get reported. Little to no research evidence links occupational stress relief-mechanisms with associated spatial needs in areas for temporary stress relief. Even fewer research reports exist on how micro-spatial responses resulting from certain behaviors such as smoking in common areas with moderate restorative qualities affect relief-mechanisms. Therefore, this study has attempted to build a potential nexus between occupational stress relief in areas with moderate restorative qualities and various user adaptations to public smoking in such areas.

The non-smoker participants expressed an apparent uneasiness regarding the presence of smokers in the walkways, their place of temporary relief from a stressful day at work. On average, the non-smokers experienced greater degrees of negative stress—i.e. feeling tense, on edge, discouraged, and annoyed—when smokers were present than when smokers were not present. Alternatively, when smokers were not present, the occurrence of all restorative emotions—i.e. feeling relieved, elated, comfortable, and rejuvenated—mentioned during the interviews were considerably higher.

Another normative aspect of the discourse analysis revealed several potentially meaningful themes attached to the concepts of publicness and restorativeness specific to the studied three overhead walkways. The majority of the overhead walkway users perceived the walkway as a moderately restorative “in-between” environment, with regard to transition between the two sections of the compound as well as the restorative qualities affected by the presence of smokers. The elevation of the walkway allowed for a degree of separation from a heavily choreographed ground-floor environment while maintaining a controlled yet uninterrupted and direct access to work areas. The ambience of the walkway enables passive isolation from both the demanding atmosphere of an academic setting and the hustle and bustle of ground-floor traffic. Apparently, users sought its solace when stressed with work-in-progress or “yet to complete” tasks, when running behind in their schedules, when facing unmanageable amounts of work, or when dealing with personal, non-work-related stressors. Familiarity among the users and tolerance levels played a critical role in determining length of the stay and coping mechanisms as demonstrated in Figure 2.

For example, when aiming for a comfortable stay in the presence of familiar smokers, non-smokers were inclined to entertain a high level of tolerance by adopting coping strategies such as visual and physical distancing. On the other hand, if the majority of the smokers were unfamiliar, non-smokers may attempt visual and physical distancing followed by a limited stay. Apparent low tolerance levels caused by such distancing might also result in the sending of subtle or direct messages to smokers as discontent-cues of environmental deprivation.

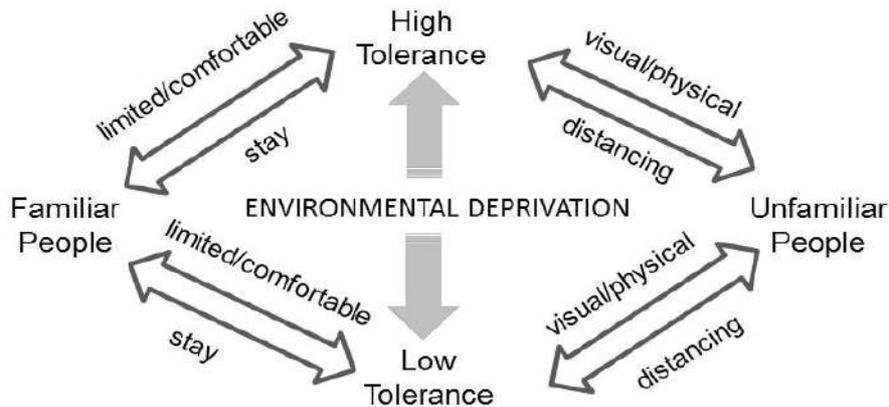


Fig. 2 Relationships between length of stay vs. coping mechanism and familiarity vs. tolerance level

Even though the general attitude of the non-smokers towards smokers was somewhat hostile, they accommodated the notion of negotiated or conditional sharing with visitors to the walkways. The awareness of smoking as a form of stress relief for smokers did not directly mediate such negotiations for the non-smokers. On the contrary, the non-smoker users felt exploited, cheated, and trapped rather than being provided an opportunity to “get away” in the presence of smokers. These feelings were particularly acute when non-smokers were forced to walk through smoke. Common themes that emerged from the analysis included feelings of smokers as abusers or exploiters who only spend time in the walkway until their cigarettes burn off with no sense of attachment or belongingness to the environment. For a considerable portion of the study population, the litter from smoking made a greater impact on the degradation of the overall restorative quality than the presence of the smokers did.

The physical and visual distance between smokers and non-smokers was critical above all. Distance was moderated by furniture and landscape features found on the walkway, and the perceived visual and physical distance significantly affected stress levels. Even if the non-smokers’ tolerance level reached an actionable level, the window for any spatial confrontation was quite slim. In such a scenario, instead of smokers altering their behaviors or terminating their visits to the space, non-smokers tend to abandon or limit the length of their stay. This might be considered as an extreme method for non-smokers to physically and visually distance themselves from smokers due to compromised restorative qualities in the environment.

Instead of requesting complete prohibition of smoking in the walkway, the majority of

the respondents were considerate enough to suggest transient spatial boundaries for smoking. One respondent elaborated on this idea and even pointed out a tentative location for the proposed area by the side of the main building. Other suggestions included placing plant containers similar to existing ones at both sides of the walkway, introducing artwork, such as sculptures and getting rid of cigarette bins. More facilities for seating—including benches rather than movable chairs—could facilitate a more negotiable space. These proposals strongly suggest creating a static spatial configuration in the area to preserve its restorative qualities and make smokers less noticeable among the larger group. These findings have the potential to inform the design of public space in the urban context via the ordering of spatial zones to achieve visual distancing, leveling the environmental deprivation across different sectors of society. The themes that emerged from the discourse analysis revealed an inverse relationship between the perceived level of stress relief reported by non-smoker participants and the presence of smokers. This inconclusive yet apparent relationship supports the key hypothesis on the effects of compromised restorative qualities arising from altered environmental conditions caused by smoking, including smokers, smoke, and cigarette butts. In addition to a multiple sorting of the results within the same sample group, the study proposes a triangulation of the results via a statistical analysis of a larger sample group to ensure transferability.

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## Assessment of user happiness in campus open spaces

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### Abstract

There is a considerable amount of interest among scholars and urban designers in assessing and fulfilling a shared desire for happiness that is expressed by users of open spaces. The scope of this paper is limited to user experience in a university campus, and considerations around the impact of the setting and design of existing open spaces on stimulating positive feelings and happiness in students, and enhancing the all-round educational experience. The study is limited to young female students at the Effat University campus, in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Jeddah City. This paper aims to assess the students' level of happiness on a university campus by examining the impact of the open spaces design and setting on the students. A cognitive map analysis is used to investigate the students' emotional experience of the open spaces on campus. Also, a questionnaire is used to investigate the students' preferable open spaces and the reasons for their preferences, which validate the results. The results showed that due to social and environmental conditions some decisions need to be made in response to outdoor temperatures and the spaces' settings in order to improve their design and make a significant positive impact on students' happiness. In addition, this could potentially result in a happier, healthier, and more efficient educational environment overall.

**Keywords:** happiness, subjective well-being, educational environment, open spaces, cognitive map, university campus, space setting

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## 1. Introduction

The philosopher Aristotle said, “*Happiness* is the meaning and purpose of life”. All human beings aspire to be happy and the United Nations General Assembly’s 2011 Resolution recognised this pursuit of happiness as a fundamental human goal (UNESCO, 2016). *Happiness* is now one of the most researched topics in the twenty-first century, attracting scholars from around the world (Vega, 2016).

Many scholars are concerned with the subject of user experience on university campuses, and the impact of the setting and design of open spaces on the stimulation of positive feelings like happiness, satisfaction and well-being, and an overall enhancement of educational experience. When students feel happy and satisfied, and they are able to enjoy their environment, this aids learning and their development across physical, cognitive, emotional, moral and spiritual dimensions (Ahmadi-Afusi, et al., 2014).

According to a recent survey conducted by the Higher Education Policy Institute (HEPI) and Advance HE on more than 14,000 students, it was found that only 17 per cent of the students believed they were happy and considered their life to be worthwhile. This highlights a serious problem: among young people aged between 20 and 24, university undergraduates exhibit significantly lower levels of happiness compared to their contemporaries (Busby, 2018). The design of open space has a significant effect on students’ feelings towards educational institutions, and as such plays a major role in learning processes. Attractive open spaces enhance students’ opportunities for mental refreshment between classes, thereby increasing their performance levels in class. In addition, open spaces provide a place for physical activity and entertainment that helps in mitigating the negative feelings resulting from the stress of routine studying (Ahmadi-Afusi, et al., 2014; Montgomery, 2013). This study aims to assess students’ happiness on a university campus by examining the impact of the design and setting of open spaces within the premises on the students. A cognitive map is used for data collection and a questionnaire employed to prove the results’ validity. In addition, using the cognitive map as an assessment tool for studying happiness contributes to urban sociology research.

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 Happiness definitions

Interest in happiness is not a recent phenomenon; the citizens of Rome adopted a God to symbolise Happiness (Montgomery, 2014). Aristotle defined *happiness* according to three areas; feeling enjoyment, good performance and success, and spiritual life. Additionally, Argyle and Crossland define *happiness* as a combination of positive feeling, lack of negative feeling and life satisfaction (Montgomery, 2013). Nowadays, the happiness issue is widely researched in social sciences to the point where, according to the ProQuest full-text database, the word “happiness” has been mentioned in research abstracts more than 170,000 times (Babincak, 2018). Because of the excessive use of the word “happiness”, the definition of *happiness* has been mixed up with another set of concepts, including leisure, euphoria, well-being, satisfaction, and quality of life (Ahmadi-Afusi, et al., 2014). However, all these concepts are used by scholars to indicate people’s evaluation of their lives (Cloutier, et al., 2014). These terms have been applied and used as interchangeable synonyms in several studies (MacKerron & Mourato, 2013).

However, the mix-up between happiness and other terms may cause ambiguity. Thus, the following section will discuss the different meanings and purposes of happiness. There is an overlap between the two terms *happiness* and *satisfaction*. Happiness is a result of a positive experience in which a person can say if s/he lives happily or not; while the concept of satisfaction is a result of an evaluation process in which a person can say if s/he is happy or not (Babincak, 2018). In this context, happiness has a broader meaning, and a longer-term influence. In other words, a happy person is satisfied, but a satisfied person is not necessarily happy.

Subjective well-being (SWB) is also one of the most common terms that has mightily overlapped the happiness concept. It is necessary to clarify that SWB is not synonymous with well-being. Well-being is a general concept that indicates how well people are doing in life according to social, health, and educational aspects and so on. The descriptor “subjective” in subjective well-being is added to limit the scope of a person’s quality of life to the person’s own perspective (Diener, et al., 2018). SWB is defined as people’s evaluation of their lives, an evaluation that includes both the cognitive judgment of the standards of what constitutes “the good life” and an affective evaluation of feelings and emotions. In some studies, the term “life satisfaction” is used to refer to the *cognition* aspect of the evaluation and *happiness* often refers to the *affect* aspect (Okulicz-Kozaryn & Valente, 2018). This categorisation of cognitive and affect aspects limits the concept of happiness to emotional experiences and subjective evaluations. However, it is difficult to separate the two aspects in one assessment. The concept of happiness itself tackles the subjective construct of user experience, the assessment of which involves two aspects, the cognitive and the affect (Nor-Azzatunnisak, et al., 2017). This means that subjective well-being and happiness are synonyms and share similarities both in nature and in their respective components.

Likewise, Diener, et al. (2018) confirmed that people’s emotions include an evaluative component which can provide evidence as to their level of life satisfaction. This means that the cognitive measure and affect measure in the evaluation process are connected and indeed used to support each other. However, a critical concern is raised by researchers that concerns the subjective nature of emotional experience which may cause it to differ from one person to another.

Moreover, a positive relationship between subjective well-being and happiness, and *quality of life* has been approved in several studies (Diener, et al., 2018). The concept of quality of life includes two perspectives: a “place-centered” perspective that focuses on the prevailing conditions a life is subject to and a “person-centered” perspective that tackles the person’s direct experience of life. Consequently, the two perspectives are used for assessment. The “place-centered” perspective is based on objective criteria such as the frequency of use of entertainment spaces and facilities. While the “person-centered” perspective is subjective and is based on the experiences of the individual (Lloyd & Auld, 2002).

MacKerron & Mourato (2013) divided subjective well-being (SWB) into three categories; the evaluative SWB, eudemonic SWB, and hedonic or experienced SWB. The evaluative SWB is more cognitive in nature and concerns people’s satisfaction with life as a whole. Whereas, the eudemonic SWB is based on reports concerning flourishing. Finally, the hedonic or experienced SWB represents people’s mood, affect or emotion. All in all, there is a definite positive correlation between the three categories of SWB.

Based on the above, the definition of happiness in this study is based on the “person-centered” perspective, and the “hedonic” concept that refers to experienced SWB or “happiness”. The scope of the term happiness in this research indicates positive emotions rather than negative emotions in terms of how people assess their experience in open spaces on campus.

## *2.2 Happiness, education, and open spaces*

The successful open space has a significant impact on human feeling and user behavior (Farag, 2016). The open space is the spatial context of the users' experience; therefore, it is essential to understand emotional experience as occurring within that context (Montgomery, 2013). Designing a successful open space can stimulate students to feel happiness and an internal motivation towards happiness which they spend most of their lifetime searching for; designing such a space necessitates providing lighting and thermal comfort, using bright colors, installing appropriate furniture (Dadvand, et al., 2015; Wu, et al., 2014), assuring safety (Pfeiffer & Cloutier, 2016), carefully curating urban forms (Jacobs, 1961; Leyden, et al., 2011), making amenities available (Bravo, 2012), choosing a good location (Montgomery, 2013), and maintaining cleanness, as living in a polluted, unclean environment has an unpleasant impact on its users' emotional experience. Environmental conditions have also been found to contribute to students' states of happiness (Cloutier & Pfeiffer, 2015); climate and geography, air and water quality, and sustainability practices are all considered to be indicators for reporting levels of happiness and comfort (Leyden, et al., 2011).

The design of outdoor spaces and the physical environment in campuses are found to be very influential factors in enhancing students' well-being, improving students' cognitive abilities and mental health, improving attention restoration, and giving students the possibility of a pleasant educational experience (Bratman, et al., 2012; Scholl & Gulwadi, 2015; McFarland, et al., 2008; Lau, et al. 2014; Ahmadi Afusi, et al., 2014). Moreover, paying attention to open space and its role in enhancing students' emotional experience can relieve the stress of the studying routine and exams, and improve academic outcomes (UNESCO, 2016). In this respect, a study examined the impact of open space design on mitigating stress in university campuses in a compact urban setting (Lau, et al. 2014). The present study found that a comprehensive design approach that applies three design strategies: landscape design, spatial design and green design practice is a healthy design approach to open spaces that helps to create opportunities for relaxing and releasing stress. It was found that if the campus' open spaces were designed according to this comprehensive approach they would actively promote staff and students' attention restoration, enhance well-being, improve mental health, and provide various levels of comfort for users.

There is substantial evidence surrounding the positive effect of nature and plants on a person's sense of well-being (Cohen, et al., 2013). Several studies have confirmed the link between access to open, natural, and green environments and feeling a sense of happiness. From a window overlooking a grassy green-coloured lawn or forest to living near a regional park, greenness makes a place more attractive and provides the opportunity for people to be in contact with nature. Additionally, greenness; improves physical and mental health where it encourages activities like gardening and doing exercise (Pfeiffer & Cloutier, 2016); fosters cognitive development and learning

outcomes (Larson, et.al, 2016); enhances friendly, supportive and helpful attitudes in students, making them less prone to violence and contributes to the feeling of belonging which in turn fosters trust. Nature brings out the good in us, helping build essential bonds between students and places (Montgomery, 2013).

Similarly, many studies have investigated how students' levels of happiness and satisfaction with the campus' outdoor environment contribute positively to their academic achievements and well-being. For example, a study in Texas university investigated the relationship between campus green spaces and the students' perception of the quality of life on offer (McFarland, et al., 2008). This study found that students who visited the green spaces more frequently and spent more time outdoors were more satisfied with the quality of life within the university and more capable of improving their academic performance than students who made less frequent visits to them and spent less time outdoors. Yet, some university planners have not given this issue priority.

The physical setting of an open space may also encourage or eliminate opportunities for social engagement among students. There is a strong link between having deep and fulfilling social relationships, feeling positive and happy, and being prevented from being isolated (Pfeiffer & Cloutier, 2016; MontgoMery, 2014). A study was conducted in a university in Saudi Arabia, which aimed to assess use preferences across the campus' outdoor spaces and to investigate the preferred pattern of activity within these open spaces. It was found that 36 per cent of students preferred the outdoor space with a setting which allowed for socialising and meeting with their colleagues, 30 per cent preferred the shaded outdoor spaces and around 14 per cent preferred the open space that features a well-maintained landscape. The student's preference was based on the physical setting, furnishing of seating spaces, green areas and shading devices. This explains the other finding that among the five measured preferred patterns of activities within outdoor spaces on campus the majority of students tend to socialise rather than use the outdoor spaces for studying, learning, passing-by or entertaining (Abdelaal, et al., 2017).

Conversely, a study in the University of Western Australia investigated how good academic achievements contribute to students' happiness and satisfaction rather than how students' happiness contributes to good academic achievement. This study revealed that there are different variables affecting students' happiness and satisfaction, in which some are significant and others are insignificant. The study determined that the top 4 variables are satisfaction with school work, good relationships with peers, proper time management, and a university with a good reputation (Chan, et al., 2005).

After all, the campus' urban design and landscaping significantly affects efforts to attract and recruit students to universities (Boyer, 1987; Hartley & Morphey, 2008; Klassen, 2001), especially if the open spaces in campuses are kept in their natural form as this will not only bestow a venerable identity to the campus but also create a strong sense of community. Creating a healthy and pleasant attractive outdoor space on campuses should be one of the main priorities for universities (Griffith, 1994).

Promoting feelings of happiness can be employed to elevate overall happiness levels; decision makers can direct their policies towards using open space elements and landscapes to foster high levels of happiness in users (Vega, 2016).

### 2.3 Measuring happiness

There is a global interest in the field of measuring happiness that has been growing over the past twenty-five years. At the beginning of the twentieth-century economists claimed happiness to be an unmeasurable variable. They claimed that efforts to quantify happiness in people are meaningless and that what is really at stake in terms of natural selection is survival, not happiness. However, modern research conceives happiness as being a measurable quantity, regardless of whether or not this is meaningful for economic purposes (Hossenfelder, 2013).

Numerous organisations and many countries around the world have been working on measuring happiness and marketing the happiest countries to the world community. Therefore they have made the happiness standards a top priority (Larson, et.al, 2016). Countries like the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Canada, and Mexico have launched national projects to officially measure *Happiness*. World organisations have developed a happiness measurement process by initiating a series of indicators to measure happiness levels (Vega, 2016): the World Happiness Report, the Happy Planet Index, the World Values Survey and the Better Life Index are all global initiatives with the aim of measuring countries' levels of happiness. The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is a worldwide study aiming to measure students' happiness in schools based on 22 criteria, under three broad categories: People, Process and Place (UNESCO, 2016). All of these initiatives measure well-being under the umbrella concept of happiness and have been developing work on a large urban scale, that depends on many indicators that are not included in this research scope such as housing affordability, unemployment rate, and safety. In respect to the micro-scale of open spaces, there are numerous research-suggested tools for measuring users' happiness (Helliwell, et al., 2019). Despite the several tools that have been used to measure happiness, currently there is no research-confirmed "best tool" when it comes to measuring happiness (Nor-Azzatunnisak, et al., 2017). In the following part, the two tools used in measuring happiness in this research are discussed explicitly. However, it is worth mentioning here that there is a recent and more technological tool available, known as bio-statistical indicators. This tool provides objective measuring by using wearable technologies to collect data on bio-statistical indicators like skin reactivity, brain activity, surface skin temperature, and stress measures (Pfeiffer & Cloutier, 2016). This method is still limited to application, it needs expensive equipment, requires medical settings, and is hard to apply on large number of people. Therefore, it will be excluded from this research.

#### 2.3.1 Self-report measure (Questionnaire)

The self-report measure is one of the examples that is widely used and involves people being asked to evaluate their lives (Helliwell, et al., 2019), or simply asking them to provide an explicit judgment about the quality their life through responding to a questionnaire (Diener, et al., 2018). Leyden, et al. (2011) claimed that asking people directly how happy they feel is a useful way to measure happiness, based on the assumption that they are the best judges of their happiness status. The self-report measure is a simple tool which empowers the researcher to direct questioning in a way that could help to unearth and deduce the way the respondents feel. The researcher

can compose a series of questions using a Likert-type scale from 1 to 5, 7 or 10 points, where 1 indicates strongly disagree, and 5, 7 or 10 indicate strongly agree (Pfeiffer & Cloutier, 2016). In this case, it is an easy and applicable tool to employ when asking a big sample of people about their feelings, to uncover the reasons that caused happiness or unhappiness (Montgomery, 2013).

Evaluating people's experience by asking direct questions may help in recognising their level of happiness. However, some studies reveal the flaws of asking direct questions for research purposes for example that people may be deceived about their emotions or provide unclear or incorrect answers. Moreover, the meaning of the questions may be perceived differently from one person to another depending on the context of the study and the respondent's reaction, resulting in different answers. Additionally, the flaw inherent in using this tool is that the respondents may start to answer the questions in a pattern, for example, repeatedly selecting option no. 6 in response to all the questions, or they may misunderstand the questions, both of which result in inaccurate answers (Augustin, Coleman, 2012). Accordingly, in order to have reliable and meaningful happiness measures, the person's emotions have to be stable over time, and not influenced by changeable factors such as weather or personal experiences. Also, people should be able to report their emotions. To overcome this dilemma, it is recommended that the questions be repeated several times over a period of time, and the number of happy or unhappy answers counted in order to calculate the percentage of answers that reflect the respondent's happiness (Diener, et al., 2018). Another way to increase the reliability of this tool is to consider the questionnaire design, asking a question in the beginning that is similar to the one asked at the end of the questionnaire, that way the consistency between the two answers can be examined (Chan, et al., 2005).

Therefore, depending only on the self-report measure (cognitive judgment) to reveal respondents' underlying feelings could mislead the research findings. Diener, et al. (2018) advise combining a broad array of measures that include both cognitive judgment and affective measurements.

### 2.3.2 Cognitive Map

The Cognitive Map is a technique that was pioneered by Lynch (1960) and has since been used extensively in research. It has been used to externalise what lies inside human minds regarding the surrounding environment and how they understand, perceive, assess and feel the built environment through the process of drawing. The users translate their emotional experiences through a series of psychological transformations in which people acquire, code, store and decode information about their spatial environment; its elements, relative locations, distances and directions, and overall structure (Rapoport, 1990). According to Nasar (1990), the users' feelings about their environment can be assessed and their assessment is an essential component of the perception process. The cognitive map is considered as a mental representation of the individual experiences (Ganji, et al., 2006; Laszlo, et al., 1996), and a form of visual aid to enhance our understanding of the thoughts of an individual or group (Kadriye & Mehmet, 2012). The cognitive map is a helpful tool to recall and test the emotional experiences of the users for the purposes of a happiness assessment. The lines they draw can reflect their feelings, for example, a straight line reflects that someone is stable, a wavy one reflects calmness and a jagged one gives a sense of anger and confusion (De Botton, 2008).

Moreover, the cognitive map technique is tied to the “Environmental Preference” discourse, which concerns the places that people prefer more than other places. It has a long tradition in environmental psychology, cognitive responses to environments, natural or urban works (Bechtel & Churchman, 2002).

Research using the cognitive map technique has been conducted on a sample of 30 students at the Selcuk University Campus in Turkey, to investigate how the students perceive the open spaces in their campus. The researchers used the drawing technique to restore the mental images in the users’ minds and transform their thoughts into tangible drawings or “cognitive maps”. The present study showed that the students disliked the areas that they have trouble understanding/perceiving, such as undefined and vacant areas. They mostly liked places such as sports facilities, festival areas, shopping centres, libraries, and cafeterias. The users preferred to actively use the open spaces in which they felt a sense of belonging. The social spaces within the campus area where students are seen to be gathering and actively enjoying their lives are the most perceivable, meaningful and satisfactory places available to the students. This study concluded that the more preferable and admirable spaces are more memorable than others that are less so (Kadriye & Mehmet, 2012). However, the study has not shown the reasons beyond students’ preferences, which could be due to the fact that the study only used the cognitive map.

The cognitive map technique concerns providing data, on the ways individuals recognise their environment in a specific case (Sihombing, 2014). However, the cognitive map has been accused of being a subjective tool that makes understanding and analysing difficult due to variation in drawing abilities, in addition to inaccuracies in the drawings themselves (Imani & Tabaeian, 2012). Moreover, a considerable challenge is posed by the random collection of rectangles and paths that are to be analysed and translated in order to investigate people’s emotions. Additionally, the drawn plans may not have any resemblance to the actual areas (Augustin & Coleman, 2012).

In this research, the students’ emotional affect and cognitive judgment of the open spaces on campus are assessed using two tools: the cognitive map and the questionnaire, for a comprehensive assessment.

### **3. Methodology**

This study has a mixed methodology that combines both qualitative and quantitative methods. This study is conducted in a female institution in Saudi Arabia. The scope of this paper is limited to the user’s emotional experience in a university campus, and the impact of the setting and design of the open spaces on stimulating positive feelings of “happiness” in order to enhance the educational experience. The open spaces in this research are defined as semi-public spaces according to the Hall (1982) classification. This is based on the fact that the spaces are neither entirely open nor closed, and are not accessible to the general public without express permission, or indeed male individuals due to cultural and social norms.

This study aims to assess the students’ level of happiness in a university campus and examine the impact of the open spaces, their design and landscaping, on the students’ feelings of happiness. A cognitive map analysis is used to investigate the students’ emotional experience of the open spaces on campus to indicate memorable spaces.

Also, a questionnaire is used to investigate the students' preferable open spaces and the reasons for their preferences, which validate the results.

This study is conducted as a single case study on the "Effat University campus". A single case study is selected rather than multiple-case study in order to provide a deep understanding of a specific representative case. Effat University is the first private university for female students in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, it was founded in 1999, and is located in the southern part of Jeddah city.

Effat University was designed as a modernist gated campus with an emphasis on integrating the open and closed spaces. The total area of Effat University is 82703.81 m<sup>2</sup>. The open spaces occupy 33.5 per cent of the total campus area. The make-up of this 33.5 per cent of open spaces consists of green gardens which are unevenly distributed over 27 per cent of the open spaces, while pathways and the paved central plaza area represent 73 per cent. Regarding the setting and design of the open spaces, most of the shading is created by palms, which are not in fact effective shading devices due to their being planted at a distance away from seating areas and pathways. In addition to the palms, there is only one wooden structure, which forms part of the outdoor cafeteria where students tend to gather outdoors, that provides shade: but the structure only shades 0.2 per cent of the total area of the open spaces (Farag, et al., 2019).

### 3.1 Data collection

The survey was developed to determine the impact of physical components such as trees, green areas, furniture, shading devices and building facade colours in the open spaces on levels of happiness from the students' perspective.

Two tools were used to collect data:

- **Cognitive map:** The list of students were asked to draw their cognitive map of the university campus showing the different parts. The students had not been given any other instructions or orientation for drawing, only an A4 size sheet of paper on which to draw the campus map and a frame to draw inside.
- **Questionnaire:** the students were given a questionnaire with 25 questions that were split into two parts, the first part contained twenty closed-ended questions which asked directly about the preferable and unpreferable open spaces, and the positive and negative feelings that students have experienced in the campus' open spaces. The closed-ended questions were categorised into groups that tackled three issues in relation to the physical setting of the open spaces, which were: outdoor thermal situation, spaces' spatial configurations, and outdoor social life. The second part consisted of five open-ended questions that gave students the opportunity to describe the reasons behind their feelings and preferences and their suggestions for developing happy campus open spaces.

### 3.2 Survey deployment

The students who participated were first required to draw their cognitive map of the university campus, and then answer a questionnaire that included different types of questions. Thirty students volunteered to help distribute and collect the A4 sheets containing the cognitive map exercise and the questionnaire. The actual sample comprised of 1100 students from all majors. Only 900 students completed the survey. 200 responses were excluded for different reasons that had the potential to impact the credibility of the results. The selection of this sample was limited to students who had

spent at least two years on the university campus. The time they had spent on the university campus would have allowed the students to develop feelings towards the campus' open spaces. This would aid them in restoring their perceptual image about the university while drawing the cognitive map, setting them apart from new students. Also, the survey was deliberately conducted in September, when the climate in Jeddah city is considerably hot and arid. The questionnaire form and the cognitive map request were submitted to the Research Ethics Institutional Review Committee (REIRC) at Effat University for review and approval.

### *3.3 Data analysis*

The students' cognitive map drawings have been analysed to determine which open spaces are most memorable and represented. Also, the symbols, shapes, and nicknames that students applied on their cognitive maps indicated their feeling towards campus open spaces.

The questionnaire analysis provided more information regarding students' preferences, feelings, and happiness stimulators from the students' perspective.

The researchers used the content analysis method to analyse, categorise and organise both visual and verbal materials through both students' cognitive maps and the open-ended questionnaire, respectively, to find a pattern.

The analysis of the visual material included reviewing shapes, colours, textures, proportions, assortments of decorative elements and/or other parameters. A peer review was conducted to validate and explain the symbols and drawings. On the other hand, the analysis of the verbal material included reviewing the repeated words and phrases to investigate the further meanings lying beyond. The objective judgments of the questionnaire were compared to the subjective translation of the user's cognitive map for further validation.

## **4. Results and Discussion**

The results of using both tools helped in comprehensively assessing the students' feelings and emotional experience of the campus' open spaces, and the happiness stimulators in those open spaces, which are discussed in the following section.

### *4.1 The memorable space*

The results showed that students' assessment of the open spaces depended first on memorising the space, then on focusing on how they evoke strong feelings of happiness or unhappiness.

In respect to the cognitive map method, the students were asked to draw a map showing the different parts of the campus. Surprisingly, about 45 per cent of students did not draw any open spaces in their maps, neither did they label the spaces. The students only drew zoning diagrams for the campus' different buildings. This could be due to four possible reasons: 1) the open spaces are not recognised or clear enough in students' minds because it is not part of their daily route through the campus, not activated within their educational routine, or they don't spend enough time in it (see Figure 1), 2) the students did not fully understand what they had to draw, or to what extent they should add urban details, 3) the quality of the students' drawings due to lack

of interest, lack of time, or lack of drawing skills and 4) the students' disregard towards these spaces for emotional reasons, for example, experiencing undesirable situations. It is difficult to know which possible reason is most likely to be ratified by depending solely on cognitive maps, unless one asks direct questions. However, 55 per cent of students referred to the open spaces by drawing or labeling them on their cognitive maps in different ways that will be discussed later. The number of times that each open space appeared on students' cognitive maps were counted, as shown in Figure 2 and 3.

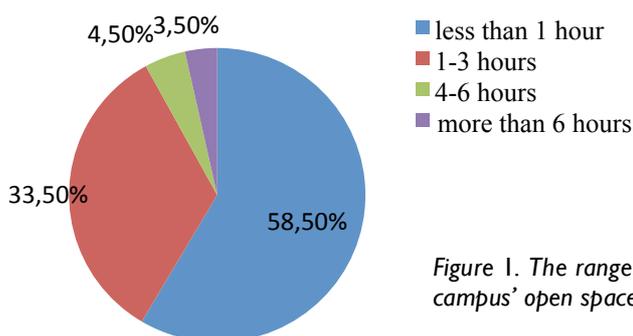


Figure 1. The range of time periods the students have spent in the campus' open spaces.

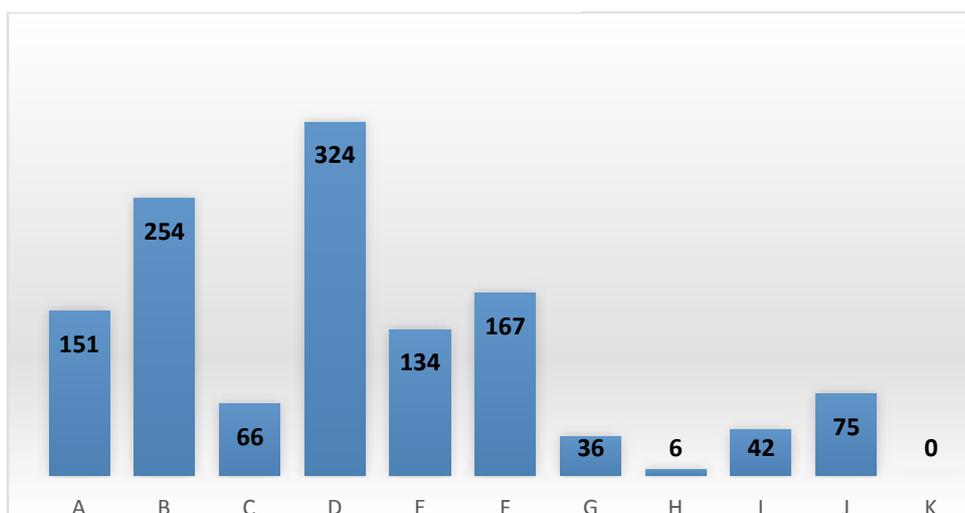


Figure 2. The number of times that each open space appeared on students' cognitive maps.

On the other hand, the students answered the questionnaires and directly selected the open spaces that evoked feelings of happiness or unhappiness. Surprisingly, the most selected spaces were (B and D), which were the most memorable spaces in the students' cognitive maps. This means that the students remember, and perceive the spaces that most evoke their emotions.



Figure 3. The campus' open spaces.

#### 4.2 The Happy and Unhappy Open Spaces

Based on the cognitive map analysis, the students used different types of lines, shapes, and terms to represent their mental images of the open spaces. However, there was no concrete evidence of what they actually feel. In the questionnaire, 80 per cent of students selected space (B) to be the space where they feel happy, and 73 per cent of them selected space (D) to be the space that most evokes negative feelings and unhappiness. (see Figure 4 / 7).

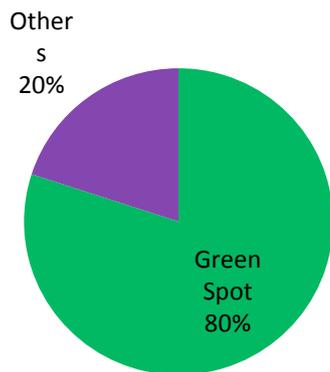


Figure 4 (left). The green spot is the happiest space according to the majority  
 Figure 5 (right). Space (B) is the second highest perceived space and the happiest space

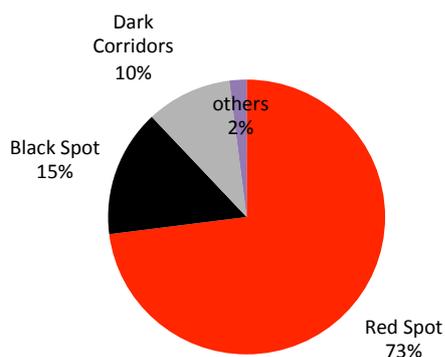


Figure 6 (left). The red spot is the unhappiest space according to the majority  
 Figure 7 (right). Space (D) the highest perceived space and the unhappiest space

It is worth mentioning that both spaces (B) and (D) are the most perceived by students according to cognitive map analysis. Moreover, the open space that appeared most on the cognitive map was space (D), which was considered the unhappiest space according to the questionnaire results. The second space that appeared most was space (B), which was considered the happiest space according to the questionnaire results. These results contradict the argument presented by Kadriye & Mehmet (2012), where they reveal that the most memorable spaces are not necessarily the happiest ones that evokes good feelings. According to this study, unhappy feelings contain more potential to evoke emotions in students' minds than happy feelings, and this could impact on their cognitive judgment.

#### 4.3 Space representation

The students used different ways to represent their feelings toward the open spaces. In the questionnaire, they used verbal nicknames for some spaces, especially the happy and unhappy ones (space B and D). Space (B), the happy one, has two nicknames, the most repeated is “Paul area”, and its other nickname is “Green Spot”. Space (D), the unhappy one, has been named the “Red Spot”. Another space which was given a nickname is space (C), and it was named the “Black Spot”.

Space (B), the Paul or the Green Spot, features a shaded cafe called Paul which students refer to as being a preferable gathering point, in addition to many more green areas than seen anywhere else on campus which students consider as constituting a good view. Space (D) is a central space featuring red-coloured tiles that students dislike for many reasons including that it is unshaded and mostly sunny all day long and that it is relatively huge compared to the human scale. The Black Spot (C) is a wide area of black asphalt that students disliked because the wide unshaded area has no green areas and is mostly abandoned. The nicknames given to spaces might refer strongly to certain elements in a space that produces positive or negative feelings.

In the cognitive map methodology, the way to translate the students’ feelings is to analyse their visual drawings. The students used words, lines, shapes, colours, and 2D and 3D sketches. The words were the easiest way to understand how they felt. For example, some students replaced the common term “Red Spot” with “Dead Spot”: which indicates clearly that students have a negative feeling towards this open space. Regarding the use of lines, shapes, colours, and 2D and 3D sketches, students represented the spaces in three ways:

1. Drawing landscape elements like trees, palms, grass, green boxes, flowers and seating.
2. Drawing a wide variety of lines and shapes in terms of continuity, stability, colour, scale and proportion.
3. Drawing symbolic representations for real objects like columns, steps and kiosks.

Space	Landscape elements	Lines and shapes	Objects
A	70	30	0
B	117	49	171 (Paul kiosk)
C	3	35	0
D	10	157	0
E	63	27	0
F	28	0	125 (Columns)
G	17	0	0
H	3	0	0
I	0	0	25 (Steps)

Table 1: open space representation in the students' cognitive maps

Space (B), the happy one, was mostly represented with the drawing of landscape elements and objects (kiosk). Whereas space (D), the unhappy space, was represented with jagged and shaky lines and irregular shapes.

Controversially, it is noted that students show more attentiveness and interest in drawing happy spaces, even elaborating more details that do not necessarily exist. The students drew more details when it came to representing green plots, grass, furniture and architectural details, and used green colours, dots and clear lines to construct their representational images. The unhappy spaces like space (D) and (C) were drawn carelessly, they were largely empty and featured shaky crossed lines, hatching and cross-hatched polygons, and were drawn exclusively in shades of black.

This indicates that the students' mental images were a mix of existing details and other imaginary details arising from their perception, which is a result of the interaction between their positive or negative emotional experiences with the physical setting of the space. This emotional experience influences students' cognitive judgment, and the interaction between their emotional experience with the physical setting of the space enforces their mental image. The mental images confirm the feelings that students expressed in the questionnaire. This illustrates the importance of using the cognitive map along with a questionnaire to pair students' feelings with their cognitive judgments to increase the reliability to the results.

#### 4.4 Happiness and unhappiness stimulators

In the open-ended questionnaire the students responded directly to what makes them happy, as shown in figure (8). According to their responses, access to green areas is the element most crucial in stimulating happiness, followed by good weather. What stimulates unhappy feelings, as shown in figure (9) is the hot weather which is the primary reason for their discomfort and resulting unhappiness is open spaces.

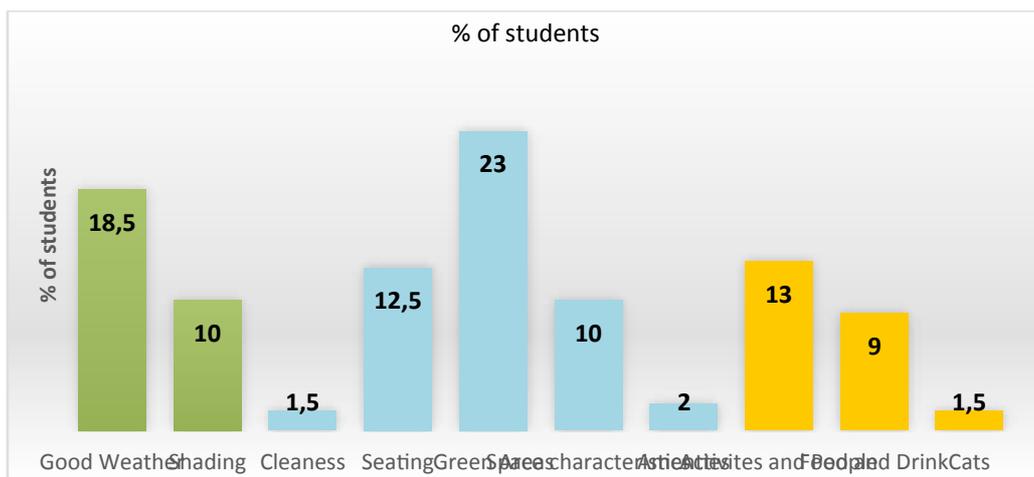


Figure 8. The happiness stimulators according to the questionnaire

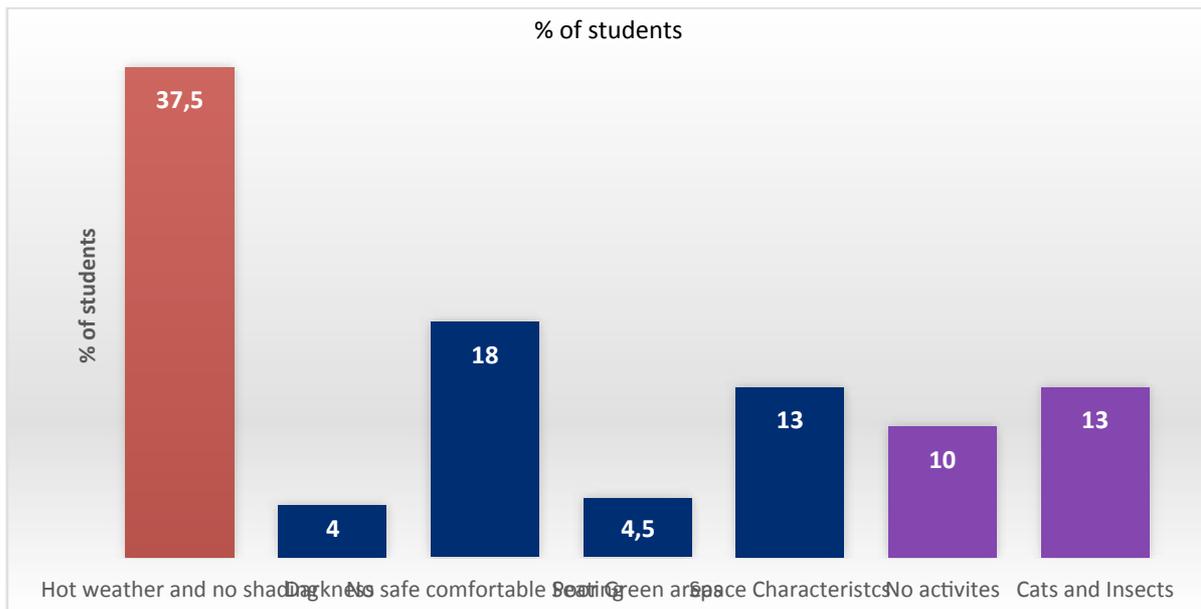


Figure 9. The unhappiness stimulators according to the questionnaire

On the other hand, using cognitive maps to understand the happiness stimulators is inapplicable especially when it comes to the intangible elements like weather for example. Students drew the landscape elements, green boxes, amenity locations, and seating to represent their good mood; but more than simply drawing abilities are required to represent enjoyment, social interaction, good educational environment, good weather or safety. The questionnaire is essential to investigate the happiness stimulators, which is difficult to investigate using the cognitive map. The students' answers have clarified the happy and unhappy stimulators as follows.

#### 4.4.1 Environmental stimulators

About 76 per cent of students believe that the weather greatly affects their mood. Similarly, 50 per cent prefer to move through the indoor, closed air-conditioned corridors, rather than suffer the hot weather outside.

#### 4.4.2 Urban stimulators

The urban and physical characteristics of the open spaces affect students' feelings. About 72 per cent of students experience negative feelings due to the buildings' colours and forms. The building's colours and forms make students feel bored. Also, 30 per cent of students think that narrow tunnels, which are not sufficiently illuminated, cause them to feel unhappy and gloomy. In addition, students indicated that they feel a sense of emptiness and a loss of human scale in the huge spaces. Students emphasised that landscape elements including shading, seating, and green evoke positive feelings.

#### 4.4.3 Social stimulators

The design of campus open spaces has an important role in encouraging social interaction among students. According to the questionnaire, about 46 per cent of

students see that the design of the campus open spaces is limiting the social interaction between students and instructors. Regarding the students' activities within the campus open spaces, and according to the classification by Jan Gehl (2011), Figure 7 shows that the students practice social, optional and necessary activities in the campus open spaces. However, those activities were mostly practiced in space (B) where the landscape elements encourage active collaboration between students. According to Gehl (2011), space (B) is proven to be a successful open space as it is characterised by a gentle engagement between necessary, optional and social activities. On the other hand, Space (D) only encourages necessary-type activities such as moving because it lacks a setting that encourages other types of activities.

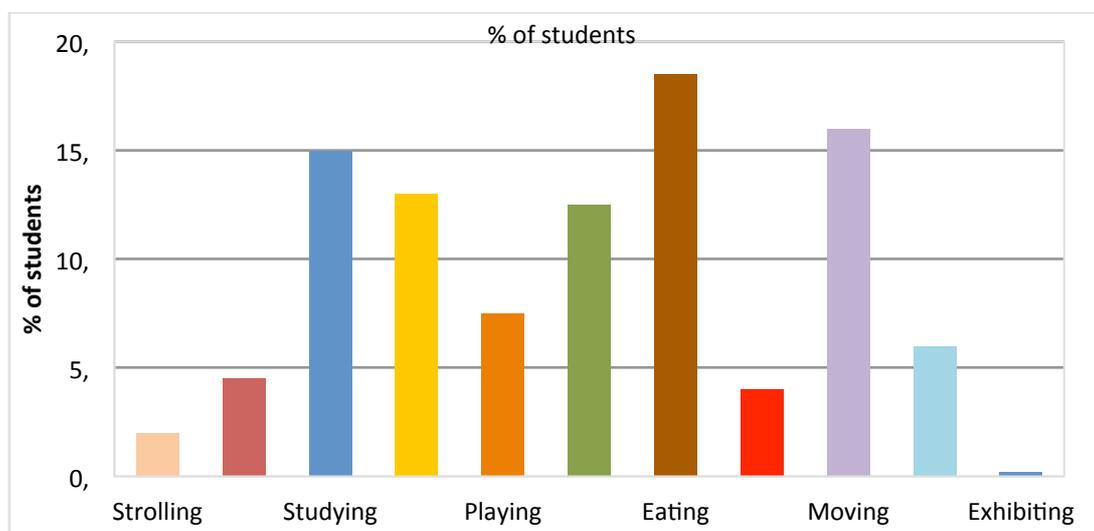


Figure 10. Type of activities the students have practiced in the campus' open spaces.

## 5. Conclusion

This paper aims to assess the students' level of happiness in a university campus and examine the impact of the design of open spaces and their settings on students' feelings of happiness. This study proves that space design and setting impact on the students' feelings of happiness. The students selected emotionally and cognitively preferable spaces that; evoke positive feelings and happiness; that have access to green areas; are thermally comfortable; and are well furnished with seating and shading devices that allow for social interaction. On the other hand, they selected unhappy spaces that were thermally uncomfortable, insufficiently lit, lacking in a sense of the human scale, and lacking in high-quality landscape elements.

The concept of happiness itself tackles the subjective construct of user experience, the assessment of which features two aspects, the cognitive and affect. In order to assess those two aspects, two tools were combined for a comprehensive assessment: the cognitive map and the questionnaire, as depending only on one method is not advised. This research concludes that emotional experience influences students' cognitive judgment. Additionally, that the interaction between the students' emotional experience and the physical setting of the open spaces enforces their mental image. Moreover, the

mental image confirmed the feelings that students expressed in the questionnaire. This concludes the importance of using a cognitive map along with a questionnaire when assessing feelings in order to add more reliability to the results.

The students feel, perceive, and remember mostly what evokes their emotions. However, the highest memorable space is not necessarily the happiest one that evokes good feelings. According to this study, it is possible that unhappy feelings would potentially evoke emotions in and influence students' minds much more than happy feelings, and it could impact their cognitive judgment.

The interaction between the students' positive or negative emotional experiences with the physical setting of the space affected their mental image. In this study, the students drew more details in the depictions of happy spaces while giving less attention to detail when it came to drawing spaces they disliked. This concludes that stimulating happy feelings enhances students' perceptual image and positively influences their interaction with open spaces.

In order to make a shift towards a happier and more efficient educational environment, it is recommended that the campus' open spaces be developed by; spreading and expanding green areas across campus to enhance the space imageability; increasing the number of shading devices, plantations and trees to enhance the level of thermal comfort in the open spaces; and providing comfortable seating that promotes social activities and interaction between students and instructors.

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## Understanding people's needs for a vivid public realm as a key towards enhancing modern neighbourhoods' liveability.

### Nasr City in Cairo as a case study

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#### Abstract

Traditional cities emerged and grew according to the residents' needs; thus they were a reflection of the community's culture and traditions. But lately cities have witnessed numerous changes and challenges. Nasr City in Cairo was planned as a suburb in the late sixties to tackle the housing shortage in Cairo. Nasr city's master plan aimed at accommodating modern planning concepts where it featured an abundance of open public spaces when compared to other districts of Cairo. However, these spaces are empty of people most of the time, which detracts from the character and the experiential qualities of the area. This paper aims to explore the way in which the residents of Nasr city envision 'their' public spaces, comprehending the reasons why their usage of such spaces is currently hindered and discovering their recommendations for enhancing public spaces in their neighbourhoods in a way that would encourage them to visit them regularly. In addition, this paper assesses Nasr city's public spaces, in an attempt to bridge the gap between the offered built environment and people's needs. This assessment shall be achieved through the use of questionnaires, observations of people's reactions towards offered public spaces, urban surveys of the provided public spaces and interviews with officials. Based on these studies the paper proposes recommendations incorporating people's needs for a vivid public realm, in order to help planners and officials to understand the malfunctions inherent in modern city planning and management models that have hindered planned public spaces from conveying and fulfilling their role as centres of social interaction.

**Keywords:** local identity, vivid public realm, liveability, well designed public spaces, Nasr city, management model

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## **1. General background**

Human settlement patterns have emerged as a result of specific needs expressed by various groups of people in that area; personal needs, climatic needs, cultural needs, economic activities, political or religious paradigms and so on. Old cities can be considered the storytellers of history as they convey many meanings and exude an ambiance that reflects the prevailing social, political, and cultural circumstances. People were the ones who shaped the places around them according to their individual and communal identities (Living Streets, 2012). Hence old cities had unique identities that are distinguishable throughout the world. However, modernism has introduced new lifestyles, altered social cultures and affected the business world. Modern cities have overlooked the human pace and public life in favour of facilitating automobile movement, accommodating the escalating urban population and the consequences of different economic paradigms. In an attempt to accommodate these changes, the 1933 Athens charter was proposed as one of numerous initiatives that aimed to ensure a healthy modern lifestyle whilst also accommodating modern challenges (automobiles, factories, population boom, rapid urbanization...etc.) (The Athens Charter, 1933). The main principles of the Athens charter called for a strict separation between land uses, high rise residential blocks and the facilitation of the movement of cars which has resulted in the latter being prioritised, overlooking the pedestrian pace (ibid). In addition to the prior challenges and changes in the physical environment that cities built in the modern era pose, economic liberalisation, social polarisation, and fragmentation that followed the modern era in the globalisation era have also helped turn public spaces into subjects of contestation (Oktay, 2012). The effects of these challenges can be seen in the neglect, decline, privatisation, commercialisation and exclusive nature of public spaces (Oktay, 2012); that in turn, have yielded a deteriorating and shrinking public realm that is losing its meaning in people's daily lives (ibid).

## **2. A vivid public realm and cities' identities**

Identity of places is pillared by place attachment, spatial identity and the surrounding land uses (Dougherty, 2006). While Victoria argues that identity is mainly defined by the quality and diversity of the cultural activities and services in a place (Victoria, 2008). Hence it is people's reaction to the places they live in and the changes these places inspire in them that form the identity of a place (Dougherty, 2006). Meaningful social exchange builds a sense of belonging and community pride for residents (Choudhury, 2008). The social construct and interaction that take place in places are crucial for identifying a place's identity in people's lives. Place-identity is defined as 'the set of meanings associated with any particular cultural landscape which any particular person or group of people draws on in the construction of their own personal or social identities' (Watson & Bentley, 2007, p. 6).

Public spaces are sometimes called the glue that binds cities together (Wellington City Council, 2008), which emphasises their importance in identifying cities identities, through people's perceptions and reactions to them. Namely, public spaces play a major role in urban structure by serving important urban functions as well as allowing for the interconnection and coherence between different spaces, contributing to urban cohesion and sustainability (Júlia et al., 2010; Herzog, 2006), as well as defining public life in cities through strengthening the local spirit (UrbSpace, 2008). Public spaces contribute tremendously to social cohesion and local identity where they act as social

catalysts; gathering residents together for various reasons and activities they take on symbolic meanings surrounding coexistence (Dougherty, 2006; Memluk, 2013). Precisely, the use of public space is crucial in defining its identity and by extension so is encouraging public space design that meets users' needs and facilitates diverse uses (Dougherty, 2006). In other words, people won't use the space unless they can identify with it and feel connected to it (Dougherty, 2006). Thus, many urban areas lack identity due to the diminished role of the provided public spaces which were planned or changed without concern for the environmental and social realities of the place (Dougherty, 2006; Georgopoulos, 2005). Investment in the quality of the public realm which aims to foster cultural interactions can contribute to a revitalisation of deprived and abandoned urban spaces (Monroy, 2010). Hence urban spaces that reflect the residents of their cities act as the microcosms of the city that takes on its characteristics (Dougherty, 2006).

### **3. Research problem**

Despite the great importance of public spaces to inhabitants, communities, and cities; not all public spaces are effective places. Dangerous roads, abandoned lots or poorly maintained properties and spaces are considered public spaces however they surely don't contribute to the well-being, coexistence, or cultural richness of cities and communities (PPS, 2015). On the contrary, poorly managed or inaccessible public spaces can act as barriers rather than collective spaces, where they become unsafe, exclusive, or threatening on different scales (PPS, 2015). Hence creating public spaces for people requires more than simply providing the spaces (moveDC Vision, 2014). Indeed, creating a collective space requires making attractive, functional, well maintained and safe places that attract people and offer them a comfortable environment adequate for spending time in (moveDC Vision, 2014; PPS, 2015). Moreover, designers should consider urban space as an aesthetic entity as well as a behavioural setting (Carmona et al., 2003). On the other hand, local community engagement is crucial in designing and shaping neighbourhoods and public spaces, as it offers a promising opportunity for creating socially, economically, and environmentally sustainable places (Living Streets, 2012). In fact, this was the norm throughout the history, people have always been the shapers of the places around them which highlighted their individual and communal activity (Batty & Longley, 1994; Living Streets, 2012). Hence a city's transformation should be an interplay between all forces; an exchange between elite groups of professionals and the people will be achieved by changing urban cultures and collective actions (Shaw & Hudson, 2009). Designing for the needs of local residents reinforces the feeling of ownership of spaces (Deasy et.al., 1985), ensuring that neighbourhood spaces are successful and well used, which encourages residents to take the necessary actions to defend them (ibid). Thus, creating successful places depends on the skills of designers, the vision and the commitment of those who employ the designers (CABE, 2000), as well as the engagement and commitment of residents in order to create a place rather than a space (PPS, 2015). Community involvement is an essential element of good management (CABE, 2006). Moreover, an identifier of responsible management of spaces is where people and places are considered to be two sides of the same coin or synonyms (PPS, 2014; RENEW, 2008). Herzele & Wiedemann designate that a space has to be citizen-based as a guiding principle for public space provision in order that they subsequently reflect a people's point of view (Herzele & Wiedemann, 2003).

At this point, it is crucial to establish common ground by defining what is meant by the term *public space* for the purposes of this study. Broadly speaking, any place that promotes people's capacity to make acquaintances is considered a public space regardless of its size, shape, location, or ownership. However for the scope of this research, based on the globally agreed on definition of a public space as *accessible for all*, as well as the definition from the charter of public space: '*Public spaces are all places publicly owned or of public use, accessible and enjoyable by all for free and without a profit motive*' (INU, 2013); the public spaces that will be studied are open, freely accessible outdoor spaces. Based on this definition, Nasr City, a modern suburb in Cairo has 43 public spaces distributed among the districts.

Despite the abundance of public spaces distributed in Nasr City, most of them are devoid of people most of the time. The issue of abandoned public spaces is clearly obvious where public spaces fail to convey their social and cultural function, jeopardising Nasr City's local identity.

#### **4. Case study: Nasr city background**

The first master plan for Cairo was issued in 1956 in order to guide and control development (UN, 1990). One of the main results of this master plan was the construction of a large town extension to establish Nasr City as a new government centre, (Abouelmagd, 2011; UN, 1990). Nasr City was planned on vacant desert land on an area spanning 250 km<sup>2</sup>, and its construction began in 1965 (Abouelmagd, 2011), lead by Madinet Nasr a housing and development company which was founded in 1959 (Madinet Nasr for Housing Development, 2012).

Nasr city was designed at a time when modern architects had the opportunity to innovate and implement their ideas around the world. Architects who were active in this period got rid of traditional planning ideologies and designed new cities and urban spaces according to the new lifestyles that prevailed during this period (Frochoux & Martin, 2010). Nasr City was built according to the 1933 Athens charter guidelines, where the southern part of Nasr City was planned as the residential area of this extension (Frochoux & Martin, 2010). The residential area was planned in a grid pattern by Dr. Sayed Koriem and was divided into 10 districts (Eid, et al., 2010; Frochoux & Martin, 2010). This characteristic plan of Nasr City featured straight routes serving equally shaped geometrical land plots (Eid, et al., 2010; Frochoux & Martin, 2010), and each zone was planned around a centre for high level services which would serve the neighbourhoods collectively (Eid, et al., 2010). In turn, each neighbourhood contained its own smaller service centre situated at its heart, where both goods necessary for everyday life and a place where neighbours could meet were provided (Frochoux & Martin, 2010). Relative to other parts of Cairo, this Nasr City plan boasted an abundance of green open spaces (ibid). However, the orthogonal system has failed to produce any hierarchisation of spaces, as there is no focus on converging axes that makes emphasising a building or a space possible? (ibid).

#### **5. Methodology**

In order to understand the dilemma of the abandoned public spaces of Nasr City as a step towards enhancing its identity, it is important to understand the reasons for the gap between people's needs and the built environment. This shall be achieved through a

field observation of the provided public spaces in order to assess the qualities of the provided built environment; in addition to holding a questionnaire among Nasr City residents with the aim of comprehending their recommendations for better public spaces, understanding what changes would need to be adopted in order to encourage them and increase their willingness to use these public spaces. Furthermore, interviews with officials were undertaken to discover and understand the management model and legislations of public spaces in Nasr City.

The field observations were documented and assessed according to a checklist of physical aspects that were concluded from the literature. While the questionnaire was divided into two parts; the first part is dedicated to the participants' evaluation of the current status of the space, including their perception of the provided spaces, in terms of the function of these spaces in their point of view and their recommendations for enhancing their experience there and encouraging more visits and usage; whereas, the second part is dedicated to the participant's personal data. The questionnaire was done on site mostly during field observations, whether passers-by or active users of the spaces, all of the respondents were local residents. The interviews were conducted later on in the assesment process, after the field observations and the questionnaire results analysis, so that the authors would have the benefit of a holistic understanding of and a better grip on the current situation, its problems and its potentials. The interviews were held with the officials of the executive bodies responsible for managing these spaces, who were mainly asked about: the body's vision towards these spaces and their usability; the management models of the spaces; variances in the quality of maintenance between the spaces as explored during the field observations; the different levels of accessibility; and the reasons behind the different design models between the spaces.

## **6. Qualities of well-designed public spaces**

A vivid public realm can be achieved through the provision of a comfortable and welcoming environment that is suitable for all age groups, vibrant with people enjoying themselves in the company of others and where safety and security are assured, even at night (An Urban Design Protocol For Australian Cities, 2011). Thus, it is essential to concentrate on creating attractive, intricate places that relate to the scale of walking people not to the scale of moving cars (Tibbalds, 2004). Moreover, individuality, distinctiveness, and differences between places should be celebrated in order to create an attractive public realm that promotes a feeling of well-being and comfort (ibid). For instance, places that stimulate a feeling of physical and psychological well-being are spaces that are thoroughly pleasant places to be in, spaces that create an unforgettable total impression (Ewing et al., 2013). This can be accomplished when all factors manage to work together in order to achieve pleasing ends (ibid). There is no magical formula for creating successful public spaces but as the literature suggests there are crucial preliminary qualities that help ensure the liveability of public spaces. These qualities have been defined and argued by numerous authors and initiatives throughout the last few decades. Through an extensive literature review of the main theories and practices that discuss the qualities of successful and liveable public spaces, the common and main qualities were classified, categorised and analysed to form the main checklist for assessment in this research, as illustrated in Table 1. The literature review included theories developed by urban design pioneers, scholars' journal articles, online sources

and in addition, organisations' and public realm manuals<sup>1</sup>. The checklist includes qualities that range from the macro-scale to the micro-scale, from purely tangible physical factors to intangible social factors as illustrated in Table I. Thereafter, the aspects of each quality are used as a basis for the checklist for assessing the public spaces in Nasr City.

Table I. Main qualities of well-designed public spaces. Source: the Authors compiled from different references.

	Quality	Definition	Aspects	Checklist Threshold
<b>Micro scale of the space</b>	1. Furniture - Finishes	The furniture in the public space and the way it is arranged is the welcoming gesture these spaces offer to the users.	Primary seats as well as secondary sitting opportunities.	Presence of seats in the space
			Encourage diversity of users through different sitting settings and materials	At least 2 settings in the space (couples and group settings)
	2. Microclimatic conditions - Sustainability - Adaptability	Enhancing the microclimatic conditions of the spaces implies protection from adverse climatic changes as well as protection from any threatening noise	Incorporation of natural elements like plants, trees, and water is encouraged in public spaces for numerous reasons.	Any act of sustainability and/or climate adaptation feature
	3. Eating & Drinking opportunities	Different amenities offer people different opportunities for their engagement in the public life.	Cafes and food van provisions in public spaces or at the edges.	Presence of at least 1 opportunity

<sup>1</sup> The literature review included the theories of urban design pioneers (Alexander, et al., 1977; Carmona, et al., 2003; Deasy, et al., 1985; Efromson, et al., 2009; Gehl, 2001; Jacobs, 1961; Krier, 1979; Madanipour, 2003; Shaftoe, 2008; Stevens, 2007; Tibbalds, 2004; WALLJASPER, 2007; Whyte, 1980; Whyte, 2009), scholars' journal articles (Ben-Joseph, 1997 ; Goheen, 1998; Herzele & Wiedemann, 2003; Júlia, et al., 2010; Moore & Cosco, 2007; Samadi & Hasbullah, 2008; Serdoura & Ribeiro, 2006), online sources (Gomes, 2012; Lennard, 2004) in addition to organizations & public realm manuals (CABE, 2000; CABE, 2006; CABE & DETR, 2001; Gehl Architects, 2007-2009; Living Streets, 2012; Municipal Spatial Planning Support Programme.(MuSPP), 2012; North West Regional Development Agency, 2008; PPS, 2014; RATIO Architects, 2003; RENEW, 2008; Worpole & Knox, 2007).

	4. Distinctive character – Welcoming – Pleasing Landscape	Uniqueness of spaces ensures people to make repetitive visits, as providing a memorable experience that makes them feel unique	Visually pleasant (Landscape)	Presence of different plant groupings and colourful plantations in the space (at least 2 different groupings) i.e. variety in the design elements
			A distinctive character that responds to the local context	Local context sensitive landscape
			Wow factor	A statue or a fountain or street furniture with a unique design
	5. Overall maintenance & cleanliness	Well maintained spaces send a message to their users and invite them back for future visits, in contrast to damaged or lousy spaces.	Cleanliness	Minimal litter within the site
			The maintenance of the space; undamaged furniture, graffiti-free walls	Undamaged furniture, no broken lamps or any other acts of vandalism
	6. Accessibility	Pedestrian friendly ensuring access for people of all races, abilities, gender, and ages.	Smooth entrances – no locked gates	Open gates (at least 1 open gate to the space)
			Interesting yet functional through paths	Presence of paths within the space (at least one through path)
			Surrounding traffic management	Presence of street bump near the entrance of the space or a pedestrian traffic light
		<b>Quality</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Aspects</b>
<b>Macro scale of the area</b>	7. Enclosure - Size - Clustering – Human Scale	Enclosed spaces arranged in clusters have a higher chance of stimulating people to feel attached to them and feel a sense of responsibility towards them. A comfortable human scale environment is one which is related to the scale and pace of pedestrians and orientated towards the provision of the	Building lines should define the streets and squares	The connection between the space and the surrounding buildings (does the space feel like a continuum to the buildings? E.g. the doors open onto the space)

		feeling of comfort and by extension, pleasure.	Smaller clearly defined spaces	Small public space shall have a radius that ranges between 12m to 24m as a maximum distance. This distance is purely deduced from human needs and dimensions.
8. Surrounding land uses		The relationship between the street and the public space should be continual.	Mixed and vivid land uses should always be situated around public spaces, especially at the ground floor level	Presence of active land uses at least by the entrance of the space if fenced
9. Robustness - Accommodate different activities & events		Meet the needs of diverse users belonging to different age groups, classes and so on.	Responsive public space design that provides a range of choices with features that define the space rather than dominate it	The presence of at least a flat open space within the space that could encourage different activities (playing football, cycling, group games)
10. Safety & surveillance - Lighting		Pedestrians of all ages and abilities feel unthreatened and safe around the clock, especially at night, low crime statistics within the space, and free of any anti-social behaviour	Space is overlooked	Security personnel or gardeners in the space
			Ensuring good visibility of the space	Opportunities for passive surveillance (able to see through the space from the street)
			Adequate lighting	Light posts along the paths within the spaces and along the periphery
11. Legibility - Network of public spaces		Planning city spaces to act as a series of linked sequences of nodes in terms of pedestrian movement		Connecting pedestrian paths between the spaces

	Quality	Definition	Aspects	Checklist Threshold
Intangible qualities	12. Management – community participation	A sense of inclusion is directly related to and reinforced by empowerment and civic engagement. An identifier of responsible management of spaces is where people and places are considered to be two sides of the same coin or synonyms.		Presence of a community board or a community member within the management board of the space.
	13. Inclusiveness	Inclusive public space is welcoming to all where everyone feels welcome by working effectively for all in the community, including the disabled, elderly people, teens, and children.	Generating social dynamics through complementary public spaces and available activities is a crucial element of urban cohesion	Different age groups and genders using the space (at least both genders and 2 age groups)

Table 2. Sample of the checklist assessment for public spaces used in Nasr City. Source: The Authors.

## 7. Results

### 7.1 Field Observations Results

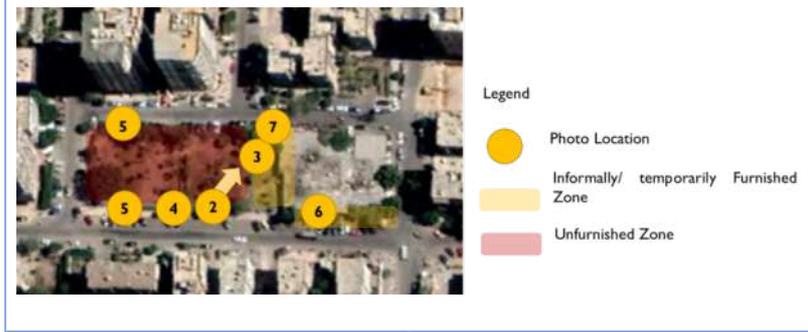
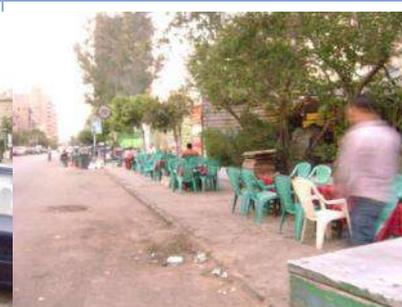
The 43 public spaces in Nasr City were assessed by the authors according to the checklist, each aspect was verified for its presence or lack of presence, then a point assigned for each existing aspect. However, the intangible qualities (management and inclusiveness) were verified through observations and interviews with officials in order that they be clearly analysed and understood.

#### 7.1.1 Tangible factors analysis

A sample of the assessment checklist is illustrated in Table 2, where this public space was selected as an example of the prevailing current status of Nasr City’s public spaces (spaces whose results range from 1 to 4 points, which constitutes 34 spaces out of the 43 public spaces in Nasr city). Then the space is further documented in pictures as shown in Table 3. Most of the 34 spaces share similarities with the features and characteristics outlined in this example.

Furniture – Finishes	0	Microclimatic conditions - Sustainability – Adaptability	0	Eating & Drinking opportunities	1	Distinctive character – Welcoming – Pleasing Landscape	0	Overall maintenance & cleanliness	0	Accessibility	0	Enclosure - Size - Clustering – Human Scale	0	Surrounding land uses	1	Robustness - Accommodate different activities & events	0	Safety & surveillance - Lighting	1	Legibility - Network of public spaces	0	Total	3
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Table 3. Current status of the selected public space in pictures, sorted according to the pre-defined qualities used in the assessment checklist. Source: The Authors.

	<p>Figure 1 shows the layout of the assessed public space below, specifying the locations of the attributes discussed below. This space is typical of most of the public spaces in Nasr city Source: Google Earth modified by the authors.</p>	
 <p>Figure 2. Relation between the space and the cafeteria chairs. However the rest of the space lacks any furniture and the arrangement of the landscape elements is not employed for improving the microclimatic conditions in the space.</p>	 <p>Figure 3. Spread out nature of the cafeteria chairs (in the market complex) in the space, which can be considered as a relatively appropriate eating and drinking opportunity.</p>	 <p>Figure 4. Deteriorated condition of the space, which compromises the space's character whilst also hindering its accessibility.</p>
<p><b>Furniture – Finishes / Microclimatic conditions - Sustainability – Adaptability</b></p>	<p><b>Eating &amp; Drinking opportunities</b></p>	<p><b>Distinctive character – Welcoming – Pleasing Landscape</b></p>
 <p>Figure 5. Occupied sidewalks surrounding the space featuring parking cars which obstruct the movement of pedestrians and hinder access to the space. It is obvious that there is a lack of maintenance of the landscape elements present in the space.</p>	 <p>Figure 6. Extension to the cafeteria chair arrangement alongside the space (in the market complex) on the sidewalk, the land uses of the surrounding market can be considered relatively active uses and they improve the relationship between the space and other surrounding land uses.</p>	 <p>Figure 7. Lighting technique (wrapping lighting features around the tree trunks) improvised by the cafeteria's management. These efforts can be considered a lighting source however it is only provided in the seating area, while the rest of the space is left dark.</p>
<p><b>Overall maintenance &amp; cleanliness / Accessibility</b></p>	<p><b>Surrounding Land uses</b></p>	<p><b>Safety &amp; surveillance - Lighting</b></p>

Similarly, the points assigned to other public spaces are summarised and then represented on a city map as shown in Figure 8. From the map it is obvious that most public spaces in Nasr City lack most of the qualities that should be provided in order to encourage people to use them. This justifies the current situation where people are not attracted to use these public spaces due to their unpleasantness, the result of which is that they end up being abandoned, which in most cases also renders them unsafe. It can be concluded that Nasr City faces an overwhelming, neighborhoods-wide public space malfunction.



Figure 8. Points that were given to each public space in Nasr city according to the checklist. Source: The Authors

On the other hand, a cross sectional analysis of Nasr City's public spaces was used afterwards in order to explore the holistic situation of Nasr City's public spaces and to highlight the main assets and malfunctions that are common for most of the public spaces as shown in Figure 9.

It is obvious that most of them have eating and drinking opportunities however this number may be a bit misleading as these opportunities are related to the markets or kiosks that are found beside most of the public spaces. It was observed that they don't attract diverse sectors of the residents due to their being in bad condition and their problematic lack of seating. The presence of eating and drinking opportunities should be accompanied by seats in order to encourage users to grab the food and enjoy it in the open air; this is not the case for Nasr City's public spaces. In some cases, the nearby cafes within the markets use the premises of the nearby public spaces to extend their

seating area. However, this is illegal according to Egyptian law and is considered an encroachment on public entities (Interview with CCBA official, 2017).

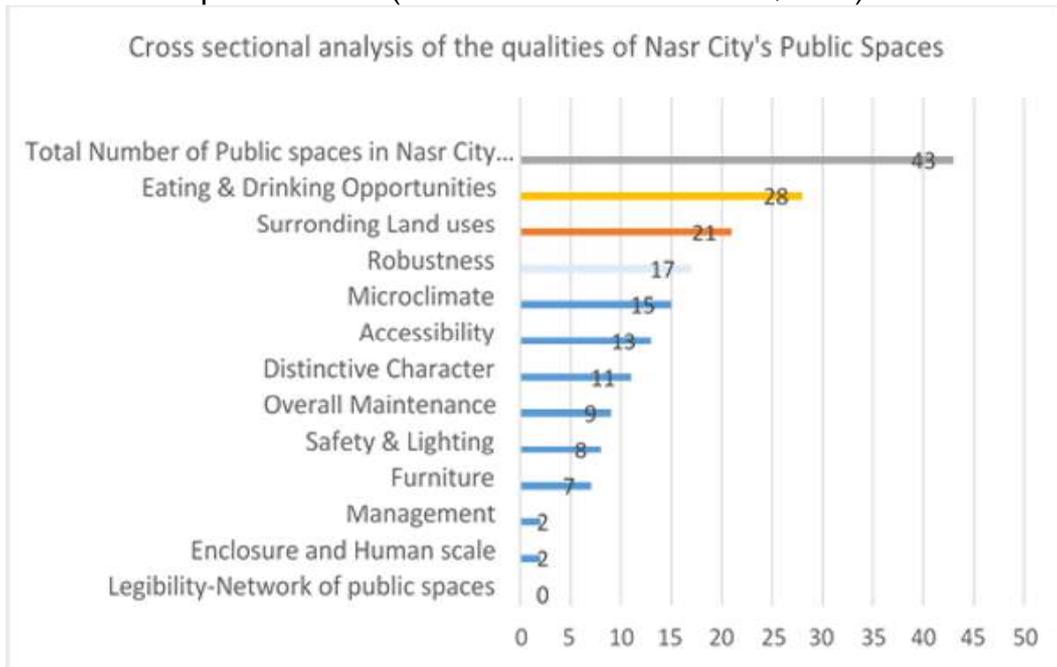


Figure 9. Results of the cross-sectional analysis of the design qualities of Nasr City's public spaces according to the checklist. Source: The Authors



Figure 10. Relationship between the spaces and the surrounding land uses and pedestrian routes. Source: Google Earth modified by the Authors.

According to the checklist, active land use along the periphery can be considered to add value to the space where it attracts residents to use the spaces, this was also verified to be true through observation.

The second feature that was observed intensively pertained to the vivid surrounding land uses observed at the ground floor level in Nasr City, which for the most part has been transformed into shops and cafes rather than purely residential units. This quality might offer passive surveillance of passers-by, shop merchants and around the clock activities in these public spaces, but the separation of public spaces and surrounding land uses by streets has degraded this effect, where public spaces are disconnected from pedestrian routes, as illustrated in Figure 10.

All the public spaces scored low for enclosure and legibility, which is the result of top down planning where the human scale is more often overlooked. Clearly, human scale, pedestrian pace and human senses weren't taken into consideration in the process of producing the master plan for Nasr City.

### 7.1.2 *Intangible factors analysis*

In addition to the checklist used for assessing the tangible factors, the intangible factors were assessed through observations and interviews with officials in order to better understand the situation.

#### 7.1.2.1 *Management – community participation*

In order to assess the empowerment levels of Nasr City residents in the management of their public spaces, it is essential to understand the management model of public spaces adopted by the authorities. The management and maintenance of public spaces in Nasr City is assigned to the Cairo Cleaning & Beautification Agency (CCBA) which is an agency responsible for the design, maintenance and management of the green areas in Cairo, along with other missions (Cairo Cleaning & Beautification Agency, 2016). However, the ownership status of these spaces is assigned to the Cairo Governorate and the municipalities (Interview with CCBA official, 2017). The mission of the CCBA, and its administration and organisational models, is mainly concerned with the physical aspects of the spaces and the agency's main task, related to the scope of the research, is the greening of spaces and landscape maintenance which is managed according to a restricted, low budget assigned to them by the governorate (Cairo Cleaning & Beautification Agency, 2016). Thus, the CCBA deals with these spaces as green areas with no reference to their being public spaces, and so the social aspect is more often than not entirely overlooked. In fact, the social aspect is not mentioned as one of the mandates of the agency, rendering it a "no man's job" within the Egyptian organisational setting.

The CCBA has a central managerial model, in which the central unit designs, funds, and manages all the logistical and financial issues related to green areas in Cairo; it has executive local units located in different districts that are mandated with the implementation of the plans and the guidelines of the central unit (Interview with CCBA official, 2017).

This organisational setting deprives the spaces of unique and innovative local designs that would add to the character of the different neighbourhoods. This state of affairs does not allow for the participation of the communities in design because the local units are not mandated with any design tasks and so lack technical expertise; community engagement is not an easy task within this setting and is clearly not on the horizon from the point of view of the organisation. As engagement and empowerment usually take place at the local level, where a platform that gathers the community of each neighbourhood easily is required. In this sense, Christopher Alexander argues that a relationship and so a prominent effect between the local government and the community shall be attained only if there is an immediate link between the people and the officials (Alexander et al, 1977). Thus, he is advocating for decentralising the governments in a way that assigns them to control a community ranging from 5,000 to 10,000 persons. In this way the distance between the people and the centres of power is diminished, and at the same time communities shall be able to organise themselves as a corporation to maintain and discuss the common land they share. (ibid). This is

obviously not the case in Nasr City, as aforementioned the centralisation of the CCBA hinders ease of communication between the people and the organisation, and so makes it harder for empowerment and participation to be attained.

On the other hand, the CCBA has a department assigned to self-efforts funding, which is mandated with managing the funds raised by residents while providing technical assistance and man-power to renovate nearby public spaces and green areas (Interview with CCBA Projects Manager, 2017). In Nasr City, there is a public space that was reclaimed through this department, where the local residents gathered the essential funds and provided the required materials for the reclamation of the space. This space is uniquely different from the other spaces in the city, which adds to the character of the neighbourhood; the paving materials used are unique to those used in any other space, the design is also subtly different. In general, the CCBA has nurseries and stock materials that are almost always utilised in their projects, this practice and paradigm detracts spaces from the unique local character of each neighbourhood which surely affects the identity of the city as a whole, as illustrated in Figure 11, Figure 12, Figure 13 and Figure 14.



*Figure 11 and Figure 12. Paving material and design of the public spaces renovated with self-funding by residents. Source: The Authors*



*Figure 13 and Figure 14. Mainstream paving material used by the CCBA in almost all of Cairo's open spaces which detracts from the local character of each of the different zones. Source: The Authors.*

### 7.1.2.2 Inclusiveness

During the field observations, it came to light that there are two design models for public spaces in Nasr City that attract people differently. The first model is related to central spaces in neighbourhoods that span relatively larger areas, as shown in Figure 15. These spaces are relatively better maintained by the CCBA, have defined and paved paths, seats and some of them even have coffee shops and playgrounds within their boundaries, as illustrated in Figures 17 and 19. There is also a significant presence of security officers and lighting poles distributed around the space. These spaces are used by almost the whole of the surrounding community including different age groups and vulnerable community groups, as illustrated in Figure 16; it is clear that these spaces constitute a significantly low percentage of the provided spaces in Nasr City (only 6 spaces out of 43 public spaces). While on the other hand, it was observed that the spaces nearby the markets (peripheral public spaces, illustrated in Figures 18 and 20) are sometimes used by the cafes located in the market complex as extension areas for their seating arrangements, as aforementioned. However, in most cases these spaces are not attractive or inclusive for the whole community. This model is mainly used by youths and males, with few exceptions.

Thus public spaces in Nasr City are far from being all-inclusive by any means, some of them invite and attract all the segments of the community, but most of the spaces are not used by all segments equally, which requires further analysis as to in what ways the needs/expectations of the different segments are in conflict with the commodities that these two models of spaces provide.

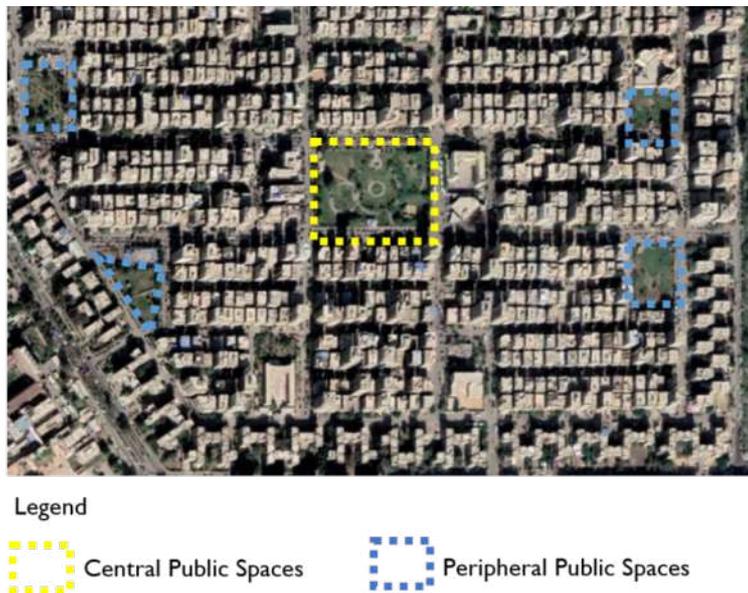


Figure 15. Liveable spaces that engage almost the whole community (central public spaces within the different zones of the neighborhoods). Source: The Authors.

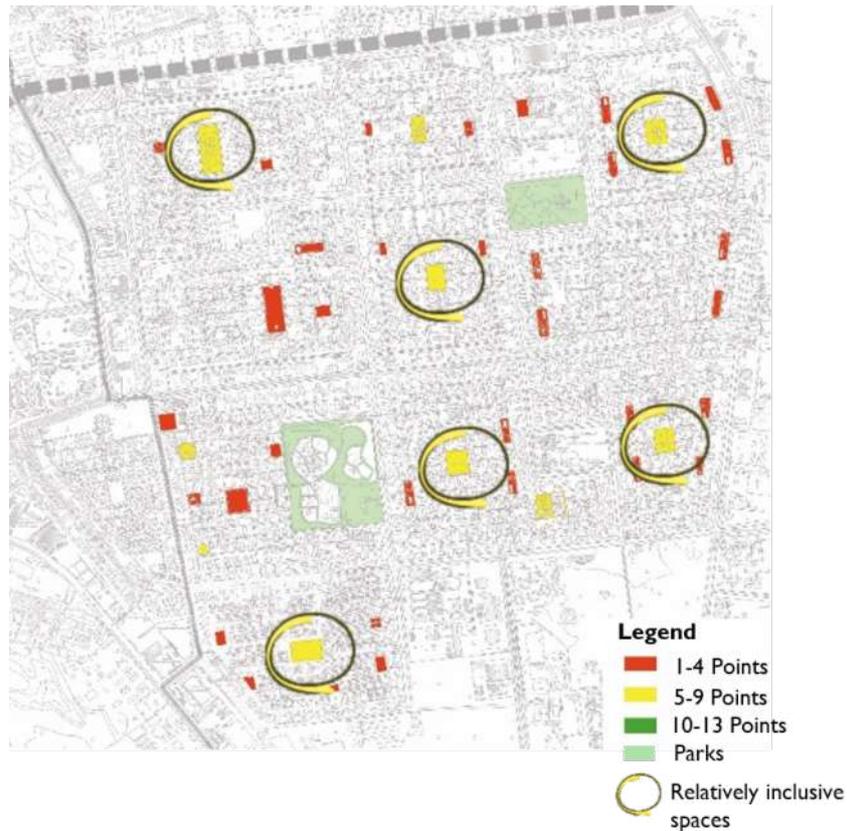


Figure 16. Spaces that were livable with almost all of community sectors (central public spaces within the different zones of the neighborhoods). Source: The Authors

## 7.2 Questionnaire results

The questionnaire was distributed among Nasr City residents. The sample consisted of 46 respondents, 43% of which were male and 57% female. The respondents' ages ranged from 12 to 60+, however the largest segment represented was made of up individuals ranging from 18 to 34 years of age. They were asked about their recommendations for improving public spaces in ways that would encourage residents to increase their use of these spaces as shown in Figure 21. There is a consensus that the main needs for improving the public spaces are; regular maintenance, providing seating opportunities and amenities (furniture), and assuring personal safety. These three qualities stood out as being highly significant among other more general suggested requirements, which highlights their importance as essential factors for encouraging people to use public spaces. Further required needs were later agreed on relating to the provision of attractive landscapes and the facilitation and accommodation of various activities. Thereupon the residents were asked if they would use these spaces if their mentioned recommendations were accommodated. The result of this questioning was that 63% said that they would probably use them while 34% said that they were not sure, and only 3% said that they still wouldn't use public spaces, which indicates a prominent willingness to use the spaces if the outlined needs were provided for.

Table 4. Differences in levels of maintenance and attractiveness between the two public spaces models in Nasr city.

Example of Central Public Spaces	Example of Peripheral Public spaces
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Figure 17 illustrates a level of maintenance that is considered to be relatively good in central public spaces. Source: The Authors



Figure 18 illustrates the level deterioration in maintenance in peripheral public spaces, some of which have markets and cafes on their peripheries as in this example. Source: The Authors.



Figure 19 illustrates the attractiveness of the spaces and their being used by different segments of the community, including different age groups. Source: The Authors.



Figure 20 illustrates the prevailing status of abandonment. Source: The Authors.

### 7.2.1 Analysing the needs of the different community segments

Through a deeper analysis of the current situation in public spaces in Nasr City, the residents' recommendations shall be analysed and discussed in relation to the gender and the age range of the respondents in order to get to a holistic understanding of the collective needs, such that the level of inclusiveness attained by the different models of public spaces can be further understood.

### 7.2.2 According to gender

Despite some similarities, it is obvious from the graph in Figure 22 that males prioritise seating areas, security and good management, as well as better landscaping and better lighting when it comes to their using public spaces. While females mainly prioritise regular maintenance, the provision of amenities, as well as better lighting.

Understanding people's needs for a vivid public realm

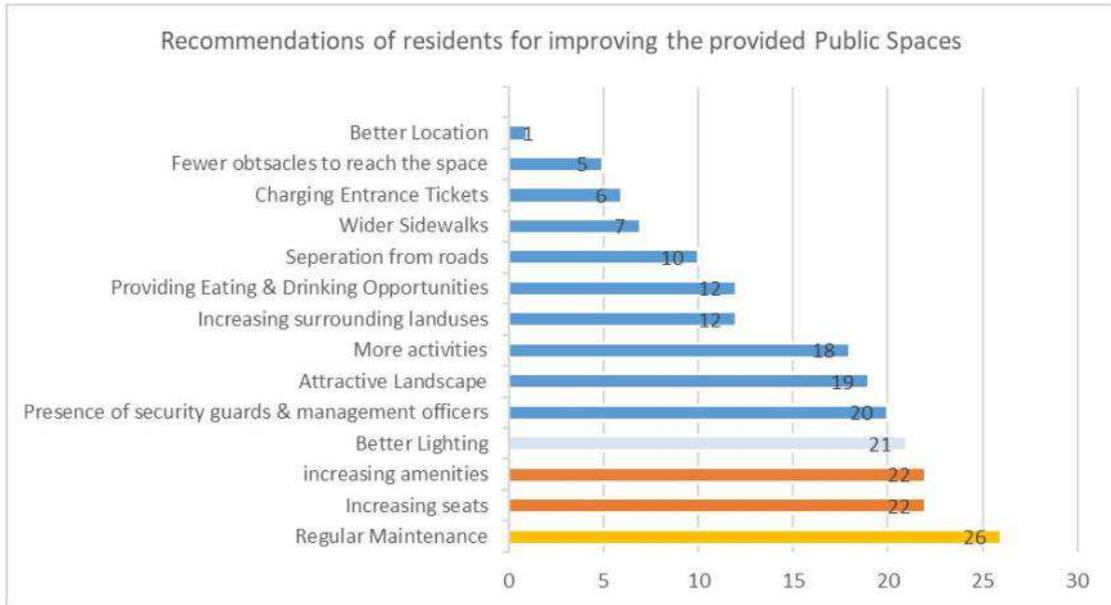


Figure 21. Recommendations of Nasr City residents for improving the public spaces in their neighborhoods which would encourage them for using these spaces. Source: The Authors

Hence if these needs are compared to the commodities that the two models of public spaces provide, it shall be obvious why the second model (peripheral spaces) of the extended cafe seating area on the edge of public spaces doesn't attract females as much as it does males. Females prioritise maintenance which is relatively low in this public space model.

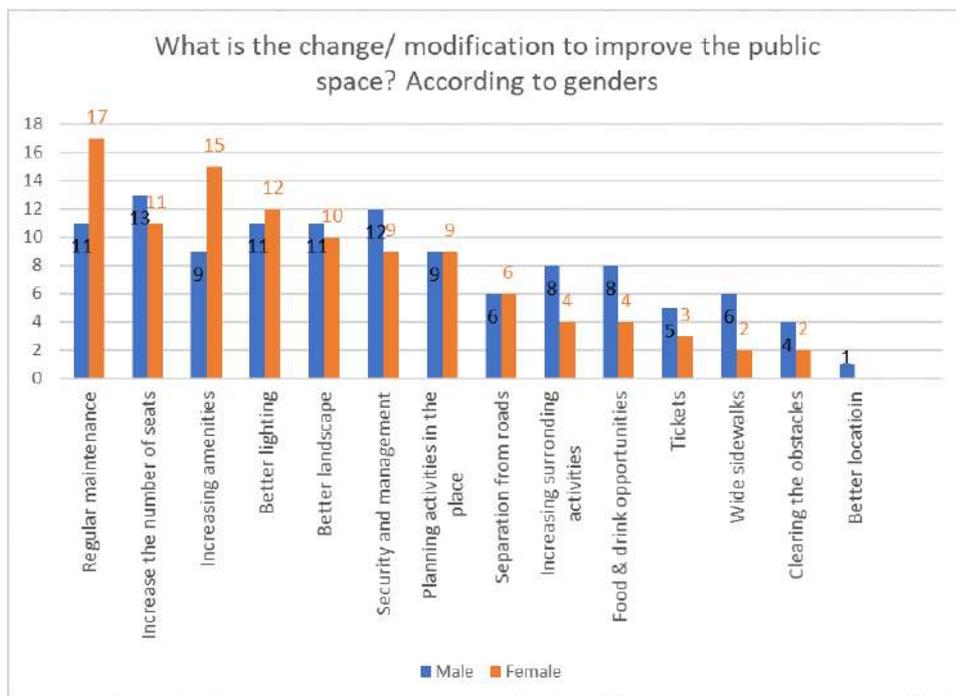


Figure 22. Nasr City residents' recommendations for improving the public spaces in their neighborhoods which would encourage them to use these spaces, according to gender. Source: The Authors

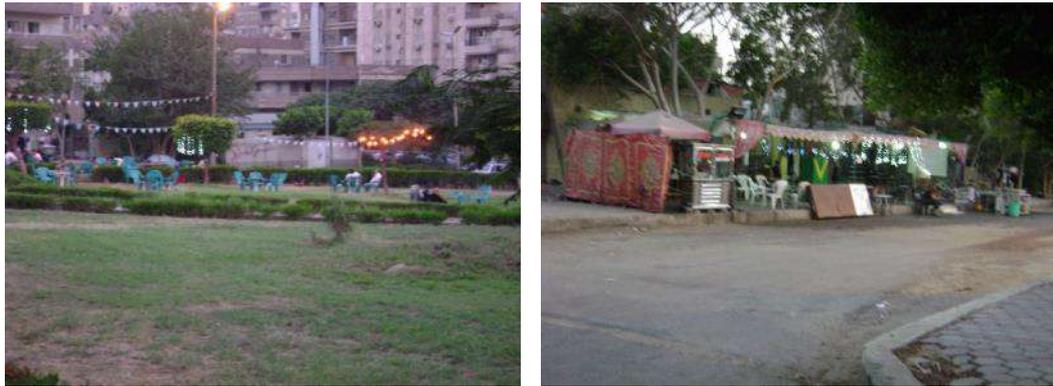


Figure 23 and Figure 24. Examples of an extended cafe seating area on nearby public space premises that usually attracts males (peripheral public spaces). Source: The Authors



Figure 25 and Figure 26. Examples of seating areas provided within public spaces that attract almost all community segments (central public spaces). Source: The Authors.

### 7.2.3 According to age sectors

For a better and more holistic understanding of the situation, the six inclusive central spaces shall be discussed in comparison with the different needs as expressed by different age groups. The youth prioritised lighting, security presence and maintenance, while adults prioritised maintenance, an increased number of seats and better landscapes; priorities express by the elderly were similar to those of the adults, as illustrated in Figure 27. However, its worth highlighting that the youth stressed the need for the accommodation of different activities within the spaces, including eating and drinking opportunities which were viewed as priority commodities to be provided within public spaces if they were to use them.

In fact, this reveals a lot about the different needs of the different age groups, youths mainly seek leisure and fun from public spaces and so they prioritise the commodities that qualify a space to provide these rather than taking a view that spaces are mere aesthetical entities. This trend is illustrated in Figure 28, where the residents were asked what they perceived to be the function of these spaces, whilst “play” ranked high, at the same time security in and the maintenance of spaces are needed for these spaces to become their destination for fun. On the other hand, adults and the elderly tend to seek peace and quietness from these spaces, as illustrated in Figure 28, so they seek more aesthetical qualities that would help them attain a peaceful state and a suitable place in which to stay and gather.

The first model of public spaces in Nasr City (central public spaces) provides most of the commodities that the different users seek so this explains the fact that they are relatively inclusive in comparison to the other model.

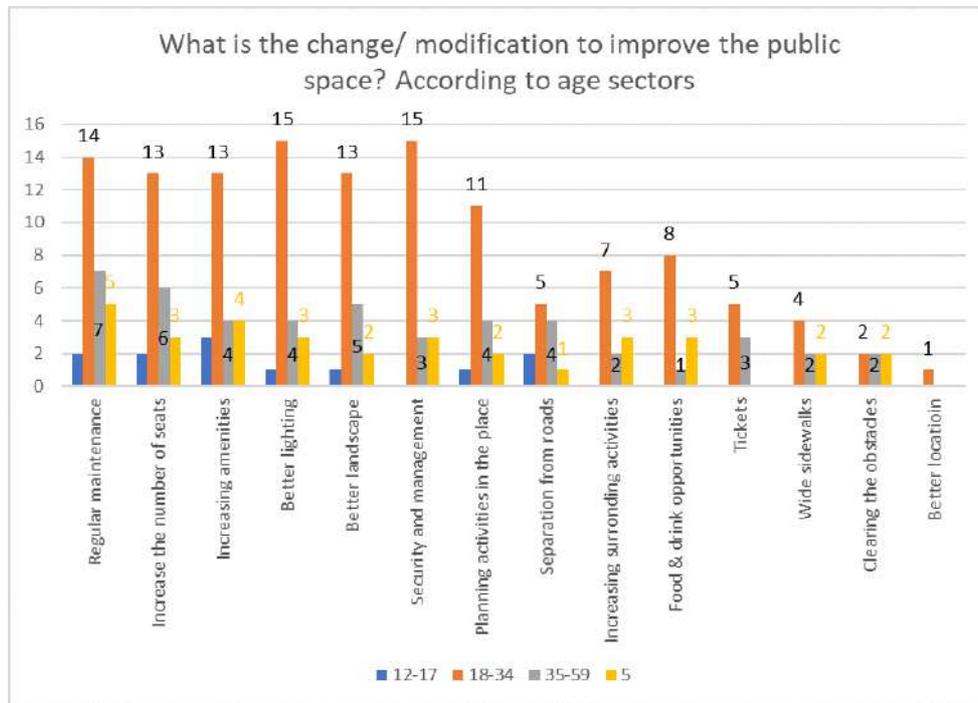


Figure 27. Recommendations of Nasr City residents for improving the public spaces in their neighborhoods which would encourage them for using these spaces, according to age sectors. Source: The Authors

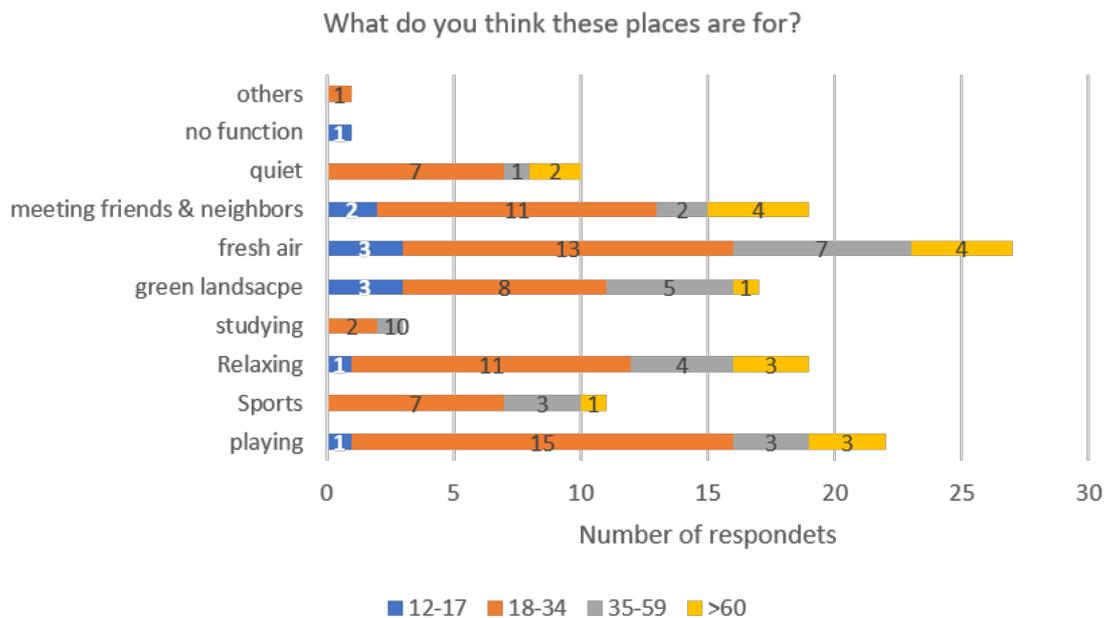


Figure 28 illustrates the function of the provided public spaces as perceived by Nasr City residents, categorised according to age groups. Source: The Authors

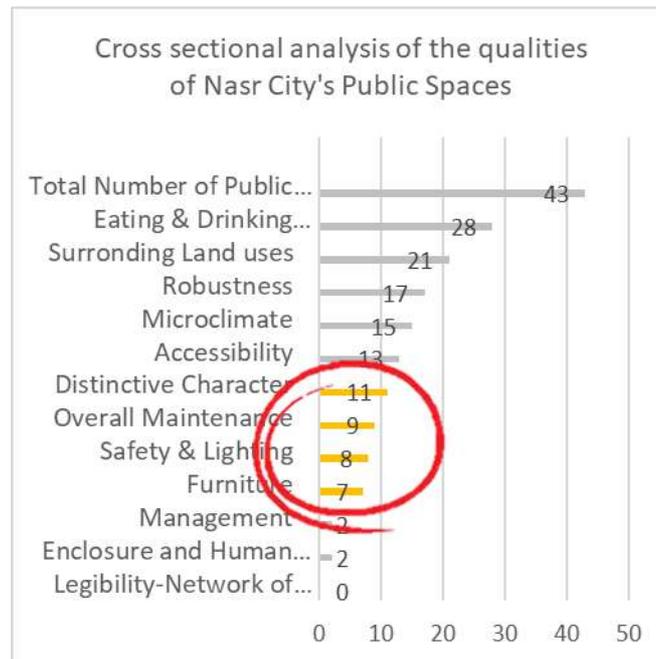


Figure 29. Relationship between the current state of public spaces in Nasr City and the needs prioritised by the residents. Source: The Authors.

## 8. Discussion

It is obvious that there is a great gap between the needs of the residents and the commodities that the current public spaces provide. If the residents' recommendations are cross-checked with the current situation in Nasr City's public spaces, as illustrated in Figure 29, it will be obvious that only less than 25% of the spaces meet the needs of the residents. This of course justifies the current state of public spaces as being devoid of people.

In addition, cars are dominating the built environment in Nasr City and there is minimal pedestrian infrastructure. The public spaces were not located in relation to the pedestrian network, which has resulted in their being perceived as destinations that are visited intentionally. Hence, the quality of these public spaces is of great importance as it directly affects decisions to visit these spaces; in Nasr City's case they are mainly sought out for leisure which degrades the comprehensive meaning of public spaces as everyday spaces for lingering, passing by, walking or waiting for someone, gathering and meeting people and friends, eating, sun bathing...etc.

The managerial approach towards public spaces defines a lot about the role that public spaces can play in the social life of neighbourhoods and by extension, the identity of cities as a whole. Reflecting on the current situation in Nasr City, there is a great need for a mindset shift if community participation and engagement is to be ensured and if spaces and neighbourhoods are to reflect their communities' identities. The results of the CCBA's failure to engage with the social aspect of public spaces highlight the importance of dealing with green areas as holistic entities and assets, and focusing in on the social aspect of the spaces. In doing so, an understanding can be reached about how to enrich and maintain social activities in addition to the physical/ecological aspects of the spaces, the main tasks of the CCBA.

It is evident that the qualities of well-designed spaces are closely interrelated, and their effects can't be felt separately. Hence designing and managing a public space should be regarded as being a comprehensive approach which involves multiple scales with multiple dimensions.

## **9. Conclusion and recommendations**

It is clear that lack of public life has contributed to the loss of identity in modern cities such as has been illustrated through analysing Nasr City in Cairo. It is argued that public spaces are the nuclei of social life in neighbourhoods as it is where the individual gets to know his community and begins thinking and acting as a part of a group; however this effect and "call to community" are not felt alike by all the residents in Nasr City in their public spaces. Just providing public spaces is not the answer to reclaiming a lost identity, it can even further complicate it. Indeed, abandoned, unused public spaces have numerous negative urban impacts on many levels; they are socially unsafe, economic drains, and are aesthetically unappealing. Thus, based on these research results, during the process of planning modern neighbourhoods and cities, great attention should be given to the locations of the public spaces within the master plan and their relationship with the surroundings, especially for efforts to regain the identity of neighbourhoods. Public spaces shouldn't be planned as an element to be fulfilled in masterplans or as a standard or a number, because the way they are situated within the neighbourhoods and the city affects their livelihoods in the future as illustrated through this research. For instance, the locations of the public spaces influence their accessibility and usability in terms of the way people perceive them; when they are located in deserted islands like the case of Nasr City, they are considered as leisure destinations. While when a market complex was situated on one side of some spaces, the activity of the complex spilled out into those spaces which motivates usage of the rest of the space. Accordingly, this research proposes a multi-dimensional approach when dealing with public spaces in neighbourhoods based on 3 dimensions; the physical planning and design of spaces, the managerial model, and the financial model of public spaces. Through reflecting on the officials' interviews, it became obvious that the financial aspect of the spaces' management and governance is crucial for better supply. In addition, the adopted financial model may affect the inclusivity of the space and so should be considered simultaneously along with management qualities. The research suggests that the key to reclaiming the lost identity of modern neighbourhoods lies in different stakeholders committing to a holistic consideration of these dimensions, in acknowledgment that no one dimension in isolation can offer a stand-alone solution.

- I. Planning and designing public spaces should be dealt with in a comprehensive multi-scale approach, taking in to consideration:
  - The locations of public spaces within cities' masterplans which should facilitate the flow between the surrounding land uses and public spaces in order to create a vivid environment around the clock.
  - Facilitating the spill over of the different daily activities generated by the surrounding land uses as playing a key role in boosting the spontaneous livelihood of public spaces, as seen in Nasr City's public spaces that are situated next to market complexes.

- The internal design and layout of public spaces should facilitate the movement of passers-by to encourage regular pedestrian traffic in public spaces and should offer seating and relaxation opportunities.
- The robustness of spaces in terms of their accommodating diverse activities which empowers them to effectively fulfil the role of collecting neighbours together, thereby increasing social cohesion in and exerting a positive impact on the community. The different needs expressed by each community segment are crucial here and should be prioritised.
- The needs of the different age groups and particularly vulnerable groups should be periodically and genuinely taken into consideration to ensure the inclusivity of the spaces. Safety is perceived differently by different segments and age groups, so ensuring safety through different measures is essential.
- Having access to a space with a pleasant and attractive character is not always top of the list for all groups, however working towards achieving this helps to ensure more inclusive spaces.

## 2. The Managerial Model

Prioritising people's needs is a main essential step towards attaining a vivid public realm and in turn, enhancing the identities of modern cities. This shall be realised if the social aspect of the spaces is incorporated within the mandates of the Cairo Cleaning and Beautification Agency and the municipality. Adopting standardised and contextualised methods and techniques for accurately measuring the needs and behaviour of residents through reliable and ongoing tools and methods can serve to steadily inform relevant authorities about how best to perform their urban tasks for the good of the community. On the other hand, another option would be to create a new urban body mandated with attaining liveability in neighbourhoods. A great example of this particular initiative is the Public Space Authority in Mexico City, which was established in 2009 to embrace the concept of liveability in Mexico City; the mayor believed that public spaces can be part of a wider strategy to improve the quality of life in urban areas (Scruggs, 2016). The main mandate of this authority is putting the needs of people before the needs of cars, and its motto is to "think big" employing numerous small interventions. Thus, it differs markedly from traditional departments that are saddled with maintenance responsibilities or transportation departments that manage public spaces solely in relation to city streets (ibid). This authority mainly acts as a public urban design office focused on public spaces, where all who work there have backgrounds in architecture and urbanism (ibid). These kinds of specialised authorities think holistically and prioritise people's needs and the social life of cities, rather than focusing on the mere physical aspect of the city.

Conversely, the centrality of the management model of public spaces in Nasr City hinders local solutions and practices. The municipality is the main authority body in charge of managing public spaces in Nasr City districts, however the main legislations and laws abiding this management are passed by the governor of each governorate. Thus any amendment to an existing regulation or the introduction of a new regulation is required to be passed by the governor, and shall be bidding for all the governorate's neighborhoods and districts, which in return hinders fast-track solutions, locally contextualised amendments and new legislations. In fact this centralised management model jeopardises the making of new decisions and increases the burden of these decisions on the governors, which in turn hinders them from making any new

legislations. This centralised model also adds to the complexity of communities' engagement and empowerment and makes it more difficult to attain. The link between the residents and their officials is difficult to maintain through the busy daily life of the residents, hence creating a common platform between the residents and the officials and managerial bodies of public spaces should be prioritised if community engagement to be realised. This can only be achieved through decentralised local bodies that are capable of managing public spaces and making appropriate decisions according to different contexts, factors and circumstances.

### 3. Financial model:

Expanding the fiscal revenues of the spaces is essential in order to ensure sustainable supply and maintenance. This can be achieved in a number of ways

- **Public-private partnerships:** this model has already been adopted in some cases in Nasr City in spaces that now have entrance tickets, where for example the café and playground on their premises are rented through the private sector via a public auction. This practice is still not that common but there is a current trend orientated towards replicating this model. This model of incorporating commercial activities within the premises of public spaces is being adopted in the United Kingdom in an effort to counteract cuts in budgets for the maintenance of public parks and spaces (Moore, 2017). According to surveys, most people are happy about the introduction of private activities in public spaces however in such cases the ecology of these spaces, their fundamental inclusiveness and accessibility should be taken into due consideration (ibid). Often, for-profit motives don't take the long-term wellbeing of natural assets into consideration, in addition, this model ultimately excludes community members who don't have the financial capacity to pay for the tickets which grant them access to the activities occurring within the space (ibid).

On the other hand, it is worth thinking about the spaces with the cafeterias on their peripheries that already uses parts of these spaces to expand their serving areas. Legalising renting these areas, rather than continuously standing in opposition with no gain, would of course increase the municipality and the CCBA's revenues which could further serve to help them maintain these unmaintained and underused/empty spaces. In fact, these kinds of spaces with markets on their peripheries represent a great asset, the active land use facilitates a spontaneous spill-over of the activities along the periphery into the main space. On the contrary, other central public spaces in Nasr City are surrounded by streets on all four sides, preventing this spontaneous spill-over of activity taking place in a smooth and natural fashion.

- **Grass root funding:** Residents' councils or CBOs can be of a great importance when it comes to increasing the funding of spaces. Engaging residents can be another viable option that requires a thorough analysis. The CCBA already has a Self-Efforts Department that is mainly concerned with the spaces that are funded by the residents but commissioned and maintained by the CCBA. There is a successful example of this model in Nasr City where the residents of the surrounding block gathered together to raise funds for a space reclamation which is a sign of the power of community in funding and reclamation initiatives for public spaces and projects.

Adopting this multidimensional framework that includes considerations around planning and physical design, organisational and managerial dimensions, and financial dimensions would ensure the prioritisation of people's needs as a means to enhancing social life and a sense of belonging in each public space, which in turn would definitely add to the identity of neighborhoods and cities as a whole, boosting residents' pride in the process.

### Note

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## Public space quality evaluation: prerequisite for public space management

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### Abstract

Public spaces are an important part of cities as they contribute to improvements in liveability, environmental quality and sustainability. Despite these conditions of public spaces in cities in developing countries like India, are far from desirable in terms of quantity as well as quality. Though considerable research has been done on successful public open spaces to identify quality attributes/criteria and their evaluation in the context of developed countries, much of this has been primarily aimed at providing design guidelines/solutions. Besides, the role of proper management in ensuring quality and overall success of public spaces has also been assessed. However, not much research has been done in this regard in Indian context, where there is a considerable difference between the norms and provision of public spaces; the usage of public spaces and their quality from those in developed/rich countries. This demands an in-depth understanding of the problems and issues surrounding public spaces, the criteria for quality in public spaces, and development of an evaluation framework, so that appropriate management strategies can be framed for their improvement.

In view of the above, the study investigates public spaces in the context of three Indian cities and identifies the quality attributes/criteria based on a survey of users' opinion and observational studies of selected public spaces. Further, a framework for the evaluation of the quality of public spaces employing the Public Space Quality Index (PSQI), has been developed and applied in selected public spaces. Using the above methodology, public spaces in a city with different performance levels, and factors responsible for the same can be identified, which can then become the basis for formulating appropriate management strategies for their improvement and comparing performances of public spaces in specific areas of a city/different cities to encourage competitiveness among cities to improve the quality of their public realm.

**Keywords:** public spaces, quality, Indian cities, attributes, evaluation, management

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## **1. Introduction**

Quality of life in a city and its image are often associated with its public spaces, as these not only provide relaxation from stress and help in reducing mental fatigue and aggressive behaviour in people (Cackowski and Nasar, 2003; Hartig et al., 1991; Kaplan, 2001; Kuo and Sullivan, 2001a, b; Rossman and Ulehla, 1977; Ulrich 1981, 1984), but they are also hubs of activities and act as interaction nodes, resting areas, and children's play areas (Chiesura, 2004; Korpela et al., 2001). These open spaces also act as the lungs of cities, maintaining a certain level of biodiversity and providing niches for animals and birds. Public spaces also provide opportunities for cultural activities and preservation of heritage areas. The presence of these spaces in an area attracts business investments and tourism, hence supporting local economies (Beer et al. 2003; De Sousa 2003; Luttik, 2000; Morancho, 2003; Rodenburg et al., 2001; Swanwick et al. 2003). Public open spaces contribute to quality of life (Madanipour, 1999). Thus, due to their role in improving liveability, environmental quality and sustainability, public spaces are essential for towns and cities in developed as well as developing nations. However, despite being such an important part of settlements, the state of public spaces in many cities, particularly in developing countries like India, is far from desirable both in terms of quantity as well as quality. There is a considerable difference between the norms/provision of public spaces, facilities and amenities provided, and their quality in cities in developed, rich countries and those found in developing, poor countries, more so in small and medium towns (Praliya, Pushplata, 2012; Praliya, Pushplata, 2016) and the areas inhabited by lower income groups. Though considerable research exists on the evaluation of successful public spaces in developed countries and their qualities, that are primarily aimed at providing better design solutions, this issue has not been addressed in countries like India where the context, as well as the patterns of usage of public spaces, are vastly different. Also, the studies done on public space management (Carmona, 2010), which are essential for ensuring quality public spaces, are more relevant to their specific contexts. Therefore, understanding the usage, factors/conditions responsible for the quality of public spaces and their evaluation in the context of Indian cities is essential, so that proper management strategies can be formulated for ensuring successful public spaces.

## **2. Background**

The value of public spaces, criteria of successful public spaces, quality attributes and their evaluation, and management of public spaces have been recognised and researched on for some time now. Concerns for safety, diversity and the vitality of cities, particularly in the public realm were addressed by Jane Jacobs - the famous urban activist in 1961 (Jacobs, 1992), and the issues of failure and/or success of public spaces have been addressed by William Whyte in *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces* (1980), wherein in order to find out what attracts people most he highlighted the role of sitting spaces, comfort, presence of food, retailing, streets and the main space's relationship to pedestrian flow and external stimuli (W.H. Whyte, 1980). Though quantitative distribution of public spaces across towns and cities is based on norms and standards, these do not address the qualitative and management aspects of these spaces (Tüzün Baycan-Leventand, Peter Nijkamp, 2008). Significant works identifying criteria relating to good quality and what constitutes successful spaces include works by Gehl, Carmona, Project for Public Spaces (a non-profitable organisation), Carr, Smith, Ewing & Clemente, and Mehta.

Jan Gehl (1987) developed 12 quality criteria for good design of public open spaces, which were categorised under three main themes: *protection*, *comfort* and *enjoyment*. Whereas the first theme, *protection*, dealt with obligatory preconditions to staying outside and included criteria of protection against traffic and accidents, protection against harm by others and protection against unpleasant sensory experiences; the second theme, *comfort*, dealt with preconditions for spending more time in public space and included criteria of possibilities for walking, possibilities for standing and staying, possibilities for sitting, possibilities to see, possibilities for hearing and talking, and possibilities for play, and unfolding activities. The third theme, *enjoyment*, included criteria of possibilities for enjoying positive aspects of climate, aesthetic quality and positive sensory experience. Quality criteria developed by Matthew Carmona (2010) reflect the social, economic and environmental characteristics of public spaces, such as cleanliness, tidiness, accessibility, attractiveness, comfort, inclusiveness, vitality and viability, function, distinctiveness, safety and security, robustness, greenness, unpollutedness and capacity for fulfillment. Four key qualities/criteria for high quality environments in public spaces identified by Project for Public Spaces (2000) are *access and linkage*, *uses and activities*, *comfort and image*, and *sociability*.

The six main categories of community needs and quality criteria in public spaces developed by Smith et al. (1997) include *liveability*, *character*, *connection*, *mobility*, *personal freedom* and *diversity*. Carr et al. (1992) have identified people's needs in public spaces in terms of *comfort*, *relaxation*, *passive engagement*, *active engagement*, *discovery* and *encounter* with a place. Ewing & Clemente (2013) mention five intangible qualities of urban design that are applied to streets as public spaces i.e. *imageability*, *visual enclosure*, *human scale*, *transparency* and *complexity*. Mehta (2013) identified the five dimensions of public spaces as being *inclusiveness*, *meaningfulness*, *safety*, *comfort* and *pleasurability*, for evaluating the quality of public spaces. Some other studies by Moudon 1989; Jacobs 1993; Fyfe 1998; Loukaitou-Sideris; and Ehrenfeucht 2009 have identified criteria related to the use of, nature and variety in public spaces.

Further, objective evaluation of the quality of public places has been considered necessary for providing better design solutions. These include a matrix with key words for urban design by Jan Gehl, which dates back to 1974, from which the twelve aforementioned criteria or rules for good design of public spaces were extracted. Carr et al (1992) proposed the assessment of the quality of outdoor spaces as being "poor" or "good", in terms of the occurrence of necessary outdoor activities, optional activities and resultant social activities. The Project for Public Spaces (PPS) developed The Place Diagram as a tool to assist people in judging any place, good or bad, against the four main criteria of *access and linkage*, *uses and activities*, *comfort and image*, and *sociability* as mentioned above. These four main criteria can be further judged according to a number of intuitive or qualitative aspects. The qualitative aspects for the evaluation of access and linkage include: convenience to use, visibility, easiness to get to and move within; whereas those relating to uses and activities include: providing a reason to be in a space, and vitality and uniqueness; for comfort and image these are: safety, cleanliness, greenness, being full of character and attractiveness; and for sociability the criteria include: fostering neighborliness, friendship, interaction, diversity and pride. These qualitative aspects can be further measured by quantitative parameters. Specific questions to be considered for each of the criteria have also been suggested. Whereas, Vikas Mehta (2007) has provided a theoretical framework to evaluate quality in public spaces across five dimensions of

public space i.e. inclusiveness, meaningfulness, safety, comfort and pleurability using the Public Spaces Index (PSI) constructed of 42 to 45 variables. Due to its objective, rational approach and ease of understanding/interpretation by stakeholders, a similar framework for evaluation has been adopted for this study.

Lately, the significance of proper management for ensuring the quality and success of public spaces has also begun to be recognised. Appropriately managed public spaces not only add to the image and identity of towns and cities, but also add to the competitiveness of towns and cities (Emmanuel 1997; Iverson and Cook 2000; Jim 2004; Keil 2003; Robbins et al. 2001; Swyngedouw and Heynen 2003; Taylor et al. 1998). Proper management of spaces improves the living, working, rejuvenating, recreational and tourism experiences and add to the overall quality of life, as mentioned by him ‘if public spaces are poorly managed, they not only lead to the deterioration of the public realm as a whole but they also reduce the attractiveness of a city’s overall image’(Madanipour, 1999). Matthew Carmona and Claudio De Magalhaes (2006) have identified major barriers resulting in a decline in quality in public open spaces, which they identified as “loopholes in regulations for the uses and conflicts between uses; inappropriate maintenance routine; lack of investments into and on-going resourcing of public space; lack of coordination between activities and stakeholders and other interventions.” (Carmona, 2010) has also identified three models of public space management in the context of England.

However, in view of the considerable differences between the socio-economic – administrative – political context of developing countries, particularly of small and medium towns, strategies for managing public spaces are likely to be different because not only the norms/provision of public spaces and facilities and amenities (to be) provided are different; users’ socio-economic status, the attitude of the general public, the usage and maintenance of public spaces, the financial status and the organisational structure of the authorities responsible for their maintenance, and the enforcement of law and order are significantly different than the context where research on public space management has been done. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the problems and issues in public spaces, the criteria for ensuring quality public spaces, and develop an evaluation framework to find solutions in differing contexts. Accordingly, the present study investigates the attributes and criteria pertaining to quality in public spaces in the context of three Indian cities which represent large, medium and small cities respectively and develops a framework for evaluating the quality of public spaces, which can assist in identifying public spaces of different quality, as well as, formulating strategies for their improvement.

### **3. Method**

The study consists of three parts. In the first part, an extensive literature review was carried out to understand the essential aspects of public spaces and identify the quality criteria in successful public spaces. In the second part, selected public spaces in the context of three Indian cities, namely Delhi, Dehradun and Roorkee representing large, medium and small city respectively, have been studied in detail; which included on-site observations of the surroundings of the spaces, uses/activities taking place, present condition, and existing infrastructure facilities and amenities.

Discussions were also held with various stakeholders to find out about users’ needs and expectations and to understand the maintenance and management aspects, such as:

operational hours, authorities responsible for management, type and number of personnel employed, and expenditure incurred. Together, these led to an identification of the problems and issues present in each context and thereafter to the identification of criteria/aspects specific to the context of these cities, including management parameters—the presence or absence of which were considered as being responsible for the success or failure of the spaces. The 49 parameters thus identified, named quality attributes, were categorised into 8 categories collectively Dimensions of Quality (Table 1).

These eight dimensions of quality are entitled; Accessibility and Linkage, Maintenance, Attractiveness and Appeal, Comfort, Inclusiveness, Activities and Uses, Purposefulness, and Safety and Security. Whereas, the accessibility and linkage dimension is associated with different means of physical access and visual approaches, as well connectivity to nearby and far-off areas of the city through different modes; maintenance is associated with the attributes that help in preserving the state of parks such that the space is able to perform the function/uses it is meant to. The attractiveness and appeal dimension is associated with the possession of qualities or features that make the space appealing to the senses; whereas comfort is the state of being at ease due to certain features, elements and climatic conditions present in the space and; inclusiveness refers to the characteristics of a space which makes it usable by all, irrespective of different physical, social and economic parameters or external influences. The activities and uses dimension refers to different activities taking place in a space and the uses a space is put to; whereas purposefulness is associated with accommodating the needs of different users, which change with time — justifying its planning, design and the uses it is put to. The safety and security dimension is associated with a feeling of being protected and free from; any kind of threat: physical, mental or emotional; the presence or absence of certain undesirable elements or behaviours, and/or; certain conditions like broken play equipment/furniture which can cause injury/be harmful.

In the third part, the PSQI was developed to evaluate these dimensions of quality by averaging the feedback received from a survey which consisted of users' opinions: assigning weightages and calculating the overall performance scores of different spaces selected for study, as explained in detail below.

### *3.1 Public Space Quality Index (PSQI)*

Employing the PSQI for evaluating the performance of public spaces includes; calculating an average rating for each of the quality attributes ( $R_d$ ); assigning weightages to quality attributes ( $W_d$ ); calculating the Attribute Score ( $S_d$ ); Dimension Score ( $D_i$ ) and; the overall Performance Score of a public space ( $P_o$ ), as explained in detail below.

### *3.2 Assigning Weightages to Attributes*

Assigning weightages is crucial part of the evaluation of the quality of public spaces and depends on the way in which a public space is expected to perform in any particular dimension (aspect) from the users' perspectives.

*Public space quality evaluation*

*Table 1. Public space quality index highlighting dimensions of quality and their attributes*

<b>1. Accessible &amp; Linked</b>	<b>2. Maintenance</b>	<b>3. Attractiveness and appeal</b>	<b>4. Comfort</b>	<b>5. Inclusiveness</b>	<b>6. Activity and uses</b>	<b>7. Purposefulness</b>	<b>8. Safety and security</b>
Visibility of space from a distance	Management of litter and filth	Aesthetic appeal	Comfortable sitting areas	Used by all, irrespective of age, race, class, gender and physical abilities	Walking	Suitability of layout and design	Presence of adequate lighting, illumination
Visibility of space from immediate surroundings	Presence and condition of waste bins	Visual pleasure in the overall space	Presence and condition of public facilities and amenities	Control of entrance to the space according to specified timings	Socialising	Ambience	Surveillance measures
Accessibility walking	Condition of green areas	Uncluttered view of the space	Presence and condition of shelter spaces	Control of entrance by entrance fee	Physical fitness-related activity		Security arrangements
Accessibility via private transport	Condition of park infrastructure	Presence, quality and condition of public art	Presence of Signage's		Children's play		Check on entry of animals
Accessibility via public transport	Conditions for walking, jogging, cycling tracks	Arrangement of park furniture	Provision of parking spaces		Sports and games		Check on criminal activities
Ease of movement in and around	Management of graffiti, vandalism	Landscape	Provision of buffer from traffic nuisance		Family outings		Check on antisocial elements
		Condition of grass/verges			Contact with flora and fauna		Availability of information/ complaint center
		Presence and condition of flowered areas			Educational visits		
		Presence of themed play area			Events and gatherings		
					Relaxing		

A survey was conducted to obtain the users' opinions on a scale of 1 to 5 for each attribute, so as to understand the comparative significance of the attributes associated with different dimensions in the context of Indian cities; accordingly, ratings were assigned to the 49 attributes of the qualities identified earlier. A total of 163 people were surveyed for this purpose. Assigning weightages on the same scale for each dimension facilitates a proper evaluation, as each dimension can be given the same weightage of 10. Therefore, the rating of each attribute was converted into weightages by calculating the relative importance of each attribute, where the total of all the attributes for a specific dimension adds up to a total of 10.

### 3.3 Evaluating Performance of Public Spaces Using the PSQI

A complete performance of a public space can be obtained by application of the PSQI, taking users' opinions on different attributes into account. The application of the PSQI for "Park P" is presented in Table 2, for the accessible and linked dimension. An average rating ( $R_d$ ) by users, for each of the attributes is calculated, which in this case is  $R_1$ ,  $R_2$ ,  $R_3$ ,  $R_4$ ,  $R_5$  and  $R_6$  for respective attribute of the selected dimension.

Average Rating for respective attributes ( $R_d$ ) =  $\{[U_1 + U_2 + \dots + U_n]/n\}$

where,

$n$  - is the total number of surveys conducted to gather users' opinions

$R_d$  - average rating

$U_n$  - individual ratings for respective attributes

The average rating for each attribute is then multiplied by the weightages ( $W_d$ ) of the respective attributes to calculate respective attribute scores ( $S_d$ ) which in this case are  $S_1$ ,  $S_2$ ,  $S_3$ ,  $S_4$ ,  $S_5$  and  $S_6$ — as shown in Table 2. These attribute scores present the performance of public space on the basis of each of the attributes.

Attribute Score ( $S_d$ ) =  $W_d \times R_d$

where,

$d$  - is the total number of attributes

$R_d$  - average rating for respective attributes

$W_d$  - Weightages for respective attributes

The attribute scores for respective dimensions are then added up to get an overall performance score of a public space for any particular dimension, which in this case is accessible and linked having a dimension score  $D_1$  as seen in Table 2.

Dimensions Score for each of the dimensions ( $D_i$ ) =  $S_1 + S_2 + \dots + S_d$

where,

$i$  - is the total number of dimensions

$S_d$  - Attribute scores

In a similar way the scores for all the dimensions are calculated which are  $D_1$ ,  $D_2$ ,  $D_3$ ,  $D_4$ ,  $D_5$ ,  $D_6$ ,  $D_7$  and  $D_8$ — as shown in Table 2. Since the maximum rating for an attribute can be 5 (on the 1 to 5 scale used in the survey) the maximum score that can be achieved for any dimension will be 50. For ease of understanding, the Dimension Score is converted into a percentage.

The overall performance score, indicating the quality of a public space is calculated by adding up the total scores achieved for each dimension, which totals up to be a maximum of 400.

Overall Performance of Park ( $P_p$ ) =  $[(D_1+D_2+ \dots D_i)/i]$   
 where,  $D_i$  = Dimension Score for each of the dimensions

The PSQI can be applied to all the parks taken up for study and the overall performance of the parks can be measured. The PSQI is further used to evaluate the performance of selected studies in the next section, and helps in bringing out the comparative picture of the studies taken up. The method adopted provides an easy and clear understanding of the overall performance of a public space.

Table 2: Application of PSQI

Performance evaluation on Eight Dimensions of Quality using PSQI

Dimensions of Quality	Attributes for Dimension	Weightage ( $W_d$ )	Swarnajayanti Park			
			Average Rating by users { $R_d = [U_1+U_2+\dots+U_n]/n$ }	Attribute Score ( $S_d = W_d \times R_d$ )	Dimension Score [ $D_i = S_1+ S_2+\dots+S_d$ ]	Dimension score out of 100
Accessible and Linked ( $D_1$ )	Visibility from far away	$W_1$	$R_1$	$S_1$	$S_1+S_2+S_3+S_4+S_5+S_6 = D_1$	$D_1 * 100 / 50 = PD_1\%$
	Visibility from nearby	$W_2$	$R_2$	$S_2$		
	Accessibility on foot	$W_3$	$R_3$	$S_3$		
	Accessibility by private vehicle	$W_4$	$R_4$	$S_4$		
	Accessibility by public transport	$W_5$	$R_5$	$S_5$		
	Ease of movement	$W_6$	$R_6$	$S_6$		
Maintenance	$D_1$					$PD_1\%$
Attractiveness and Appeal	$D_2$					$PD_2\%$
Comfort	$D_3$					$PD_3\%$
Inclusiveness	$D_4$					$PD_4\%$
Activities and uses	$D_5$					$PD_5\%$
Purposefulness	$D_6$					$PD_6\%$
Safety and Security	$D_7$					$PD_7\%$
Overall performance of park [ $P_p = (D_1+D_2+ \dots D_i) / i$ ]						$P_p$

---

d - is the total number of attributes, which vary for each dimension	$W_d$ - Weightages for respective attributes
n - is the total number of surveys conducted to gather users' opinions	$R_d$ - average rating for respective attributes
i - is the total number of dimensions	$U_n$ - individual ratings for respective attributes $S_d$ - Attribute scores
$D_i$ - Score for each of the dimensions	$PD_i$ - is % of park performance in each dimension
$P_p$ - is an overall performance score for each park	

#### 4. Evaluating Public Spaces in Indian Cities using the PSQI

Selected public spaces from three different cities in India are evaluated according to eight Dimensions of Quality to assess the performance of each area using the PSQI. Performance evaluations for all the selected public spaces in each of the city are carried out and compared. This facilitates understanding regarding the performance of parks individually and the performance of parks in different cities; highlighting the differences and similarities between the scenarios of parks in big, medium and small cities. The studies of all the selected public spaces are discussed in the sections ahead. However, since public spaces in Indian cities vary in typology, quality, context, use and their management process, and one type of public space available in one city might not be available in another city (as many of these spaces are peculiar and specific to that context) and parks are the most common and preferred public in cities, *park* as a typology of public space has been taken up for study.

##### 4.1 Study Area: Case of Three Cities

Studies are taken up from three different cities: Delhi, Dehradun and Roorkee representing the scenario of big cities, medium-sized cities and small-sized cities in India respectively. Further, as *park* is the only typology of public spaces taken up for study; the parks are chosen in such a way that they offer a broad picture about the typology and sizes of parks existing in Indian cities.

##### 4.2 Selected Studies in Delhi

A total of five parks managed by three different public bodies are taken up as studies:

- Sawarn Jyanti Park and Mahavir Park, managed by the Delhi Development Authority (DDA);
- Central Park and Children Park, managed by the New Delhi Municipal Corporation (NDMC);
- Parshuram Park, managed by the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD).

##### 4.2.1 Sawarn Jyanti Park

Swarna Jyanti Park is a prestigious, verdant landmark in North Delhi, located in Sector-10 of Rohini, a well-developed residential city in North West Delhi, India. It was one of the DDA's first sub-city projects, beginning in the 1980s its aim was to provide a composite society for all income groups. As it is a planned area, the distribution of parks and other facilities are based on development norms. Swarna Jyanti Park is part of



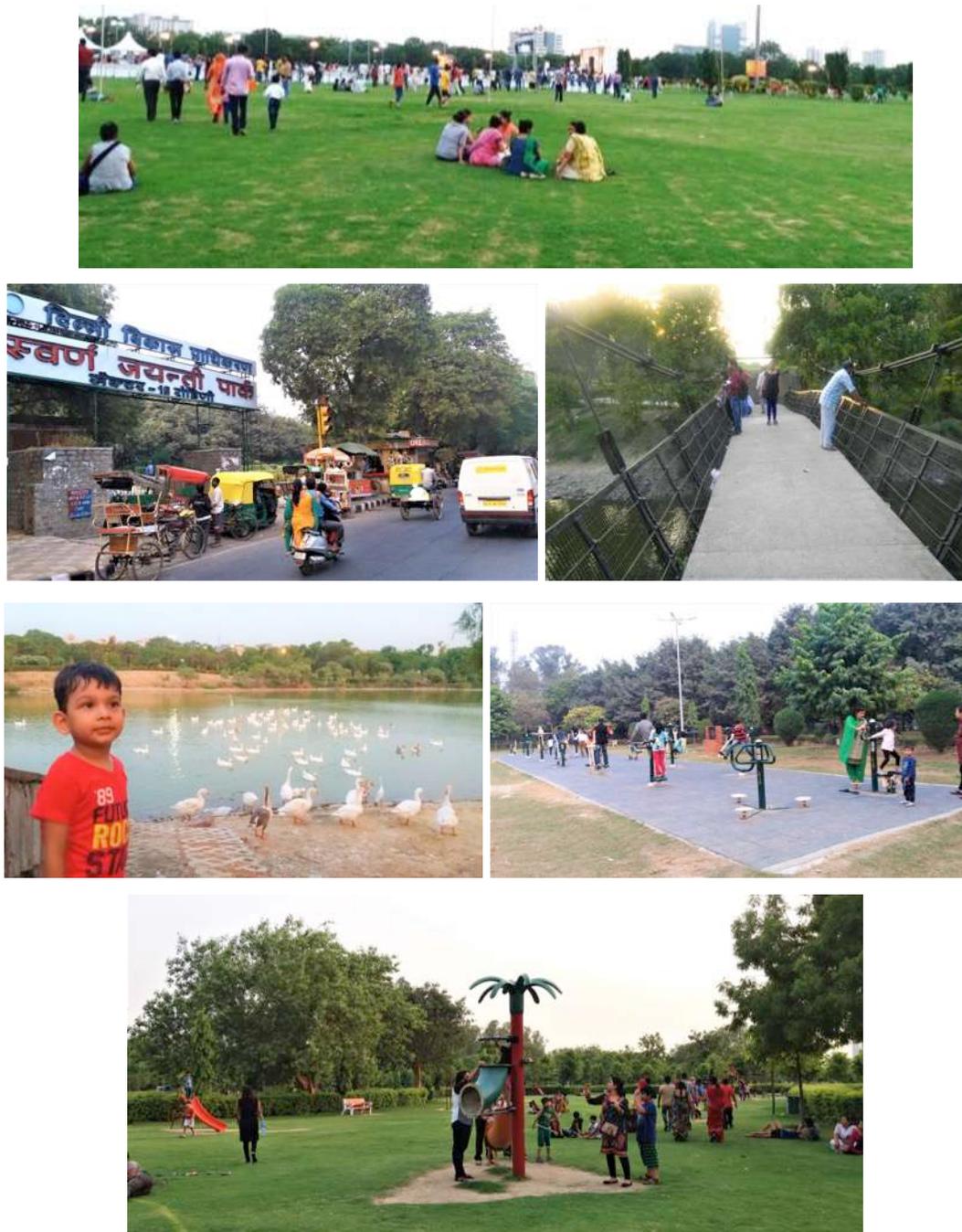


Figure 2. Features and activities in Swarna Jyanti Park.

#### 4.2.2 Mahavir Park

Mahavir Park, also known as Vardhaman Vatika, has an area of 3.3 acres and is a planned park in a dense neighbourhood in pocket H 32, Sector 3, Rohini. Planned markets, a local Shiv Shakti Temple, Royal Pepper Banquet Hall and some shops are located in the vicinity and share their boundary along the north edge with Shwetambar Jain Sthanak and Decent Public School (Fig. 3). The park is a facility planned in accordance with

## Public space quality evaluation

development norms, but the park has undergone different phases of development from its being a green facility with boundaries to a park: well equipped with swings, an open gym, play areas and walking trails. The park has separate play area for children and adolescents and a small open-air gym has recently been provided to encourage users to stay active and fit (Fig. 4 and 5). In addition, a garbage dumping area has been provided at the west corner of the park. The park is a gathering spot for people from surrounding neighbourhoods, a place where they can take a break from their daily chores and monotony and access a much needed space to socialising, reap health benefits, and engage in multiple activities such as sitting around and socializing, taking a walk in the fresh air, doing yoga and doing physical exercise. The park has an average footfall of around 400 people per day on weekdays and weekends and is accessible to users without any time restrictions. Most of the users of the park are from lower and middle income groups from the neighbouring residential areas in pockets H 32, H 34, and D 16.



Figure 3. Location of Mahavir Park (Source: Google).



Figure 4. Entrance and main park area of Mahavir Park.



Figure 5. Features and activities in Mahavir Park.

### 4.2.3 Parshuram Park

Bhagwan Parshuram Park is a 2.5 acre planned park in the dense neighbourhood of D 6, Sector 6, Rohini. The park is surrounded by DDA markets on two sides, to the north-west and south-east. The DDA market to the south-east mainly features service or repair shops. Whereas the market on the north-west side mainly features chemists, ATMs, Mother Dairy milk booths and temporary vegetable and fruit vendors. The Delhi Jal Board Zonal revenue office lies towards the south-west edge of the park. Pocket D 7, 32 sq. m. of plotted residential quarters are provided towards the west side of the park, which have now been converted into commercial areas along the 30 m road lying along the north-west side of the park. A hanuman temple has also been built on the south-east side of the park, which attracts even more people (Fig. 6).

The park acts as breathing lungs for the area and is used by people from the surrounding areas who are mostly from lower and middle income groups; it provides people with an opportunity to take a break from their monotonous daily routine and it also serves as a resting space for daily-wage workers, household help, rickshaw pullers and vendors (Fig. 7). The park is also used for socialising. In addition, a weekly market is held along the 30 m road on the north-west side of the park, transforming the park into a thoroughfare. This is a neighbourhood park, so visiting the space is a part of local people's regular routine providing the park with an average footfall of about 250 people a day on weekdays, as well as on weekends. Part of the park is intentionally separated from the main park area by two narrow entrances and a low, grilled wall; however, this part of the park is mostly used by children to play cricket or other sports. The park is also used as a space for other events such as wedding functions, religious activities like Ram Lila and Dussehra celebrations. However, due to lack of cleaning, the aforementioned activities leave the space in a state of filth and disarray.

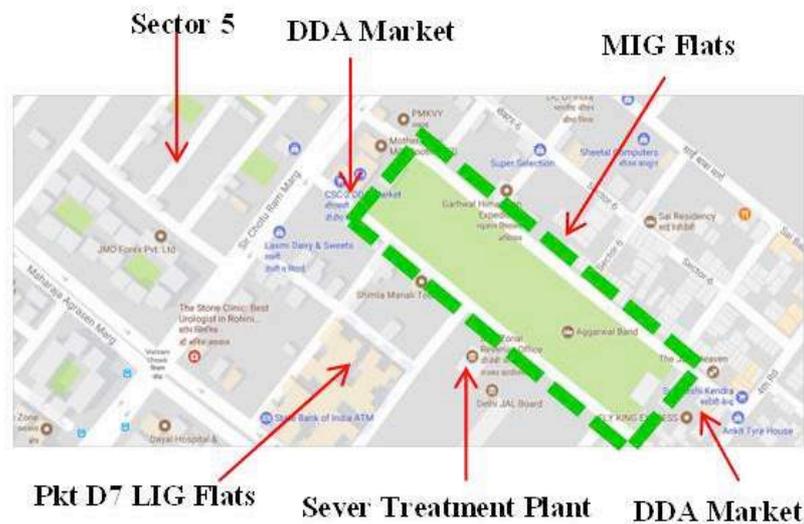


Figure 6. Location of Parshuram Park (Source: Google).



Figure 7. Images showing the features and activities in Parshuram Park.

The Park also has a small nursery and office where all the tools required for its daily maintenance are kept; despite this, the park is not a well maintained space. With time, new additions to the park have been made such as new swings, an open air gym and a large canopy in the central area to provide shelter in adverse weather conditions. But

other than these, no significant improvements have been made to improve quality of the park.

#### 4.2.4 Central Park

Central Park boasts an area of 10.25 acres and is located in the inner circle of Connaught Place in central Delhi. It is surrounded by Connaught Place's commercial areas — the largest financial, commercial and business center in Delhi — a very popular shopping area with several markets such as; the underground Palika Bazaar; the Janpath market and several branded outlets; a large number of good restaurants/good eating joints; entertainment destinations such as cinemas and multiplexes; a large number of offices; and a popular tourist area (Fig. 8). Furthermore, a large underground parking area, ATMs, and public toilets are provided in the immediate surroundings. The use of Central Park was discontinued in 2000 to make way for the construction of an underground metro station with six exits which was opened to public in 2005 and which provides access to different parts of Connaught Place.

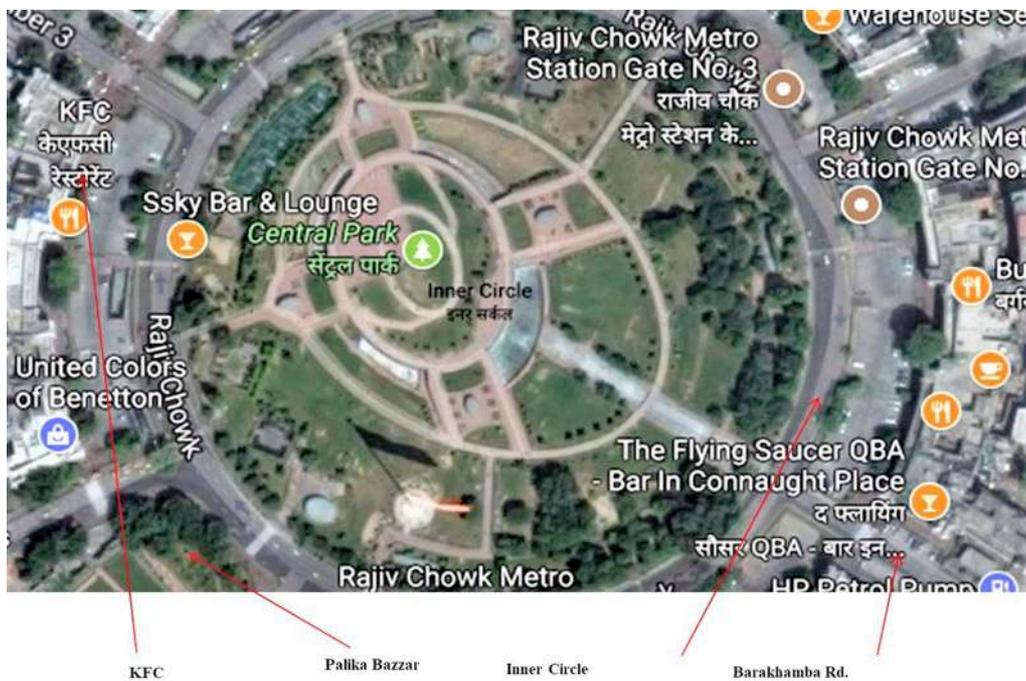


Figure 8. Location of Central Park, Connaught Place, Delhi (Source: Google).

The park now has 9 entrances and exits, of which two lead directly to the Rajiv Chowk metro station. It also has a beautiful lawn area, amphitheatre, water bodies, fountains and a water cascade. The national flag hoisted in the park is a special attraction, as it is the largest flag hoisted in India. Due to its location the park is used extensively and is a vibrant place with a pleasant ambience; people come to the park for relaxation, socialising and to take part in events such as different shows and New Year celebrations (Fig. 9).



Figure 9. Features and activities in Central Park.

#### 4.2.5 Children Park

Children Park covers an area of 15 acres and is a one of a kind park provided in the India Gate area in central Delhi, it is part of the Central Vista of Lutyen's plan for New-Delhi. Surroundings of the park include: the India Gate, the National Gallery of Modern Art, the National Stadium, Hyderabad House and the War Memorial located around the C Hexagon, and the residential area popularly known as the Bungalow area (Fig. 10).

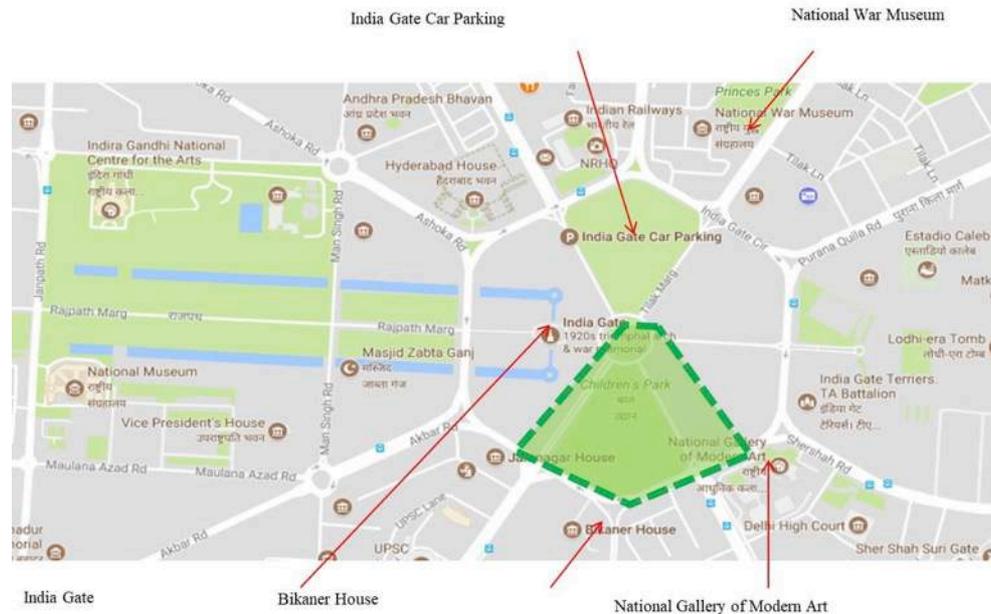


Figure 10. Location of Children Park (Source: Google).

The park is designed specifically for children and contains a variety of swings and a large area for children to enjoy, run around and play in; it is also enjoyed by families and is a popular place for morning walkers (Fig. 11). Over time, new activities and facilities like a small open air theatre, a public library, new landscape features, fountains, new swings and public amenities have been added to the park, in addition to the carrying out of regular maintenance works. The park attracts visitors from the entire city as well as a large number of tourists.





*Figure 11. Features and activities in Children Park.*

#### *4.2.6 MDDA Park*

MDDA Park, also known as Rajpur Park is a neighbourhood park, planned and developed by the Mussorie Dehradun Development Agency (MDDA) on an area of 2.5 acres, which was opened for use in 2008. The park is nestled in the Kairwaan village of Rajpur and located along Rajpur road (Fig. 12). The park features a multi-levelled design which is in harmony with the mountains in the background (Fig. 13). The park has walking trails and benches with interactive games, and basic amenities such as drinking water, toilet facilities and a canteen area. People from surrounding neighbourhoods and residents and tourists city-wide visit the place. Users of the space include families, groups of students and couples. The park has a nominal entrance fee for safety reasons to deter undesirable/antisocial individuals from loitering around. It is open from 8 am until 6 pm and receives an average footfall of around 350 people per day on weekdays, more users visit the park on weekends.

Indian Post Office, Kairwaan Gaon

Views of valley, river and mountains



Figure 12. Map showing the location of MDDA Park (Source: Google).

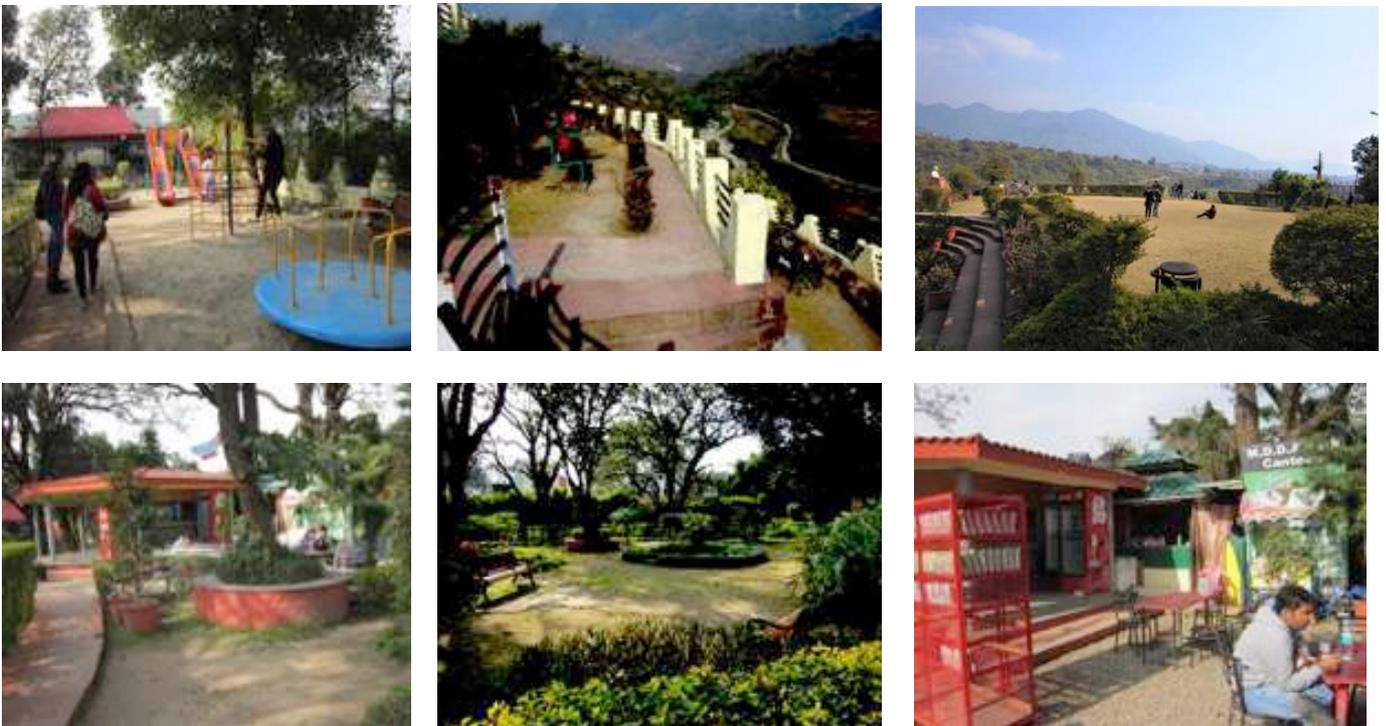


Figure 13. Images showing features and activities in MDDA Park.

#### 4.2.7 Gandhi Park

Gandhi Park is one of the oldest parks in Dehradun. It is one of the biggest public spaces covering an area of 12.1 acres, available to the people of the city. The park is located on Rajpur Road (Fig. 14), 400 m from the Dehradun Clock Tower and the Paltan Bazaar, a popular shopping area.

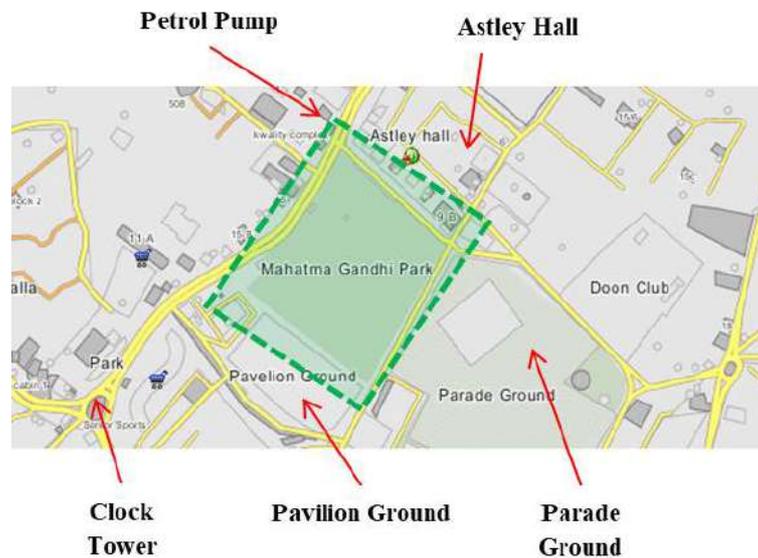


Figure 14. Map showing the location of Mahatma Gandhi Park (Source: Google)

On the east side of the tower lies Parade Ground, whereas towards the north lies the Astley Hall. The park has two entrances, the main entrance lies on the north-west side i.e. on Rajpur road. A petrol pump is also located at the park, on Rajpur road. Being popular shopping destinations, the nearby areas of the park provide people with the perfect area for relaxing and taking a break from mental and physical exertion. The park has green lawns where people sit, lie around and socialise (Fig. 15) in addition to a concrete track for joggers and early morning walkers. The park has two separate dedicated children's swing areas, one of which is a newly constructed Children's Park, which is gated and subject to an entrance fee (Fig. 16), whereas the other area is available for use by all children, free of charge. The park is open to users from 4 a.m. until 8 p.m. and has an average footfall of around 1,500 people a day. Users of the space include families from across the city and people from nearby neighbourhoods, couples from more distant city areas and tourists. The space serves as a space for social gathering, public protests, strikes and health camps.



Figure 15. Features and activities in Mahatma Gandhi Park.



Figure 16. Newly developed Children's Park, part of Gandhi park under AMRUT Yojna.

The park is undergoing new, phased developments as part of the Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT), an Indian Government scheme, under which; the Children's Park; a musical fountain; boating for children; a meditation and yoga centre; a children's play zone; flower beds; public utilities; an open amphitheatre; kiosks and a food court; a polyhouse; mounds; cycle tracks and jogging tracks are all proposed to be developed. Of these proposals, the Children's Park has been completed under the first phase of development and is now operational, and features recreational facilities for a fee, as mentioned earlier.

## 5. Selected Study in Roorkee

### 5.1 Ganga Park

Ganga Park is a small park planned in an area of 0.5 acres, located in one corner of the city at the junction between two canals — the old Ganga Canal and the new one (the Upper Ganga Canal) (Fig. 17). When the new Ganga Canal was created, a triangular space was formed between the new and the old canals which boasts a beautiful view of

the canals, with this in mind the area was planned as a park space. Nearby areas, the old city area and the civil lines area, do not have any parks to speak of except for two very small parks which lie along the canal in the civil line areas; but they are hardly used. Surrounded by water on two sides and a road on the other side, Ganga Park is a much sought after public space for the residents of the city and small villages in the vicinity. The park provides several opportunities such as play areas and swings for children, spending time with family and friends, and views of the canal front from a short distance (Fig. 18). The park gets an average footfall of around 100 people daily and the people visiting the park are generally from lower and middle income groups and most of the users are either middle-aged males or females, young groups of boys or children from the nearby areas. No new developments or modifications have taken place in the park, except for regular maintenance and management works. However, new benches and dustbins are provided in the park from time to time. Recently the weekly market has been shifted from the civil lines area of the city to the road near the Ganga Park. This has led to increased usage and popularity of the space

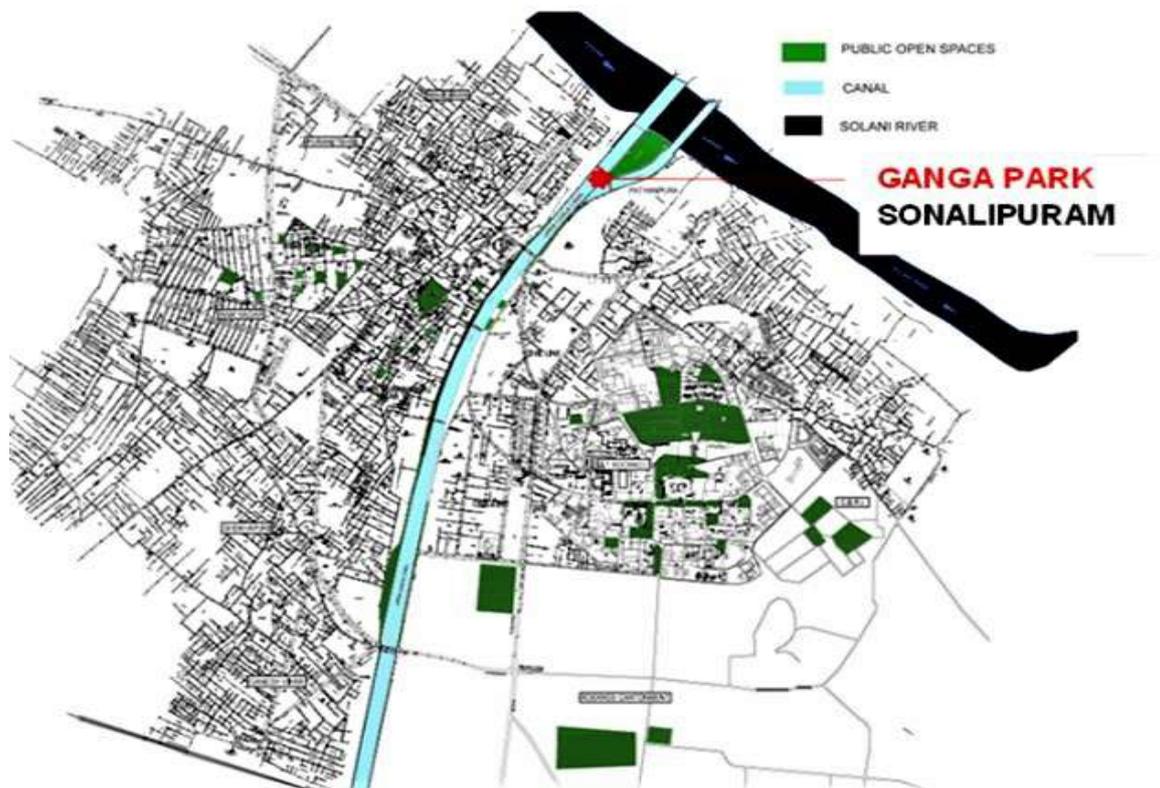


Figure 17. Map of Roorkee Showing Location of Ganga Park.

Public space quality evaluation

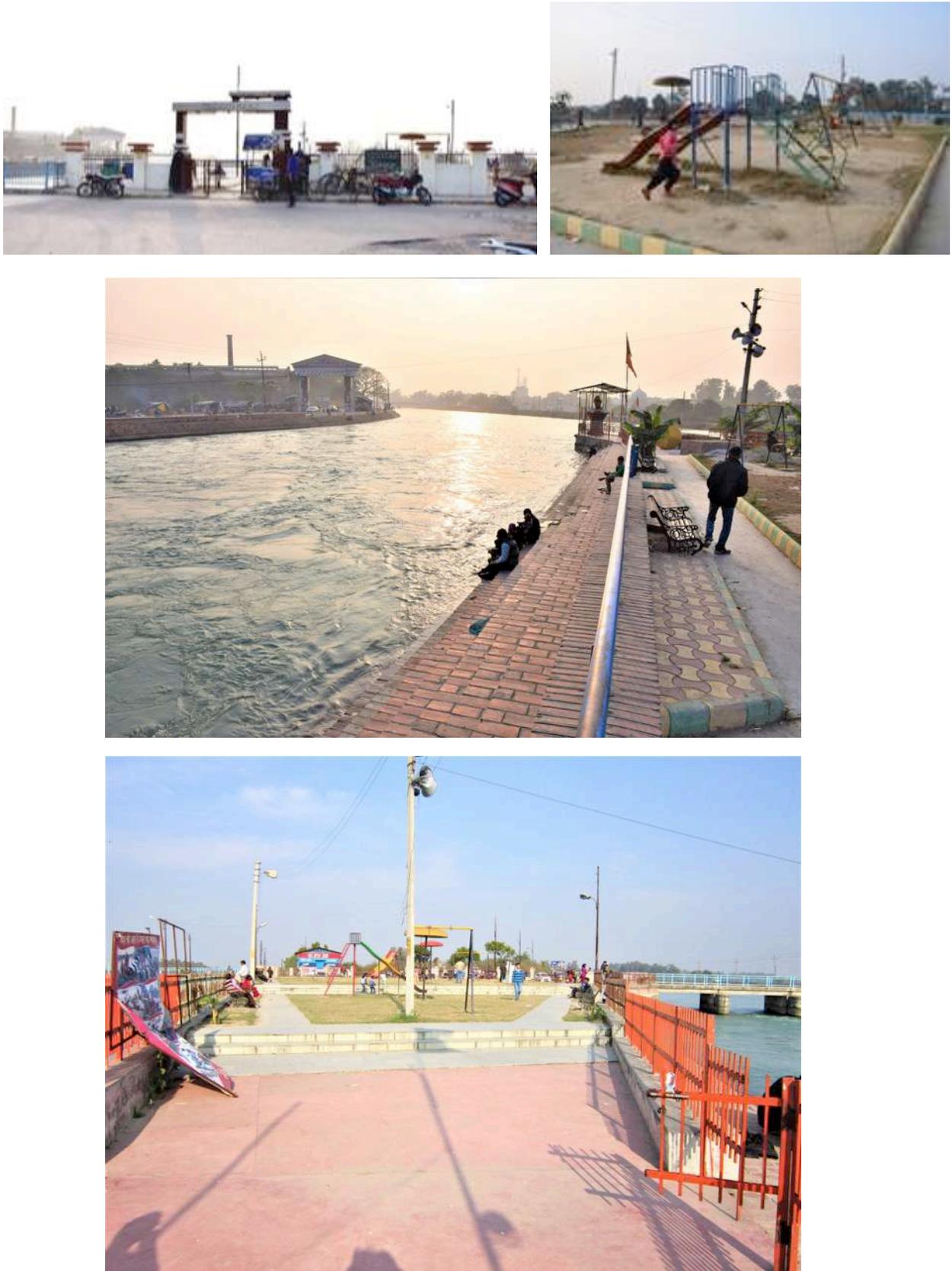


Figure 18. Images showing the features and activities in Ganga Park.

## 6. Result

After analysing the performance of parks according to the dimensions of quality using the PSQI the results are presented and discussed in detail and strategies to improve the respective spaces are proposed. The performance score for each dimension for the different parks as well as the overall performance of cities in terms of parks can be seen in Table 3 and its graphical representation in the form of a spider diagram is presented in Fig. 19; whereas a comparative performance of the parks studied in the three cities can be seen in Fig. 20.

Table 3: Dimension Score

*Public Space Quality Index application on parks as public spaces in three different sized cities, i.e. Delhi (big city), Roorkee (small city) and Dehradun (medium sized city). The score for each dimension and the total score for public space achievement can be compared with different parks and focus areas can be highlighted for the application of management parameters*

Dimensions	Score for Dimension of Quality in %							
	Delhi			Dehradun			Roorkee	
	Swarnajayanti Park	ParshuRam Park	Central Park	Children park	Mahavir park	MDDA	Gandhi park	Ganga Park
Accessible and Linked	91.03	91.16	96.77	78.71	89.41	87.02	62.45	74.63
Maintenance	86.10	48.48	92.11	80.09	56.94	75.42	66.25	35.31
Attractive and Appealing	70.73	51.48	72.50	81.71	49.63	61.05	58.00	42.70
Comfortable	72.72	37.92	58.42	90.07	48.66	55.49	63.36	40.65
Inclusive	84.31	100.00	94.94	87.04	98.93	56.27	67.95	94.65
Activities and Uses	79.58	58.60	66.29	74.27	59.20	52.91	73.45	73.05
Purposefulness	80.42	51.00	90.95	95.91	59.50	72.73	65.00	57.14
Safety and Security	48.53	30.56	80.80	84.49	28.80	37.09	48.73	28.38
Total Score of the Park out of 100	76.7	58.7	81.6	84	61.4	62.2	63.1	55.8

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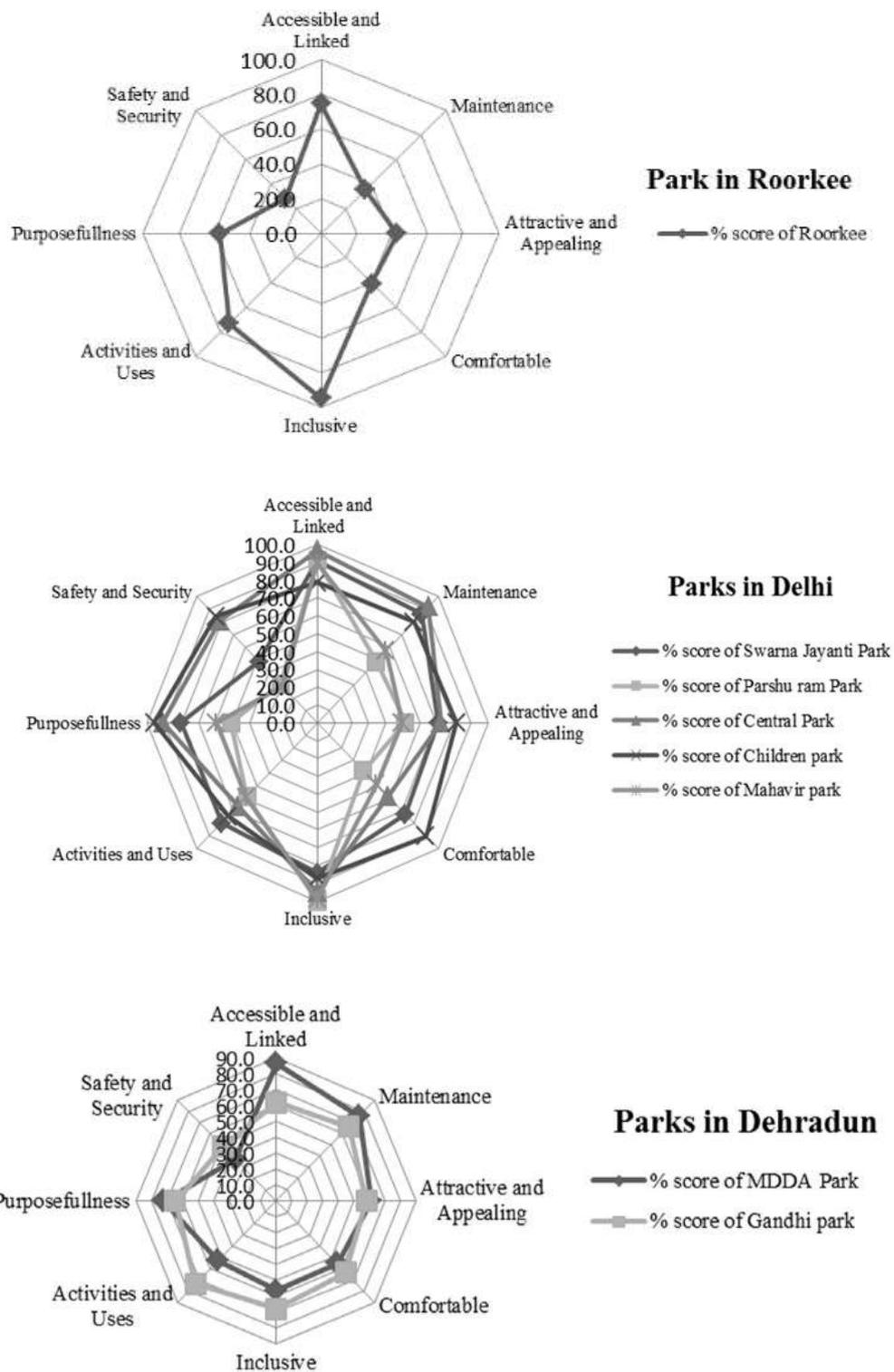


Figure 19. Performance of Public spaces (Parks) in Delhi, Dehradun and Roorkee on dimensions of quality.

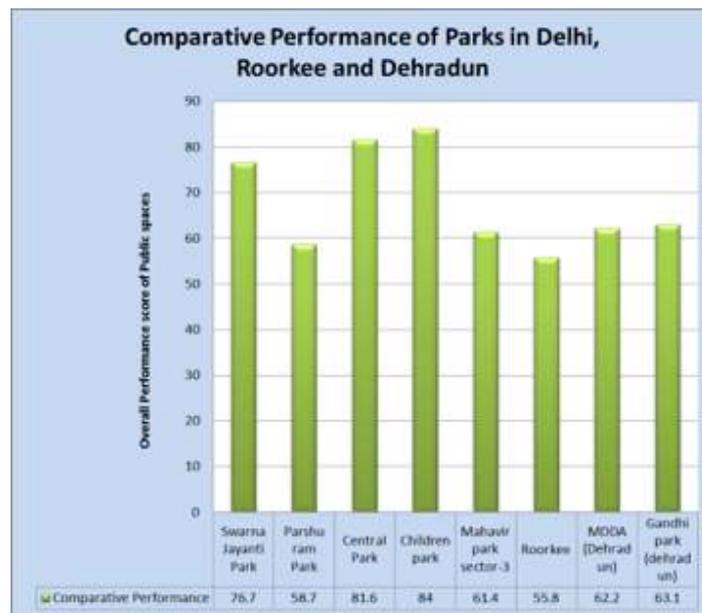


Figure 20. Comparative Performances of Public spaces (Parks) in Delhi, Dehradun and Roorkee.

From the table and the spider diagrams, it can be concluded that the parks spaces in Indian cities are generally accessible, linked and inclusive irrespective of the cities they are located in.

The major reasons for the poor state of parks are lack of maintenance, comfort, safety and security. It is further observed that these spaces do not encourage a variety of activities or modes of usage, and qualities relating to attractiveness and appeal are absent in neighbourhood parks. In addition, these parks do not appropriately utilise displayed public art and lack a clear and inviting aesthetic. Poor landscaping and ill-maintained green areas further reduce the attractiveness of the parks. Some of these parks are not approachable i.e. they perform poorly in the dimension of accessibility which, over time, causes these parks to become hubs of illegal and antisocial activities resulting in permanent damage to the parks' image; a damaged reputation is then very difficult to repair.

Many times the damage is beyond repair and a park needs to be recreated using an entirely different concept. From the analysis of parks in all cities it is concluded that inappropriate arrangements for safety and security is the prime reason for the poor state of parks, followed by other reasons such as comfort, attractiveness and maintenance.

For example, the availability of basic amenities in parks like Swarn Jayanti Park leads to an increase in the use of the space for longer periods of time, which is also indirectly connected to the presence of the hawkers and vendors near the park: which in turn increase the active use of the space and make the park a more lively and inclusive space. However, a few of the parks are complete failures and at present are considered threatened areas where they have become hubs of antisocial activities and are reduced to performing poorly across the dimensions of quality. After discussions with users from different cities it is further concluded that there is a need for some relaxing and

recreational spaces in these cities, other than in the workplace or the home, spaces which are within easy reach of people. The individual performances of the parks as case studies in terms of dimensions of quality can be seen in Table. 3. From the table it is further interpreted that the parks in Delhi perform better compared to parks in Dehradun and Roorkee.

### *6.1 Accessibility and Linkage*

All parks generally score high in this dimension, but Gandhi Park in Dehradun received a total score of 62.4 on a scale of 100. Hence this dimension needs to be focused on in the case of Gandhi Park such that its performance for the dimension of Accessible and Linked can be improved. From the detailed observational study of Gandhi Park it has been found that the park is located on a heavily trafficked road with no parking facilities, surrounded by busy commercial areas and absent of residences in the immediate neighbourhood. Therefore, it can be concluded that the park has accessibility and linkage issues. The main attributes that are responsible for a park's poor score for a dimension can be identified from the individual scores for the attributes in the dimension: which in the case of Gandhi Park are: visibility of the park from a distance, access to the space by walking and ease of movement in and around the park. Hence the performance of the space can be improved by strategizing the investment of funds and formulating policies that can improve its visual and pedestrian linkages, enhance public transport in its surrounding areas and provide parking facilities.

### *6.2 Maintenance*

This dimension indicates the upkeep of the parks after they are put to use. Ganga Park in Roorkee received the lowest performance score for this dimension i.e. 35.3 per cent, whereas Mahavir Park in Delhi received an average score of 56.9 per cent.

From the detailed observational study it was found that Ganga Park is poorly maintained, no regular maintenance or management regime is followed for the upkeep of the park and efforts are limited to cleaning and sweeping. Furthermore, the maintenance cost of the park is also very low and not in accordance with the CPWD specifications followed by cities throughout India. The park is mostly used by neighbouring people from lower income groups, therefore poor surroundings also influence the state of park. A daily market operates in the surrounding areas, which contributed to the space's faded aura. Hence, strategies to improve the dimension of maintenance for Ganga Park should be such that regular maintenance and cleaning schedules can be implemented under the strict supervision of the authority. There is also a need to regularise vendors and markets in the surrounding area, such that the visibility of and approach to the space can also be improved. Further arrangements for alternate sources of funding must be made and these finances and other resources should not be used in the wasted interest of politicians but should be as per maintenance needs.

### *6.3 Attractiveness and appeal*

From the results of the analysis it can be stated that the parks in small and medium-size cities as well as small parks in big cities score average or below average for the dimension of attractiveness and appeal, regardless of the context they are located in. In the present study MDDA Park and Gandhi Park in the medium-sized city Dehradun

received a score of 61.05 per cent and 58 per cent respectively. Whereas the performance of Ganga Park in Roorkee, a small city, received a score of 42.70 per cent and the performance scores for Parshuram Park and Mahavir Park, located in big cities, were 51.48 per cent and 49.63 per cent respectively. From the detailed observational studies and discussion with the users and authorities; it was found that the poor state of parks in the dimension of attractiveness and appeal is due to lack of professional input across the board: at the time of planning and design, construction and use. Similarly, the presence of rules for the use of space, their strict implementation and penalties for their violation are equally important in order that the condition of a park can be maintained to meet certain standards. Further maintenance bodies and the establishment of maintenance modes are equally important such that the line of responsibilities for maintenance and management are clear and are answerable for the poor state of any space. In this case then, strategies should be such that the strict implementation of rules of conduct and upkeep are ensured and at the same time that the appropriate professional inputs are taken into consideration. Further practice of contracting out or employing a rotating team can be used in cases where the condition of parks is very poor; adopting these kinds of practices will ensure that the people involved in the management of parks are made accountable. Policies can also be formulated in such a way that the space is adopted for maintenance and management by the local RWA and by other organizations under corporate social responsibility; this practice will lead to an improvement in the condition of the park.

#### 6.4 Comfort

Out of the case studies taken up; five parks scored below average for the dimension of comfort, Parshuram Park scored the least, followed by Ganga Park, Mahavir Park and MDDA Park. The attributes associated with this dimension are the presence of comfortable sitting areas, the presence and condition of public facilities and sheltered areas, the presence of signage and the provision of parking facilities, and a buffer from the nuisance of traffic. From the detailed observations and discussion with the respective stakeholders, it has been found that the poor performance of a park in the comfort dimension is a result of a lack of professional inputs during the planning, design and construction phases of the facility. Planning without consideration for basic standards is another reason for missing comfort in these spaces. Furthermore, an absence of basic amenities and the presence of antisocial elements makes the spaces even more uncomfortable for children and women wishing to use them. Sometimes the attitudes of certain users also make a space uncomfortable for other users. Therefore, appropriate strategies regarding involving professionals at every stage of public space projects, from planning to construction, and its management and maintenance thereafter need to be adopted. Public open spaces can be made more comfortable if they are properly designed and active and passive recreational spaces are segregated within the park itself, so that different user groups can enjoy activities of their choice without any hindrance. Certain design and security measures can also be adopted such that the spaces do not become hubs of antisocial activities and are instead comfortable to occupy by a range of users.

### *6.5 Inclusiveness*

All the parks perform quite well in the dimension of inclusiveness, apart from MDDA Park. In all the studies there is no restriction on entry to the park, besides some security measures, but in the case of MDDA Park a paid-entrance system is enforced, which prevents certain sections of society from using the public space. In many cases it was found that the entrances to many parks are controlled by specified timings and that some are closed on certain days for weekly maintenance and management. On the one hand these are the kinds of public spaces that users require on a daily basis, on the other hand, their maintenance and management is crucial, such that they are able to meet the daily needs of the users. Therefore, there is a need for strategies/ guidelines that ensure that public spaces are accessible to all prospective users, irrespective of age, race, class, gender or physical abilities. The control of a space according to specific timings needs to be rationalised so that it can be used by the maximum number of users possible. Also, a public space can be considered more inclusive when the internal spaces of the park can serve different user groups in such a way that all are provided for without the need to interfere in each other's interests; a balance that is achieved through the careful design of active and passive spaces.

### *6.6 Activities and uses*

All the spaces perform very well for this dimension as even just the existence of such public spaces gives people hope; knowing that they have other spaces to go to spend time outside their homes and workplaces provides them with more options for socialising and relaxing. Options for multiple activities in a space adds to the richness in the performance of that space, such diverse activities could include; walking, socialising, being involved in activities associated with physical activity, different sports and games, children's play, options for family outings or educational visits, options for events and gatherings and opportunities to engage with the fauna and flora. Design and management strategies should be such that they aid in ensuring that these activities are carried out without cause for conflict and that each of the users is able to be involved in activities which they find value in and can feel connected to.

### *6.7 Purposefulness*

Public spaces must meet the purposes for which they are created, but from the studies it is apparent that Parshuram Park, Ganga Park and Mahavir Park perform low across this dimension. The attributes responsible for a public space's performance in this dimension are related to the suitability of the layout and design and the ambience of a space. These two attributes can only be incorporated into a public space when the layout and design decisions regarding a space take professional inputs into consideration, such that the finalised space is in a position to effectively respond to its own specific context and in addition, all aspects relating to the needs and expectations of its prospective users. This kind of approach will not only result in a facility that fulfills its users' requirements and expectations but such spaces become the most loved and used assets in cities and towns: never losing their significance in people's lives or place in their city as a whole.

### 6.8 Safety and security

Any space must perform high in the dimension of safety and security as only then will it be well managed. Most of the parks are currently performing extremely poorly in this dimension, and only Children Park and Central Park are currently able to meet the need for security in public space. Often, the lack in security and safety results in the complete failure of public spaces; the non-implementation and violation of rules is one of the main reasons for lack of safety and security in the presence of antisocial activities. Hence, while making strategies for safety and security in public spaces, it must be ensured that all the attributes mentioned as part of the safety and security dimension are taken into consideration when planning a new public space or redeveloping an existing public space. These attributes are; the presence of adequate light; adequate surveillance measures and security arrangements; the provision of an information/complaint centre; and strict policies on the entry of animals, criminal activities and antisocial components. Therefore strategies ensuring regulation of use, implementation of rules and penalties and adequate surveillance measures which improve visibility must be worked out. The authority responsible for the maintenance and management of a park should also formulate a committee for monitoring the performance of public space from time to time and address the problems and issues that come up.

## 7. Conclusion

In spite of the significance and benefits of public spaces in cities being recognised the world over, the research being done on the quality attributes of successful public spaces and the number of projects being undertaken for the improvement of public spaces in developed countries, there are currently no such concerted efforts taking place in India. Moreover, there are significant variations in the types, sizes and quality of public spaces, as well as, differences in their usage across cities in India. This diversity is observed both in contrasting different sized cities and indeed spaces within a city, a diversity which necessitates a study of public spaces in different cities in India to identify the attributes/criteria responsible for good quality of public spaces. The proposed framework, led by the development of the PSQI helps in evaluating and highlighting the dimensions of quality currently receiving low scores that are signifiers of the poor performance of public spaces in Indian cities. This can help in formulating strategies that are focused and which can effectively target specific problems. From the analytical study of the different parks in the selected cities it is evident that parks in medium-sized cities and small cities and small parks in large cities don't perform well across the majority of the dimensions of quality outlined here. This current state of affairs is the result of; low accessibility and linkage; a lack of professional input in the planning and design stage and subsequent management of public spaces; a lack of funds and their inappropriate utilisation that fails to focus at on the actual problems; inappropriate maintenance routines; loopholes in the rules and regulations relating to uses/activities and encroachments; deficiencies in the security measures adopted; an absence of clearly defined responsibilities; and lack of subsequent ongoing monitoring and control of the unfolding situation. Each public space will differ from the others due to its typology and context and will perform differently, so accordingly, the strategies adopted for improving performance will also differ; but the attributes/dimensions associated with quality are the same for any type of public space and the methodology suggested for

evaluation is relevant to all. Though the present study only focuses on one typology of public spaces i.e. parks, there are various other types of public spaces and parameters/attributes under several dimensions that can be further tested for other spaces, or indeed new parameters/attributes that could be developed using a similar framework. As the proposed framework is easy to understand and implement, it can be utilised by planning, development and management agencies during the initial stages of planning new public spaces as well as during the evaluation process and improvement of existing public spaces. Hence providing strategies for public spaces, based on an evaluation framework can result in better managed and more successful public spaces.

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*VIEWPOINT*

**Leading urban change with people powered public spaces.  
The history, and new directions, of the  
Placemaking movement**

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**Abstract**

Successful urban development is usually anchored by vital public spaces where people naturally want to gather: a crossroads or a main street, third place business, public market, waterfront wharf, library, railway station, campus, agora, piazza, or civic square. These spaces become truly magnetic places when they provide purpose and meaning for the broad groups of people they serve.

Public places are most dynamic—and most enduring—when they showcase and boost a community's unique public life, economy, and culture. This is especially true when the people using them are involved in their creation, continual re-creation, management, and governance. This is the essence of placemaking.

Great public spaces happen through community-driven placemaking and place-led governance. These great places are the foundation of great communities, which in turn are the building blocks of a prosperous, equitable, and resilient society.

**Keywords:** placemaking, lighter quicker cheaper, communities, Project for Public Spaces

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## Planning Out Of Place

For many decades, city-building professions have generally overlooked the role of public space as the fulcrum of great cities. To a large extent, individuals working within these professions have been trained to adopt a narrow view of cities, focusing primarily on buildings, businesses, roadways, monolithic infrastructure, and rigid zoning. Professions ranging from traffic engineers to economic development specialists have retreated into silos, a mentality that often blinds them to the overall needs of cities and their citizens. Each specific field perpetuates myopic, unsustainable goals that add up to far less than the sum of their parts.

While progressive practitioners within each discipline have become more sensitive in recent years to the importance of places, people, and public life in fostering strong communities, they still usually speak to their own crowd: ignoring and dismissing the capacity that other disciplines, sectors, and indeed communities themselves have to collaborate in the process of bettering a community.

While public spaces and a sense of place have fallen between the cracks of professions, placemaking and place governance have emerged out of those cracks to offer an innovative and more successful way to achieve collective impact in community building.

## The Roots of the Placemaking Movement

[Jane Jacobs](#) and [William H. Whyte](#) were the first to call out the wrong-headed ideas that still dominate how we shape our cities. In 1956 Whyte, then Managing Editor of *Fortune Magazine*, encouraged Jacobs to write a feature entitled “[Downtown is For People](#)” which was to become one of the first major critiques outlining the failure of mega-scaled urban renewal and redevelopment projects. Two years later Whyte sounded the alarm about the consequences of suburban sprawl in the introduction to his anthology *The Exploding Metropolis*. Both of them continued to document the ill effects of top-down decision making on the quality of life in American communities and articulated the importance of small-scale planning that enhances human interaction. Together, they laid a strong foundation for what later became the placemaking movement.

In the early 1970s, William Whyte’s Street Life Project pioneered tools for observing and analysing comfort and sociability in public spaces. [Fred Kent](#) joined the Street Life Project following his work founding the Street Academy for Black and Latin Education in 1968 (with funding from Michael Bloomberg); organising the first Earth Day in New York City in 1970; running Mayor John Lindsay’s Council on the Environment; and co-founding the activist group Transportation Alternatives.

## The Founding of Project for Public Spaces

In 1975, [Fred](#) founded [Project for Public Spaces](#) (PPS) as a non-profit organisation to popularise Whyte’s ideas and put his tools into practice around the country with a grant from the Rockefeller Family Foundation. During its first two decades, the group successfully focused on fixing dysfunctional public spaces and developing place management plans, and reversing patterns of disinvestment and hostile architecture in American downtowns. Iconic early projects like the [Rockefeller Center](#), [Bryant Park](#), and New Haven’s [Chapel Street](#), helped set new standards for downtown public space design and management.



Figure 1. Finally, a place to sit at the Rockefeller Center thanks to PPS. Image circa early 1980s.

Building on the success of these approaches, the 1990s saw PPS develop placemaking into a public space planning process to support communities in “getting it right” throughout the process. PPS increasingly applied this process from the start as exemplified by projects like Detroit’s Campus Martius and broader downtown, Houston’s Discovery Green, and the transformation of New York City’s streets.



Figure 2. The development of a temporary beach in the week that Detroit declared bankruptcy helped the city bounce back.

Through its study of what makes great places, the organisation discovered that many of the best public spaces have a self-organised and self-managed quality: people gathering there unconsciously contribute to everyone else’s experience. To achieve this level of interaction, of course, usually requires lots of carefully coordinated organising and management behind the scenes—in other words, proactive placemaking.

## The Pioneering of Placemaking

Around the year 1997 PPS started using the term “placemaking” to describe this new approach. Central to this concept is the idea that planning public spaces is not just about doing something *for* the people who will use it, but *with, or by actively engaging* those people. The primary driving principle behind the approach is that “The Community is the Expert” on places in their own backyard. By 2003, PPS started thinking and talking about community-driven placemaking as a movement, which led to placemaking conferences in the Pacific Northwest to explore the possibilities. By 2006 the word “placemaking” was entering popular language, and the idea of placemaking as a movement was starting to gain traction globally.

## Trying it “Lighter, Quicker, Cheaper”

The placemaking process always emphasised starting with short-term, low-cost experiments with design, programming, and management. In 2010 PPS launched a campaign, geared at people that don’t yet consider themselves urbanists, around mainstreaming this focus, calling it “Lighter, Quicker, Cheaper”. The campaign highlighted a broad range of such projects from the do-it-yourself street reclamations to the interim development markets, with a database and strategies from around the world.

## Launching a Movement

With the grass roots of the organisation in place and growing global interest, the time came to launch placemaking as a global movement. To highlight and support the movement PPS debuted the Placemaking Leadership Council at a Placemaking Leadership Forum in Detroit in 2013. In the same year, to help build momentum around the movement for placemaking and public space in global development, we also kicked-off our Future of Places program with UN-Habitat and the Ax:son Johnson Foundation based in Sweden. This “quiet movement” soon began to take root. In 2016 the placemaking movement truly went global with the first International Placemaking Week in Vancouver, BC, Canada, and our participation in the UN’s Habitat III Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development in Quito, Ecuador.



Figure 3. Many global placemaking conferences (including people from over 100 countries) have informed, strengthened, and amplified the movement.

After “[getting organised](#)” in a series of international meetings and regional conferences, 2018 was the year that the placemaking movement started to self-organise, with global networks growing organically around regional leaders and locally defined sub-networks. The year kicked off with the first World Urban Forum (WUF9 in Kuala Lumpur); the UN’s Habitat III conference placed public space and placemaking principles central to the goals of the New Urban Agenda. [Placemaking was featured in WUF9](#) as an organising principle for facilitating the New Urban Agenda’s implementation.



Figure 4. Recent, and upcoming, placemaking conferences guiding regional networks, and the global movement.

The year continued with a number of dynamic placemaking conferences across six continents:

- [Cities for All](#), European Placemaking Network, Stockholm
- [Crowdsourcing the City](#), New Cities Foundation, London
- [Place Week Victoria](#), Placemaking Leadership Council, Melbourne, Australia
- [Humanizing Cities Conference](#), Medina, Saudi Arabia
- [Placemaking](#), Strelka Institute, Moscow, Russia
- [WeMakeTheCity](#) summits on [Making Places](#) and [Co-Creating the City](#), Amsterdam
- [Walk Bike Places](#), New Orleans, Louisiana
- [Art of City Building](#), Placemaking Canada, Halifax, Canada
- [New Zealand Placemaking Week](#), [Auckland](#), Palmerston North, and Christchurch, New Zealand
- [Nairobi Placemaking Week](#), Nairobi, Kenya
- [Bass Center for Transformative Placemaking](#), Brookings Launch Event, Washington, DC
- [Placemaking Week Israel](#), Jerusalem.

The year culminated with Placemaking Latinoamerica in Mexico, and Placemaking Week Wuhan in China in partnership with UN-Habitat and the International Society of City and Regional Planners (ISOCARP). The Wuhan conference welcomed placemaking experts from 41 countries and launched a Chinese placemaking network and a strong placemaking declaration.

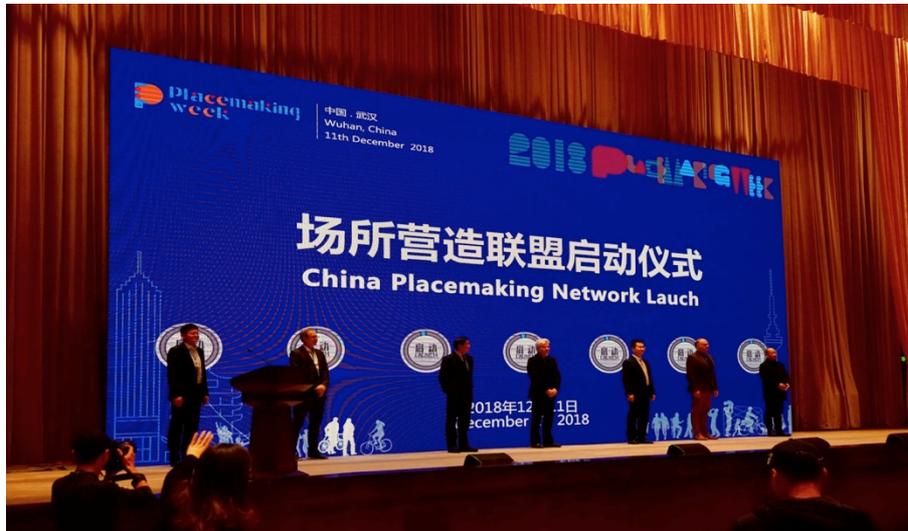


Figure 5. Wuhan Placemaking Week 2018, Wuhan, China | Photo: Katherine Peinhardt, Project for Public Spaces.



Figure 6. Placemaking Week Nairobi has experimented with temporary street designed that are informing permanent changes.

Along with regional campaigns, placemaking continues to drive change on many scales, including city-wide campaigns in communities around the world, like Madrid, Spain; Brisbane, Australia; Monterrey, Mexico; Singapore; and Auckland, New Zealand.

The placemaking movement's founder [Fred Kent](#) also marked an important milestone in 2018, with a long-planned transition from the organisation he founded and led as president for 43 years. Early PPS hires [Stephen Davies](#) and [Kathy Madden](#), who are now recognised as co-founders, also stepped down. This leadership team left PPS in [strong shape](#), securing a multi-million dollar grant from the Anne T. and Robert M. Bass Foundation for PPS's role in a partnership they developed with the [Brookings Institution](#) and [National Main Street](#), plus generous support for the transition and a beautiful new office space, with former long-time PPSer [Phil Myrick](#) taking over as CEO. They also published [a second edition of \*How to Turn a Place Around\*](#), the book that kicked off the placemaking movement almost 20 years earlier.

The founders now work to support the broader placemaking movement—and the network of placemaking organisations that are leading the movement—through the creation of The Placemaking Fund and its program PlacemakingX, a network to accelerate placemaking for global impact.

### **What's next for the placemaking movement?**

With increasing organisational capacity, interest, and support, Project for Public Spaces and the many leaders and organisations making up the placemaking movement continue to grow stronger than ever. Just as it takes a place to create a community and a community to create a place, it takes a placemaking movement to support placemaking organisations, and many placemaking organisations to support a movement.

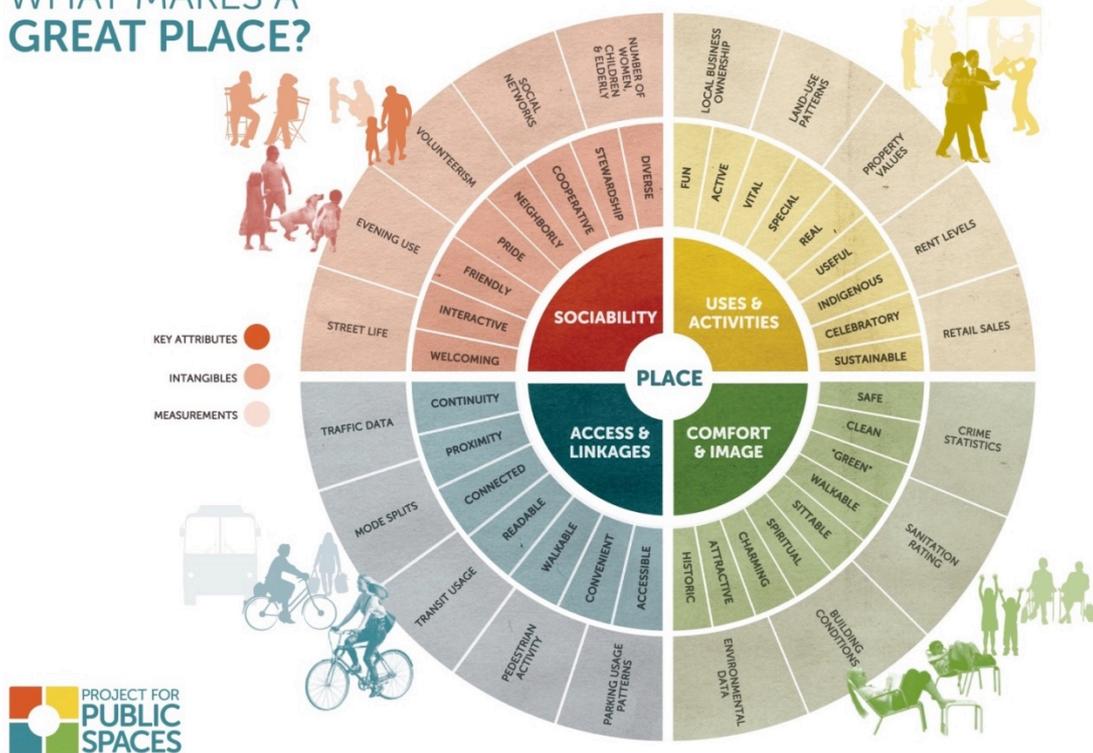
There is now leadership and collaboration from every corner of the globe. In 2019, locally organised placemaking conferences will occur on all six inhabited continents including [Stockholm](#), [Melbourne](#), [London](#), [Valencia](#), [Lima](#), [Perth](#), [Kuala Lumpur](#), [Halifax](#), [Auckland](#), and a PPS Placemaking Week in [Chattanooga](#), TN, USA. Each conference will be part of regional and city-wide networks and campaigns for systemic change and on-the-ground impact. We look forward to further growing support for leaders and organisations around the world to keep building the potential, inclusiveness, and capacity of placemaking.

Theories, practices, and patterns of urbanisation have been shifting greatly, from a focus on the housing unit, to the building and block, and most recently to the street and the public space. It is time now to reinvent the shaping of cities from the place up. The movement is demonstrating how to turn the shaping of cities upside down by starting with places, and in the process, invent crucial new scalable models for governing, financing, and designing our cities. As leadership towards this goal emerges globally, Project for Public Spaces and PlacemakingX will work together to highlight, connect, and support these people, their ideas, and their projects. It is now these leaders that are poised to further define, defend, and amplify the cause of public spaces and placemaking.



Figure 7. 2019 placemaking conferences cover many regions.

### WHAT MAKES A GREAT PLACE?



*VIEWPOINT*

**Placemaking in the European context.  
The movement is here to stay**

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**Abstract**

The importance of public space as a foundation for good cities is recognised across Europe at a policy level and also amongst practitioners. Placemaking Europe, previously known as the European Placemaking Network, is a fresh network connecting a growing number of practitioners, academics, community leaders, market parties and policy makers working on public spaces in ways that give due consideration to placemaking and the City at Eye Level. Through this approach, Placemaking Europe shares knowledge, exchanges ideas, and actively shapes collaborative projects.

**Keywords:** placemaking, city at eye level, ground floor, STIPO, Europe

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Public space quality is the backbone of a sustainable city. To ensure quality in the public realm, cities need; great streets supported by places that intuitively captivate users, compelling them to want to stay longer; a human scale inspired by the interaction between buildings and streets; user ownership; placemaking; good plinths (active ground floors); and a person-centered approach based on user experience<sup>1</sup>.

Different groups of people use public spaces for a variety of purposes throughout the day, and because public spaces harbor the potential for encouraging such diverse uses and users, they are also where a broad cross-section of local, national and global agendas converge<sup>2</sup>.

The importance of public space as a foundation for good cities is recognised across Europe at a policy level<sup>3</sup> and also amongst practitioners. Placemaking Europe, previously known as the European Placemaking Network, is a fresh network connecting a growing number of practitioners, academics, community leaders, market parties and policy makers working on public spaces in ways that give due consideration to placemaking and the City at Eye Level. Through this approach, Placemaking Europe shares knowledge, exchanges ideas, and actively shapes collaborative projects.

This article:

- looks back into some of the history of the rise of placemaking and the City at Eye Level
- elaborates on how Placemaking Week Amsterdam led to Placemaking Europe
- highlights recent European placemaking projects that show the diversity of the movement
- asks the question, who benefits from placemaking
- goes into challenges for the coming years, to be addressed during Placemaking Week Europe 2019.
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<sup>1</sup> Karssenbergh, H., Laven, J., Glaser, M., van 't Hoff, M. (2013), *The City at Eye Level: Lessons for Street Plinths*, Eburon. Available at: [www.thecityateyelevel.com](http://www.thecityateyelevel.com)

<sup>2</sup> Whyte, W.H. (1980), *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*, Project for Public Spaces (2001).

<sup>3</sup> As stated in the United Nations New Urban Agenda specifically, with reference to SDG 11 'Make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable'. Access at:

<http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/blog/2016/10/newurbanagenda/> and in the EU urban agenda at: <https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/urban-agenda>

## Looking Back: The Rise of Placemaking and the City at Eye Level

Placemaking is a strategy for co-creation that focuses on economic and social well-being, as well as, quality of life.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, placemaking recognises the human need for prosperity, sociability and security as being indispensable and necessary to counter alienation<sup>5</sup>.

Placemaking gained traction in the 1960s, with special mention to Jane Jacobs and William H. Whyte and their respective groundbreaking ideas to design cities for people, not just cars and shopping centres.

Since the 1990s, Project for Public Spaces (PPS)<sup>6</sup>, a non-profit organisation based in New York committed to supporting public places that build communities, began consistently using the term "placemaking" in the mid-1990s to describe their approach towards building community around place. PPS has been one of the leading partners in pushing the placemaking movement forward, working on projects all over the world.

Placemaking inspires people to collectively reimagine and reinvent public spaces as the heart of every community. Through strengthening connections between people and the places they share, placemaking refers to a collaborative process by which many can shape their public realm in order to maximize shared value. More than just promoting better urban design, placemaking facilitates creative patterns of use, and pays particular attention to the physical, cultural, and social identities that define a place and support its ongoing evolution.<sup>7</sup>

Placemakers achieve their goals by offering concrete tools to incorporate all stakeholders that are involved in a public space, and by working towards a solution together with those stakeholders.<sup>8</sup> As both an overarching idea, and a hands-on approach for improving a neighborhood, city, or region, placemaking inspires people to collectively reimagine and reinvent public spaces as the heart of every community.<sup>9</sup>

PPS introduced new and also strengthened existing narratives, such as regularly used placemaking terms like: "the power of ten", "zealous nuts", and "triangulation."

The success of placemaking is clearly visible from the immense speed with which this innovative energy has grown into a worldwide movement and has connected actors across disciplines and backgrounds. An increasing number of placemaking networks, institutions, and conferences across the globe (including PlacemakingX<sup>10</sup>, Placemaking Leadership Council<sup>11</sup>, Future of Places<sup>12</sup>, The City at Eye Level<sup>13</sup> among many others) exemplify this growth.

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<sup>4</sup> Oldenburg, R. (1999), *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community*, Da Capo Press.

<sup>5</sup> Silberberg, S., Lorah, K., Disbrow, R., Muessig, A. (2013), *Places in the Making: How placemaking builds places and communities*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

<sup>6</sup> Project for Public Spaces (PPS). Access at: <http://www.pps.org>

<sup>7</sup> "What is Placemaking?" Project for Public Spaces, 2007. Access at: <https://www.pps.org/article/what-is-placemaking>

<sup>8</sup> Markusen, A.M. and Gadwa, A. Creative Placemaking, National Endowment for the Arts and Markusen Economic Research Services and Metris Arts Consulting. 2010.

<sup>9</sup> "What is Placemaking?" Project for Public Spaces, 2007. Access at: <https://www.pps.org/article/what-is-placemaking>

<sup>10</sup> Access at: <https://www.placemakingx.org>

<sup>11</sup> Access at: <https://www.pps.org/plc>

<sup>12</sup> Access at: <http://futureofplaces.com/>

<sup>13</sup> Access at: <https://thecityateyelevel.com/>

## STIPO and The City at Eye Level

The establishment of The City at Eye Level programme by STIPO in 2012 was a clear push forward for placemaking in Europe. STIPO<sup>14</sup>, an urban development team established in 1994, strategically focuses on co-creation in area development, with a special focus on public space and plinths. The firm practices steadfast core values to ensure

“**durable quality** reflecting the wishes of the time, **the soul of the place** with distinctive character in which people continue to want to invest, **stratification** multiple and diverse use for a fair and inclusive city, **public quality** where the public space is a place for interaction and the plinths are the leitmotif in the surroundings, **ownership** of the people, entrepreneurs and users of the place”<sup>15</sup>.

STIPO practices both in the Netherlands and internationally, and propels the firm’s core values in joint with research, training, tool development, and network development. The City at Eye Level is a multifunctional and globally applicable programme, an open-source learning network, and a program for improving cities, streets, and places all over the world which has been published in a series of books. Importantly, The City at Eye Level programme uses the power of local knowledge and hands-on interventions to inform best practices and document lessons learned from cases throughout Europe and beyond. More than a hundred authors, mostly practitioners, have published their stories in *The City at Eye Level* books and on the website to exemplify, share, and uncover feedback in respective projects.

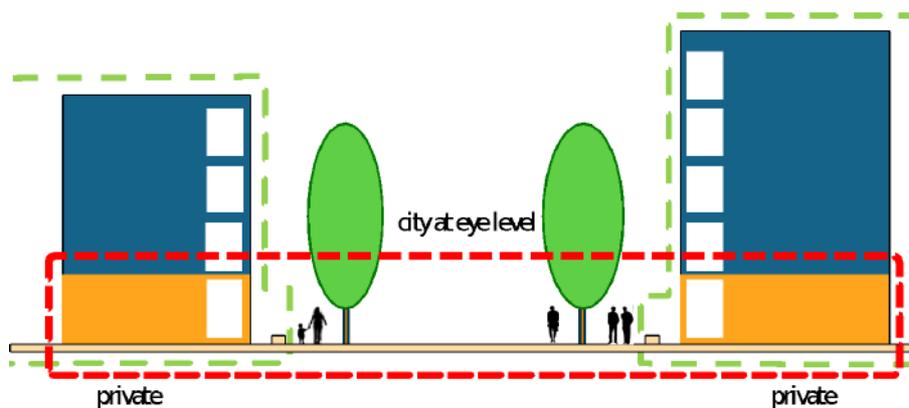


Figure 1. Diagram of the public realm. Source: Karrsenberg et. al, 2013.

The City at Eye Level programme looks at both public space provision and what is happening in the adjacent buildings on the ground floor: the plinth. The plinth is a building’s most crucial part concerning the city at eye level. What do you as a pedestrian experience when you look around? Do the buildings, their use, and their design constitute an attractive urban environment where you feel at home? Do the plinths connect with the pedestrian flows in the urban area? What are good functions and how can plinths and

<sup>14</sup> Access at: <http://www.stipo.nl/>

<sup>15</sup> “About STIPO” STIPO, 2019. Access at: <http://www.stipo.nl/>

public space strengthen each other? The City at Eye Level programme introduced original outlooks, such as:

*“The ground floor may be only 10 per cent of the building, but it determines 90 per cent of the street experience.”*

- Karszenberg et. al, 2013

The City at Eye Level’s strategy for co-creation towards establishing economically viable, livable, and sustainable streets and places is constructed on the basis of the interaction between these three fundamental components;

- 1) Hardware: physical structures that provide the basic services required in a city such as: infrastructure, housing, and design.
- 2) Software: the people and communities that make use of the everyday city and also who programme the plinths and public space. Their activities dictate whether a space is useful or not.
- 3) Orgware: the networks and processes that underpin spaces in the city, such as: financial, decision-making and maintenance with long-term strategies in mind.

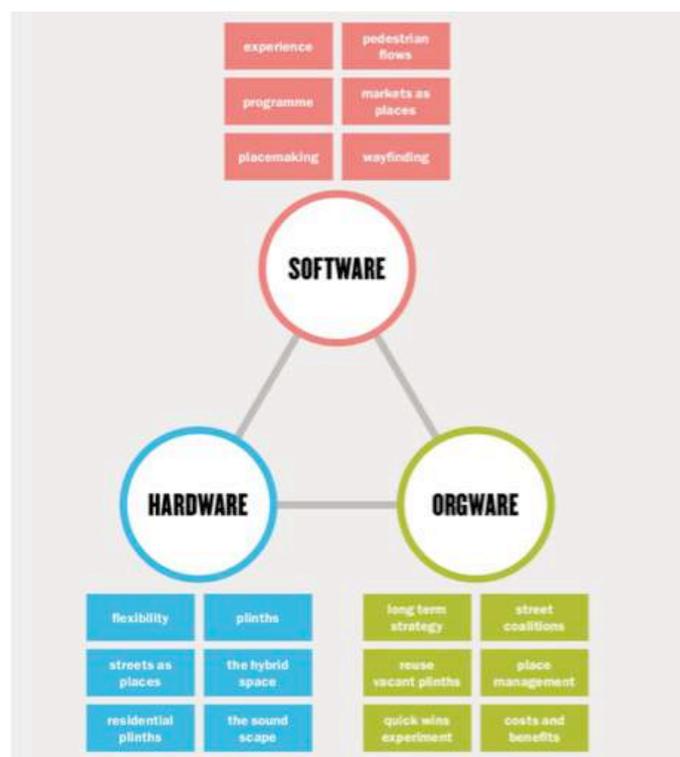


Figure 2. Depicts three components of the City at Eye Level strategy to motivate successful places and streets. Source: Karszenberg et. al, 2013.

### From Placemaking Week Amsterdam to Placemaking Europe

In 2017, PPS co-organised Placemaking Week Amsterdam with STIPO and others, the event engaged participants from 46 countries and, ultimately, was at the time, the world’s

biggest placemaking event. During Placemaking Week Amsterdam, a dedicated European session opened a platform to pointedly discuss the challenges posed by the European context. Audience members for this session included practitioners, academics, knowledge institutions, civil servants, and others.

The session concluded with numerous arguments for starting a European Placemaking Network while building on the existing City at Eye Level programme. These arguments include opportunities, such as a common belief in the relevance of good public space and the need to exchange different methods, approaches and experiences. Other arguments focused on motivations such as the variety of threats that gentrification and touristification pose in many cities throughout Europe and their effect on cities from Venice to Amsterdam and London. Arguments were made about the challenges that shrinking cities pose for Southeastern Europe; the need to ensure inclusive and safe cities for all, in combination with varying political regimes and priorities. There were also arguments stressing the need for new financial and management models for both plinths and public space.



*Figure 3. Downtown Amsterdam during Placemaking Week 2017 co-organised by PPS and STIPO.  
Source: STIPO, 2017.*

STIPO has outlined seven mechanisms that work against us to create a good public space and city at eye level

1. Cities and developers' lack of advantageous rules for protecting human scale.
2. The human scale is considered too late in the planning process.
3. Short-term profit focus.
4. Standardisation and sterile development.
5. Lack of proper management for good quality public places
6. Top-down planning leads to sterile public space and lack of feelings of ownership
7. Designs formulated according to a bird's eye view with no attention to street-level considerations.

Working together in a European placemaking network, will increase the ability to influence and improve upon practices and, hopefully, make them more visible on a European scale. Among the challenges for this network are finding methods to meet the mechanisms listed above head-on and generate effective solutions.

Born from efforts to fulfil this purpose, the then European Placemaking Network was avidly developed and launched during the Cities for All Conference in Stockholm in the spring of 2018. In spring 2019 the network's official name was changed and it is now known as Placemaking Europe.



Since the launch of Placemaking Europe in Stockholm, a two-pronged strategy has expanded the placemaking movement in Europe: 1) a group international actors, chaired and facilitated by STIPO took the lead and 2) the network diversified as exemplified by the community's projects and focuses.

A group of international actors, chaired and facilitated by STIPO, took the lead in organising and formalising the network as a not-for-profit organisation. In addition, an international board with representatives from all over Europe now manages the network. Specifically, the board is comprised of members from Greece, Hungary/Austria, Bulgaria, Spain, Sweden and the Netherlands. One of the activities of Placemaking Europe is the creation of an open-source placemaking toolbox, a process in which besides the board partners from Bulgaria, Slovakia, Sweden and the United States have been participating. The creation of this toolbox is accelerated by the PlaceCity project<sup>16</sup>; a cooperation co-financed by the Joint Programming Initiative (JPI) including partners from Austria, Norway, the Netherlands, and Belgium, together with Placemaking Europe

A group of approximately 65 Placemaking European Leaders currently help the network expand across Europe and act as liaisons, connectors, and catalysts for their country's

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<sup>16</sup>Access at: [www.placemaking-europe.eu](http://www.placemaking-europe.eu)

placemaking initiatives. Close to 2000 followers use the knowledge offered by the network, share ideas, come up with suggestions, and take the lead in activities. Placemaking Europe is connected to a worldwide network of gathered placemakers including the PlacemakingX<sup>17</sup> network, key connections which help advance and give due consideration to placemaking and the City at Eye Level worldwide. Through the robust placemaking network, Placemaking Europe links soulmates in their efforts towards making communities and the City at Eye Level stronger in Europe and beyond.

### Recent Projects that Show the Diversity of Placemaking Europe

Placemaking Europe binds initiatives on the European level to the national level. The leaders and members are mostly practitioners who run an independent practice in a local or national context. For instance, Nabolagshager<sup>18</sup> from Oslo combines working on community-driven projects in Oslo, from urban farming to revitalising a former inner city prison, with partnering with PlaceCity<sup>19</sup> a JPI funded project aimed at investigating placemaking tools in cities all over Europe with a view to build a Placemaking Europe Toolbox. Future Place Leadership took the lead and built a Nordic placemaking network, thus linking the needs of local Nordic placemakers to the European context. Wigwam<sup>20</sup>, from France, actively involves European partners to strengthen knowledge banks towards aimed at improving the waterfront in Angers, while concurrently sharing their own lessons learned during Placemaking Week Europe.



Figure 4. PlaceCity team members gather to analyse the case site in Floridsdorf, Austria, considering good public places and the City at Eye Level. Source: Placemaking Europe, 2019.

<sup>17</sup> Access at: <https://www.placemakingx.org>

<sup>18</sup> Nabolagshager is based out of Oslo and activates communities and public spaces using gardening and participatory processes as tools. Access at: <https://nabolagshager.no/>

<sup>19</sup> PlaceCity project is a Joint Programme Initiative between various European countries, working to collaboratively create better cities by gathering placemaking tools and implementing those tools in the partner's cities. Access at: <https://jpi-urbaneurope.eu/project/placecity/>

<sup>20</sup> Wigwam, based in France, works to further the "interconnection of the human with nature, the relevance of constructive choices and dialogue, by setting up a transversal vision on all of its projects." Access at: <http://wigwam-ingenierie.com/>

Placemaking Europe is growing and becoming more diverse. This is evident in the topics discussed and also in the projects that placemakers are working on within their respective countries and internationally. Included below are examples that illustrate the diverse nature of what is occurring in the network in the European context.

### **Bottom up Initiatives are Taking the Lead**

To improve local public space through placemaking techniques, bottom up initiatives are at the forefront. A recent Bulgarian example, from Todor Kesarovski<sup>21</sup>, a Placemaking Europe Leader and Tool Development Member, developed an original placemaking tool and presented this work at the *Cities for All* conference, held in *Stockholm in 2018*. At this conference, a number of workshops aimed at experimenting with gentrification, segregation and inclusion. Specifically, the *Placemaking Facilitation Game workshop*, utilised a tool to support the development of a hypothetical placemaking process and more precisely, the enhancement of community engagement and interest management. Moreover, during the Bulgarian workshop, two decks of cards - 'Persona Cards' (ten archetypes of the local community) and 'Case Cards' (types of situations encountered), were used. Based on the card draw combination, each group had to resolve multiple practical situations (opportunity, challenge, issue) by drawing connections between the personas and outlining specific engagement strategies. Subsequently each solution was presented to all participants, providing the latter with the chance for reflection.



Figure 5. *Cities for All* attendees participate and discuss solutions within the Persona and Case card game.  
Source: STIPO, 2018.

<sup>21</sup> Access at: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/todor-kesarovski-14a45333/>

## The Place Management Model

Social-cultural-economical organisations are taking the lead, developing new business models, and creating a sustainable new model - the place management model. Ten years ago, inspired by international examples like Bryant Park in New York, cultural institutions, local businesses and residents around the Schouwburgplein in Rotterdam started the association known as Vereniging Verenigd Schouwburgplein (VVS)<sup>22</sup> to programme the square. Jeroen Laven, from STIPO and the Placemaking Europe Board, is one of the board members of VVS .

Although cultural institutions around the square attract over 2.4 million visitors a year, for a long time the square between those institutions was poorly utilised and, as such, was underused. The square's material aspects, size, and a lack of interaction between programming inside and outside the cultural buildings were among the reasons why the square was not popular. After years of successfully experimenting with techniques from placemaking and the City at Eye Level, strategies applied intentionally in relation to hardware, software and orgware have made the square into a place that users and Rotterdammers are proud of. This success is certainly a credit to three of the many successful techniques applied to the square:

- The VVS hired two square coordinators who programme close to 100 activities each year—from open air yoga to cultural events—and who are available during working hours in the form of customer service representatives to receive both ideas and complaints.
- The cultural buildings around the square opened up their plinths and invited users from the square to use the buildings, and vice versa in order to bring a selection of cultural programmes outside.
- The VVS, together with the municipality, learned from successful areas all over the world and added functions to the square that were meant to seduce local parties into organising their own activities. Among those functions were Enzos that were copied from Vienna, movable chairs from Jardin du Luxembourg, an adjustable stage, and, until recently, the world's biggest artificial temporary park -The Flying Grass Carpet<sup>23</sup>. This temporary surface was such a success that the idea of it being removed lead to strong emotions from users and visitors.

The square is now open to future opportunities; for example, innovative sustainable parties want to turn the square and the buildings around it into a flagship of sustainable squares all over the world (Seven Square Endeavour Program<sup>24</sup>). In order to achieve this, the square needs a hardware improvement which would increase opportunities for additional parties around the square to become more involved.

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<sup>22</sup>Access at: <https://schouwburgpleinrotterdam.nl/>

<sup>23</sup> Access at: <https://www.flyinggrasscarpet.org/>

<sup>24</sup> Access at: <http://www.7square-endeavour.nl/>



Figure 6. Schouwburgplein in Rotterdam. Picture by Eric Fecken



Figure 7. Users recline on movable and dynamic benches in Schouwburgplein. Source: STIPO.

## Embracing Place-led Development

Traditional planning organisations, such as local governments, developers, and market parties are using placemaking to create better areas and embrace concepts like creative bureaucracy and place-led development. The waterfront and port of La Marina de Valencia<sup>25</sup> is being developed and managed by a dedicated government body. La Marina de Valencia's Strategic Plan 2016-2021<sup>26</sup> outlines a new vision for the future of the waterfront whereby both tradition and inventiveness drive the transformation of the economy, and the urban and cultural environment. With this vision in mind, the plan set two main goals: convert La Marina into the city's engine for economic development through innovation and create a sustainable, inclusive and dynamic public space.



Figure 8. Recent activity on the walkway of La Marina de Valencia. Source: La Marina de Valencia, 2019.

Placemaking is an important method. Through starting with small lighter, quicker, and cheaper actions, La Marina is investing in turning the area into a place that many people now like to visit. The actions that have led to increased use include providing space for skaters and creating an open-air music venue featuring live music every week that is partly programmed by music schools from the neighbourhood. This programming is also gradually paired with functions that make the area better and add a new quality to the city—these benefits stem from innovative startups to new leisure facilities along the coast. A pushing factor in this process is the La Marina Living Lab<sup>27</sup>. The Lab builds on the value of co-creation and the paramount importance of including different actors in the process of designing and improving the urban environment. This is why the Lab collaborated with Western Sydney University (WSU) to consolidate La Marina Living Lab—an urban laboratory, which uses systematic practices of participatory co-creation to design and reimagine inclusive and innovative public spaces. The Lab is a user-based process through which public space is adjusted to the preferences of those who work, study and play in La Marina. Furthermore, it follows a multi-stakeholder approach,

<sup>25</sup>Access at: <https://lamarinalivinglab.com/>

<sup>26</sup>Access at: <http://www.lamarinadevalencia.com/mreal/uploaded/transparencia/librillo-cast-web-B.pdf>

<sup>27</sup> Access at: <https://lamarinalivinglab.com/>

counting on the support of research organisations, public administrations, and civic associations, as well as the private sector.

### **Innovative Financial Models and Tools**

Innovative financial models and tools for placemaking at the City at Eye Level act to turn a space into a place and also consider sustainable longevity. The latter, although, is an additional challenge to ensuring that these places exert influence in the long-term.

A sustainable strategy must include management models, financial models and inspiring examples. Rozina Spinnoy<sup>28</sup>, a Leader from Placemaking Europe is the driving force behind BIDs Belgium<sup>29</sup> and is actively taking on a pivotal role in exploring how to best transform the Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) model into an Innovation Districts Model (IDS model), in order to make room for social investments districts next to existing BIDs.

As previously discussed, together with the city of Rotterdam and market parties, Schouwburgplein Rotterdam is being explored in terms of establishing models for sustainable business practices in relation to the broader management of the square, including securing permanent funding for the programming from the VVS, in place of current periodical subsidies.

In Nieuwegein, Hans Karssenbergh from STIPO, together with Emilie de Vlieger, took the lead to start Club Rhijnhuizen<sup>30</sup>. Club Rhijnhuizen is a platform for everyone who lives, works, takes initiative, owns property or develops in Rijnhuizen. We work together to distinguish Rijnhuizen and to improve the quality of the area through; collaborative events; the establishment of new facilities; encouraging employee and resident activities; engaging owner and company services; and promoting sustainability, joint area marketing, placemaking and quality of public space. The club members are working together on the themes of quality and identity to co-create the city. Rijnhuizen is an area owned by 100 stakeholders and is being developed organically, in phases. Every new development and initiative, small or large, contributes to the identity of and reinforces the area's qualities, especially if parties work together effectively. The membership model that distinguishes Club Rhijnhuizen is set to secure a healthy business standard for years to come.

### **Who Benefits from Placemaking?**

The Cities for All Conference, in Stockholm in April 2018, explored opportunities and challenges related to placemaking and inclusive cities. Specific questions focused on at this event included: *when do people feel at home in a city, when do they call it "our city"?*, and *what are suitable strategies for creating and maintaining inclusive cities?*

Although many actors display collaborative and genuine efforts to improve the public realm through activating the users themselves and connecting resources, there is still a major source of concern with placemaking in terms of its long-term impact and the durability of its inclusiveness: at the end of the day, *who benefits from placemaking?* While placemaking is conceived as a set of tools and methodologies to improve public spaces and make them more accessible and enjoyable, it is also a tool that inevitably creates monetary value through interventions and improvements. One of the key dilemmas of

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<sup>28</sup> Access at: <https://www.linkedin.com/in/rozinaspinnoy/>

<sup>29</sup> Access at: <http://bids-belgium.com/>

<sup>30</sup> Access at: <https://www.clubrhijnhuizen.nl/>

placemaking is how to ensure that the community benefits resulting from public space improvements outweigh individual profits made.

Historically, the creation of high-quality public spaces was indistinctly linked with the ambition of developers to raise property values in the neighbouring areas; some of the major parks and squares of Manhattan, including Bryant Park and Union Square<sup>31</sup>, were all created with this objective in mind, while also effectively contributing to the quality of life in their surroundings.

Public interventions and public space improvement projects are not immune to private value capture either. Barcelona's rebranding in the 1980s, corresponding with the city's hosting of the 1988 Summer Olympic Games, brought about a spectacular transformation of Barcelona's public spaces but also opened the way to the city's unstoppable touristification and inevitable housing crisis<sup>32</sup>.



Figure 9. Members of Club Rhijnhuizen meet regularly to discuss next steps for the area and share a meal.  
Source: STIPO.

Another striking example of this process is Largo Intendente in Lisbon<sup>33</sup>. Largo Intendente, the centrale square of a historical neighbourhood that was for decades infamous for drug trafficking and prostitution, has undergone a radical transformation over the past years. Identified as a priority investment zone, Intendente received millions of euros of public investment in physical infrastructure and public spaces, and significantly smaller amounts for social programmes. Largo Intendente benefited from a major facelift that turned the previously run-down area into an attractive urban living room. The local

<sup>31</sup> Access at:

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/282790022\\_Patriotism\\_and\\_Protest\\_Union\\_Square\\_as\\_Public\\_Space\\_1832--1932](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/282790022_Patriotism_and_Protest_Union_Square_as_Public_Space_1832--1932)

<sup>32</sup> Access at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/sep/02/mass-tourism-kill-city-barcelona>

<sup>33</sup> Polyak, L. (2019, April 1). Personal interview with Mota Saraiva, T.

population, however, has seen little benefit from these investments; gradually displaced by increasing housing prices and growing pressure from the tourism industry, they became victims of irresponsible placemaking, unaware of the consequences of value creation. Understandably, the multitude of stories that recount the shift from placemaking to real estate speculation, has created fear around development and improvement in many communities across Europe and beyond. In 2008, inhabitants of New York's SoHo area famously opposed the pedestrianisation of some of the neighbourhood's streets — interpreting the project as a further step towards the complete touristification of the area<sup>34</sup>.

Resistance to public space improvements occurring in many cities reveals a popular sentiment that amalgamates development with speculation, improvement with gentrification, and placemaking with displacement. Therefore, it is important to place value capture (the mechanism through which different actors capture the added value created by public space interventions from improvements) at the core of placemaking, in order to secure community benefits before individual profits.

Critical Placemaking, or the preoccupation with distributing the benefits of placemaking equally among local communities, is a key notion within the Placemaking Europe Network. Learning from the experiences of many of its members, the network has worked with a variety of development tools and financial instruments that steer placemaking towards community benefits, and away from speculative public space improvements. This approach is a crucial step towards regaining communities' confidence, and giving them back control over urban development.



Figure 10. Rambla del Raval, a Barcelona street rich in history, cafes, and shops.  
Source: Free access Google - Sant Jordi Hostels, 2017.

<sup>34</sup> Access at: <http://www.gothamgazette.com/transportation/3930-street-closures-and-the-battle-of-prince-street>

## The Challenges for the Coming Years and Focus Points at Placemaking Week Europe 2019



Moving forward, June 2019 will see hundreds of placemakers gather in Valencia on the occasion of Placemaking Week Europe<sup>35</sup>. The network is rallying to co-organise its 3rd annual conference and intends to continue this tradition every year.

With this year's participants, the conference will address five main themes within placemaking in Europe that are also highly relevant to the topics explored thus far by the Placemaking Europe network, and are predicted to be high on the placemaking agenda in the coming period.

Within each theme, participants will not only exchange knowledge, but also test new tools, start new coalitions for research or projects and importantly, discover innovative new solutions whilst also combining skill sets and broadening individual perspectives. Placemaking Week Europe is the next step in expanding this Euro-centric placemaking movement globally.

The themes of Placemaking Week Europe include: Placemaking for Innovation, Creative Bureaucracy, Open-source Sharing from Placemaking Practice, Future-proof Cities through Placemaking, and Waterfront Cities.

- **Placemaking for Innovation**

During Placemaking Week Europe, speakers, international attendees, and locals will analyse questions around innovation for the public good, including the future of work and social innovation. *What does the future landscape of innovation look like? How can this contribute to improving our cities, the public realm, and third spaces for all? How can placemaking contribute to this process, as well as provide a better connection between innovation hubs and city fabric?*

The network and this event are building on existing knowledge, for example PPS provides information on innovation hubs and placemaking, while projects promoted by the non-profit Re:Kreators network<sup>36</sup> indicate bottom-up area development strategies, and placemaking and innovation combinations. Furthermore, Improvement Districts and Business Improvement Districts are being compared and explored.

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<sup>35</sup> Access at: [www.placemakingweekeurope.com](http://www.placemakingweekeurope.com)

<sup>36</sup> Access at: <https://recreators.eu>

- **Creative Bureaucracy**

The process of placemaking breaks down disciplinary silos and transforms the way societies govern cities today. To boost the impact of placemaking, systemic change is imperative and needs to become highly prevalent. To pacify this need, creative bureaucrats and people working in the public sector with transformative abilities to change the status quo and enable innovative processes, must be respected and provided with the appropriate resources. How can local governments catch up with the progress made by placemakers and get on board as sustainable partners? What role should policy makers and civil servants play in placemaking processes?

The network also builds on existing knowledge and examples from the city-wide strategy models reputedly stemming from San Francisco, New York, and Paris, as well as place-led development models from STIPO and PPS. One of our partners for the organisation of Placemaking Week Europe is Charles Landry<sup>37</sup>, a worldwide knowledge leader in creative bureaucracy.

- **Open-source Sharing from Placemaking Practice**

The inherent value of placemaking as a process is that in each context it is closely tied to the local community's needs and specific circumstances. However, most placemakers find stability through personal tool application, in addition to mechanisms and strategies developed by peers in other contexts. *What are the common patterns of placemaking practices around the world? How can actors easily tap into the worldwide knowledge bank and still provide context-relevant practices?* Through open-source sharing, Placemaking Europe builds capacity and increases the impact of the placemaking movement.

In the coming years Placemaking Europe will work on an open-source placemaking toolbox. The creation of this toolbox is a project already started in 2017 by STIPO and partners from Placemaking Europe. The creation of the toolbox is currently being accelerated by the PlaceCity project<sup>38</sup>. In PlaceCity, the partners gather placemaking tools and experiment with these tools in Vienna and Oslo. The network calls upon placemakers to share their best practices, tools, and innovative models for place management, place-led development, and financing. Other municipalities, developers and placemakers are also invited by Placemaking Europe to test the tools in their own projects. New rituals like tool-testing days, that will be launched by Placemaking Europe during Placemaking Week Europe in Valencia, will give momentum to the testing of new tools within a widening network.

The Placemaking Europe website<sup>39</sup> will feature an open-source platform sharing these available tools. Media and research-oriented platforms like The Journal of Public Space<sup>40</sup>, the first interdisciplinary, academic, open access journal entirely dedicated to public space, can help share this knowledge and discuss the value of different approaches.

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<sup>37</sup> Access at: <https://charleslandry.com/themes/creative-bureaucracy/>

<sup>38</sup> Access at: <http://www.placemaking-europe.eu/tools/>

<sup>39</sup> Access at: <http://www.placemaking-europe.eu>

<sup>40</sup> The Journal of Public Space was established in 2015 by the non profit organization City Space Architecture, based in Italy, in partnership with UN-Habitat. Access at: <http://www.journalpublicspace.org>

- **Future-proof Cities through Placemaking**

In order to connect the impact of placemaking to the importance of improving our cities for future generations, Placemaking Week Europe concentrates on two important urban challenges in particular: climate change and inclusion. By sharing practices, lessons and critical discussions Placemaking Europe demonstrates and explores how placemaking aims at producing shared benefits and public impact. Placemaking has a vital role to play in creating more inclusive cities for all, while lowering our carbon footprint and mitigating climate impact. *How can placemaking contribute to the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goal 11: by making cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable?*



Figure 11. Future-proof cities through placemaking - a focused theme at Placemaking Week Europe 2019. Renee Roojijmans, Husain Al Afoo, and Giulia Gualtieri work to green public space in ZOHO neighbourhood, Rotterdam. Source: STIPO.

Placemaking Week Europe will mark the launch of *The City at Eye Level for Kids*, a book and methodological framework for child-friendly cities, in addition to a second book entitled *Our City?*, the lessons contained in these books and other sources can be used by placemakers around the world. The tools to effect changes will be included in the Placemaking Europe toolbox: a collection of best practices and insights into inclusive city-making from Europe and beyond.



Figure 12 & 13. Published through STIPO, *The City at Eye Level for Kids* (designed by STIPO), and *Our City?* (designed by Studio Punkt ) will be released in 2019. Source: STIPO.

- **Waterfront Transformations**

Today, many cities are witnessing waterfront transformations which are being repurposed from their initial industrial uses as places for people; in Valencia, Fred Kent from PPS, will present an exhibition of *The Social Life of Great Waterfronts* to “show the key tools for the city’s economic development and the creation of sustainable, inclusive and interactive public spaces, as well as to analyse and make visible different successful case studies along great waterfronts of the world.”<sup>41</sup> The photo series capture scenes from Riga to Thessaloniki, Oslo to Angers, and Valencia to Amsterdam and speaks to how many cities use placemaking to improve their waterfronts.



Figure 14. Waterfront cities - a focused theme at Placemaking Week Europe 2019. Passerbys stroll and enjoy the marina waterfront in Valencia. Source: La Marina de Valencia.

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<sup>41</sup> Kent, F. & Madden, K. (2019). *The Social Life of Great Waterfronts* [Display]. Exhibited at La Marina de Valencia, Valencia, Spain June 2019.

# placemaking week europe

Placemaking Week is an important opportunity not only to discuss and analyse content, but also to determine and execute the next steps together. Moreover, the board, leaders and the overall network will continue developing the five themes highlighted in Valencia in addition to the topics the community has focused on thus far. In September, the network leaders will meet in Rotterdam to take the themes to the next level and explore context-specific needs for respective countries. This is an opportunistic moment to collaborate across disciplines, borders, and experiences that is now taking hold and offering real solutions. It is our shared responsibility to connect and learn from one another as part of a commitment towards creating better and more representative public spaces for all. Hereby, the network is open to placemakers asking for help, offering help, and/or sharing and discussing best practices and information. The power and success of this network lies in its inclusive character. The network is open-minded and is interested in including other members and establishing collaborative projects with other institutions, in Europe and beyond. Therefore, Placemaking Europe invites everyone to join, team-up, and spread the placemaking movement.

Through the website, placemaking toolbox, activities, events, and flow of knowledge within the network, Placemaking Europe is determined to create better and lasting cities. Placemaking is revolutionising the system in terms of how we work on cities globally, across disciplines and bureaucratic processes. Placemaking is here to stay as an effective and inspiring way to empower people, communities, and organisations to influence and improve the places and areas where they live, work, and play.

For more information about Placemaking Europe visit:  
[www.placemaking-europe.eu](http://www.placemaking-europe.eu)

Thank you for reading!

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