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PUBLICNESS OF PUBLIC SPACE IN THE CONTEMPORARY CITY

Insights from Helsinki, Finland

Žieda Tamašauskaitė

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SARJA – SER. B OSA – TOM. 657 | HUMANIORA | TURKU 2024

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University of Turku

Faculty of Humanities
School of History, Culture and Art Studies
Landscape Studies
Doctoral Programme in History, Culture and Art Studies (Juno)

Supervised by

Professor, Maunu Häyrynen
University of Turku

Associate Professor, Mina Di Marino
Norwegian University of Life Sciences

Reviewed by

Adjunct Professor/Docent, Helena Lonkila
University of Jyväskylä

University Lecturer, Antti Wallin
Tampere University

Opponent

University Lecturer, Antti Wallin
Tampere University

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation studies the publicness of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, which are three publicly usable spaces located adjacent to one another in the Kamppi area of Helsinki, Finland. The research is conducted in the light of the idea that the publicness of an urban space is primarily grounded in the possibilities for and the actual practices of public use, which is defined by activities, users and control over use. Therefore, in the contemporary city, different kinds of publicly usable spaces shall be considered as public spaces. Drawing on the three cases from the Kamppi area as real-life examples and physical manifestations of the phenomenon of publicness, the study aims to develop a deeper understanding of the publicness of public space and to identify what it implies and how it is practiced and (re)produced in different public spaces of the contemporary city.

The study is designed as a multiple-case study that combines exploratory and instrumental purposes. The overall approach to the scientific inquiry is qualitative, although some elements of a quantitative approach are also incorporated. Three methods were used to gather empirical data: spatial observation, non-participant observation and semi-structured interview. The fieldwork rendered a mass of empirical data, which appeared in the form of text data in field notes and spatial observation forms, text and numeric data in non-participant observation forms, digital photos and interview recordings. Each set of data was processed and analysed separately before all the different sets of data about each of the three spaces studied were put together and examined independently and by making comparisons across the cases.

The multiple-case study showed that despite Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre being highly different in their physical characteristics and matters concerning their ownership and management, the use of the spaces suits well for comparison. Not only were the three spaces found to be used by the same groups of users, but the principal activities undertaken in the spaces,

namely passing through, passive being among other people and sheltering, were identified to be the same. Narinkka Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, when they are used for special events or when something unexpected happens, showed a tendency to develop an intricate mixture of activities that resembles an ecosystem because of how each activity within the wide range of activities sustains and attracts other activities, splits up into other activities and encourages new activities to develop. In addition, the three spaces were identified to be highly intertwined functionally and somewhat depend upon each other for users and activities. As regards control over the use of the spaces, design solutions and availability of facilities seem to be the only more effective means of control, for other than that, control over use tends to be reduced to social control and mutual respect among the different user groups.

The study concludes that the publicness of public space (which in the contemporary city is suggested to be made up of various publicly usable spaces) is primarily activity-based, whereby different public spaces are likely to vary in their publicness as much as they vary in the activities that their users carry out. In addition, the publicness of each one public space may vary with variations in its own use and the use of adjacent public spaces, implying that the dynamics of publicness is situational and the publicness of geographically close and functionally intertwined public spaces can be complementary. While no one activity is particularly critical to defining or (re)producing publicness, how different activities intermix and what kind of a system of activities they create matter more. Each different set of activities can be seen to imply and (re)produce publicness of a different kind or quality, which does not necessarily involve differences in the degree (or amount) of publicness. This study, thus, demonstrates that different public spaces can not only be of comparable publicness, but their publicness can be interrelated and even interdependent. Therefore, it is argued that each public space is of a unique publicness and has a special contribution to make to the publicness of public space in the contemporary city.

KEYWORDS: publicness, public space, public square, shopping mall, publicly usable space, use of public space, activities in public space, public space users, control over use

TURUN YLIOPISTO
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TIIVISTELMÄ

Väitöskirjassani tutkin Helsingin Narinkkatorin, Tennispalatsinaukion ja Kauppakeskus Kamppi Helsingin julkisuutta kolmena toisiinsa liittyvänä ja julkisessa käytössä olevina tiloina Kampin kaupunginosassa. Tutkimukseni lähtökohtana on, että kaupunkitilan julkisuus perustuu pääasiassa mahdollisiin ja todellisiin käytänteisiin, jotka määrittyvät toimintojen, käyttäjien ja käyttöjen valvonnan kautta. Tämän vuoksi nykykaupungissa erilaisia julkisesti käytettävissä olevia tiloja käsitellään työssä julkisina tiloina. Tutkimus tähtää julkisen tilan julkisuuden syvempään ymmärrykseen ja sen tunnistamiseen, miten tätä tulkitaan ja uusinnetaan nykykaupungissa, kolmen Kampissa sijaitsevan tapaustutkimuksen avulla.

Tutkimukseni on kartoittava ja välineellinen monitapaustutkimus, jossa tutkimustieto ja käytäntö yhdistyvät. Lähestymistapa on laadullinen, vaikka siihen sisältyy myös määrällisen lähestymistavan elementtejä. Empiirisen tiedon keräämiseen olen käyttänyt kolmea menetelmää: tilahavainnointia, ei-osallistuvaa havainnointia ja puolistrukturoituja haastatteluja. Kenttätyöt tuottivat runsaasti empiiristä tietoa valokuvina, kenttämuistiinpanoina, tilahavaintolomakkeina, numeerisina tietoina ei-osallistuvien havaintolomakkeissa sekä haastattelunauhoituksina. Käsittelin ja analysoin jokaisen kerätyn tutkimusaineiston erikseen. Sen jälkeen yhdistin kolmen tutkitun tilan erilaiset tutkimusaineistot ja tarkastelin niitä itsenäisesti sekä tein vertailuja tutkimuskohteiden välillä.

Monitapaustutkimus osoittaa, että tilojen käyttöä voi hyvin vertailla, vaikka Narinkkatori, Tennispalatsinaukio ja Kauppakeskus Kamppi eroavat toisistaan fyysisiltä ominaisuuksiltaan, omistuspohjaltaan ja hallinnoltaan. Tutkimuksessani havaitsin samojen ryhmien käyttävän kaikkia kolmea tilaa. Myös tilojen päätoiminnot kuten läpikulku, passiivinen oleilu muiden ihmisten joukossa ja säältä suojaan hakeutuminen olivat samoja. Kun Narinkkatoria ja Kauppakeskus Kamppia käytettiin erityistapahtumiin tai kun tapahtui jotain odottamatonta, havaitsin

toimintojen sekoittuvan niissä monimuotoisesti ekosysteemiä muistuttaen. Jokainen toiminto ylläpitää ja houkuttelee muita toimintoja, jotka jakautuvat edelleen osatoimintoihin ja tuottavat kokonaan uusia toimintoja. Lisäksi havaitsin, että nämä kolme tilaa olivat toiminnallisesti voimakkaasti kietoutuneita toisiinsa niin, että niiden käyttäjäprofiilit ja toiminnot olivat toisistaan riippuvaisia. Tehokkaimpina valvonnan keinoina näyttävät olleen tilojen käytön suunnitteluratkaisut ja yksittäisten tilaelementtien käytettävyys. Muuten sosiaalinen kontrolli ja käyttäjäryhmien keskinäinen toleranssi näyttävät nousevan tärkeään rooliin valvonnan kannalta.

Tutkimuksessani tulen siihen päätelmään, että julkisen tilan julkisuus on pääasiassa toimintapohjaista. Julkisten tilojen julkisuus vaihtelee samalla tavalla kuin käyttäjien toiminnot. Yksittäisen julkisen tilan julkisuus voi vaihdella sen oman käytön sekä viereisten julkisten tilojen käytön muutosten myötä. Tämä viittaa siihen, että julkisuuden dynamiikka on tilannesidonnaista ja toisiaan lähellä olevien julkisten tilojen julkisuus voi olla täydentävää. Yksikään toiminta ei ole erityisen ratkaiseva julkisuuden määrittelyssä tai tuottamisessa. Tärkeämpää on se, että jokainen erilainen toiminta voi tarkoittaa ja tuottaa uudelleen erityyppistä tai laadullista julkisuutta, joka ei kuitenkaan liity julkisuuden aste-eroihin. Tutkimukseni osoittaa, että erilaisten julkisten tilojen julkisuutta voi vertailla keskenään ja niiden julkisuus voi olla kytköksissä toisiinsa ja riippua toisistaan. Siksi väitänkin, että jokainen julkinen tila on ainutlaatuinen julkisuudessaan ja sillä on oma erityismerkityksensä nykykaupungin julkisen tilan julkisuudelle.

AVAINSANAT: julkisuus, julkinen tila, aukio, ostoskeskus, julkisesti käytettävä tila, julkisen tilan käyttö, toiminnot julkisessa tilassa, julkisen tilan käyttäjät, käytön valvonta

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January 2024
Žieda Tamašauskaitė

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1 Introduction

This dissertation aims to demonstrate that in the contemporary city, public space appears in a variety of manifestations, which albeit different in many of their characteristics, are comparable and shall all be treated as public because they are open for public use, and they are used as public spaces. I argue that the publicness of public space in general and any public space in particular is grounded in the possibilities for and the actual practices of using it as public space and any means that are used to affect its possible and actual use. Studying the use of three different spaces open for public use in the Kamppi area of Helsinki, Finland, I demonstrate that a traditional public square, a privately-owned public square and a shopping mall may differ in their publicness inasmuch as they differ in use, yet they are all public spaces and have their contribution to make to the public space of the contemporary city. In addition, this study reveals that the publicness of public space varies not only from space to space, but also within each space, and this variation in publicness is primarily a variation in kind rather than in degree. Overriding the widespread notion of the publicness of public space, this dissertation paves the way towards a better understanding of the phenomenon of publicness in the contemporary city and the various factors that produce and reproduce public space and its publicness.

Varying publicness of public space

The publicness of space has been a contested issue for as long as there have been attempts made at studying and understanding public space and distinguishing public and private spaces. What is and what is not considered as public in relation to urban space has varied across time and academic disciplines. With privatisation, securitisation, retailisation, thematisation and many other recent changes that urban space (including public space) has been exposed to, the concept of publicness has become even more ambiguous. This is so because affecting the production, form and function of urban space, the recent changes have altered the traditional notions of public space and private space. While using public space for such purposes as political activities, trading and self-display has declined, staging and taking part in cultural events, being among others in a passive way and sheltering have emerged as important activities, making public space more diverse with a wider range of

activities and more varied groups of users than in the past. Under these conditions, the concept of publicness has changed as well.

Traditionally, the publicness of public space is seen to encompass the dimensions of ownership, control and use. A common way to define publicness involves associating it with the public nature of ownership, which leads to unrestricted use of and access to public space (e.g., Mitchell, 2003; Kohn, 2014). Some other scholars stress accessibility to all users and activities as the defining feature of public space (e.g., Madanipour, 2004; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009). Even so, in the public space literature, there is a tendency to recognise the public nature of ownership as decisive in ensuring unconditional use of public space.

Associating publicness with public ownership is, however, essentially problematic, as the contemporary city comprises a wide variety of spaces that are open and accessible for public use even if they are owned by private bodies. Unlike the cities of the previous epochs, where public space was limited to no more than the marketplace, the town square and the park, the contemporary city renders a myriad of spaces that can be considered as public spaces: those that have been inherited from the forefathers more or less unchanged, those that have come into being more recently, those that used to be (but no longer are) public and those that were not public, but that have come to serve as public and have been received as such. As Edward Robbins (2008) notes, "Public spaces take many guises, some of which although relatively open to everyday use and interaction are from a legal perspective private and some of which although exclusive and restricted are from a legal standpoint public" (p. 141). Given such a large inventory of public space, which is sometimes suggested to better be definable and conceivable as a network of spaces (e.g., Carmona, Heath, Oc & Tiesdell, 2003; Jankovič Grobelšek, 2012), in this study, publicness shall not be treated as an either-or issue. From my perspective, just like spaces vary in their use, publicness varies with use and from one public space to another. Therefore, any publicly usable space can, in fact, be considered as public space.

Numerous attempts have already been made to study, describe and evaluate the publicness of more and less traditional types of public space. Said to be acclaimed as the prime example of public space in the contemporary city (Zukin, 1995; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006), the shopping mall has tended to attract more scholarly attention than any other contemporary version of public space. Yet, in most of the studies, the shopping mall has been charged with offering the publicness that is either lower in degree, somewhat distorted or even unreal. In particular, the shopping mall has been criticised for being profit- rather than public-oriented (Korngold, 2017), controlling or restricting access and use (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006; Voyce, 2006) and focusing on corporate image and consumption (Lawton, 2007). Although the validity of the findings about individual shopping malls can hardly be denied, they do not allow

generalising about the publicness of the shopping mall as public space for at least two reasons: first, those are findings from single case studies and second, the studies centre around the possible use of the shopping mall and remain silent about the actual practices of use. A few case studies have showed that how the shopping mall is actually used does not necessarily correlate with its intended use, which can have a significant effect on the publicness of the space (e.g., Tyndall, 2010; Miller, 2014). Thereby, to understand the publicness of the shopping mall, it is important to study the use that the space of the mall is intended for and the actual practices of using the space.

The same holds true for the publicness of more traditional public spaces, such as the public square, which varies from space to space due to differences in the use of the spaces in the contemporary city. Variations in publicness is also largely attributable to the numerous changes that the city has experienced over the past few decades and that have severely affected the production, form and, most importantly, function of public space in general. In scientific debate, changes in various public spaces, including privatisation, securitisation and retailisation among others, have been associated with the exclusion of groups of people and activities seen as undesirable (e.g., Davis, 1992; Mitchell, 2003), with various regulations placed over activities or events (Clough & Vanderbeck, 2006) and with restrictions on public or political expression (Korngold, 2017). In addition to this, public spaces have been found to offer eliminated possibilities for spontaneous interactions or conflict (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009), to place accessibility barriers to certain groups by design (Pineda, 2022) and to give priority to retail or commercial activities (Kärrholm, 2012). At the same time, dramatic changes have been found to have had a positive effect on the use and vitality of urban space (Carr, Francis, Rivlin & Stone, 1995; Lowe, 2005), and public spaces have been seen as having become more inclusive (Listerborn, 2005). The ways of approaching the results of changes, thus, varies significantly, making the publicness of public space in the contemporary city an even more complex concept and a highly contested issue.

Regardless of the perspective taken, there is a general agreement that all of the transformations have had a significant effect on public space and its publicness and have left a myriad of public space variants. As a matter of fact, I argue that the publicness of public space in the contemporary city can hardly be associated with ownership and intended function or attributed to the type the particular public space represents. Therefore, it is highly important to reconsider the concept of publicness and to scrutinise its manifestations (i.e., various publicly usable spaces) in the city of today.

Conceptual framework: publicness as a three-dimensional phenomenon

My approach to the publicness of the public space in the contemporary city primarily rests upon Henry Lefebvre's (1991) ideas regarding the production of social space and Adam Tyndall's (2010) proposition that "publicness is a dynamic practice" (p. 134). To understand what publicness implies, I start by framing the concept of public space, since it is where publicness gets its bodily form and becomes possible to approach. For the purpose of this dissertation, public space is defined as any urban space that is open and used for a wide range of activities, accessible to all groups making up the public, used in practice by many different groups of users and mediating any disputes over use in democratic ways. This peculiar kind of use, which shall be referred to here as public use, is what delineates and produces urban space as public space. As a matter of fact, I see public use as the defining feature of public space and the marker of its publicness, and I propose that understanding publicness requires understanding the use of public space.

Figure 1. Publicness of public space

Approaching the publicness of public space through its use, I intend to argue that publicness is not merely a characteristic built in an urban space during the process of its production. Instead, it is a phenomenon that is at once already present and ever evolving, ever (re)produced. According to my understanding of the publicness of public space, it is the extent to which public space: (1) yields equally well to all groups of users for various activities, (2) is used in practice in different ways and by different groups of users, and (3) can be (re)produced through the use of public space chosen by its users. Publicness is thus a three-dimensional phenomenon, comprising *activities*, *users* and *control over use* as its three dimensions. I have singled out and

defined the dimensions with reference to the concepts of public space and its publicness (e.g., Madanipour, 2004; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009; Tyndall, 2010) that recognise use as an important marker of publicness and, in one or another way, treat accessibility to activities and equal rights granted to all user groups as a defining characteristic of public space. Figure 1 shows a graphic representation of my concept of publicness.

As for the value of each of the three dimensions mentioned above, it is measured through a set of elements which are evaluated qualitatively and do not have numeric values (cf. Németh & Schmidt, 2011). In addition to their individual values, the dialectical relationship between the elements with each dimension and between the three dimensions themselves are taken well into consideration. Therefore, I do not consider the publicness of public space to be the sum of the values of the three dimensions, and instead see the need to evaluate it individually in each case and by comparing different cases. Finally, it shall be pointed out that this three-dimensional concept of publicness provides me with the basis for exploring, comparing and describing - or building the understanding of - the publicness of public space in the contemporary city.

One of the biggest values of my approach to public space in general and its publicness in particular lies in that it makes it possible to recognise the role of public space users and their activities, both of which quite some studies have proven to be decisive (e.g., Tyndall, 2010; Miller, 2014; Chiodelli & Moroni, 2015; also Tamasauskaite, 2020) in the process of producing urban space as public space. Another value of the approach that I take is that various spaces that the contemporary city makes available for public use, and that citizens use for activities of their choice, can be treated as different manifestations of public space and as a part of the city's inventory of public space. This is especially important due to the fact that even if they are charged with making pretence to being public spaces (e.g., Goss, 1993; Mitchell, 2003), the shopping mall and many other spaces open for public use are highly attractive to the contemporary public. Although this does not suggest that any space is destined to become public through its use as public space, it does imply that publicness is as much embedded in public space as are possibilities for public use, and that publicness is acquired by public space through its actual use as public space.

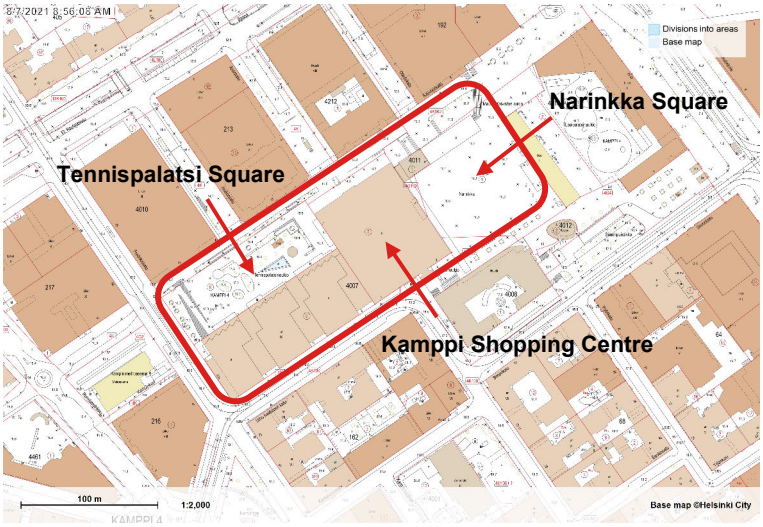
Research aim and questions

The aim of this research is to build an understanding of what the publicness of public space implies and of how it is practiced and (re)produced in different public spaces of the contemporary city. This aim is accomplished by studying three publicly usable spaces that differ in their physical characteristics (either outdoor or indoor) and legal ownership (either publicly or privately owned), but are located adjacent to one

another in the Kamppi area of Helsinki, Finland, and are highly interrelated functionally. The spaces selected for scrutiny include the open and publicly-owned Narinkka Square, the open and privately-owned Tennispalatsi Square and the privately-owned Kamppi Shopping Centre housed in a multipurpose building. Treating the three spaces as cases and instruments for exploring the publicness of different types of public space, I ask the following questions:

1. Which activities define and (re)produce each space as public space, and how is that done?
2. Who are the groups of users engaged in those activities, and how do they contribute to defining and (re)producing each space as public space?
3. What forces affect those activities and the user groups undertaking them, and what are the effects on the use of each space?

Each research question aims to explore one of the three dimensions of publicness, namely activities, users and control over use, all of which are components of the concept of publicness as it is developed for and adopted in this dissertation. Thereby, I expect that the answers to the questions will allow me to disclose the fundamentals that delineate publicness and define certain urban spaces namely as public spaces, and to trace the conditions for and practices of use that (re)produce publicness. My intention is to demonstrate that the publicness of different public spaces varies with variations in their use (both possible and actual).



Note. *Kamppi area* [map] by The City of Helsinki Map Service, 2021, (https://kartta.hel.fi/) Copyright 2021 by City of Helsinki. Adapted with permission.

Figure 2. Map of the Kamppi area showing the location of the three spaces studied as cases

The cases: three spaces within the Kamppi area

The publicness of public space in the contemporary city is approached by studying Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre. All the spaces are located in the Kamppi area (see Figure 2), one of the centremost areas of Helsinki, Finland. Adjoining one another and creating a sequence of public space, the three spaces are closely interrelated not only geographically, but also historically. Despite some recently completed changes and on-going improvements, their basic form, structure and function result from the same Kamppi area redevelopment project, which was carried out at the beginning of the twenty-first century radically changing the area that had been used for a few decades previously as a bus station (see e.g., Norri, Leiman & Kärkäinen, 2001; Kervanto Nevanlinna, 2012). Even so, the three spaces studied exhibit significant differences.

Narinkka Square is an open space that can best be described as a public square or plaza (see Figure 3). Owned and managed by the city of Helsinki, the square covers 2916 square meters of land (Helsingin kaupunki, 2019), most of which is almost empty from any street furniture, vegetation or other objects, making the space easily adaptable for various activities. Apart from some minor changes, such as the addition of a few benches and the development of parking spaces for city bikes in 2020, the square has remained nearly unchanged since it was developed in 2005.

Figure 3. Narinkka Square (looking northwest)

Next to the square, there stands Kamppi Shopping Centre (see Figure 4), a privately-owned multi-purpose development that houses, under one roof, retail stores, commercial services, bus terminals, offices and residential spaces. Looking to the shopping mall from Narinkka Square, it appears that the square serves as the front

yard of the building. Despite the fact that the shopping mall is located indoors, it is easily accessible and can be entered from all the streets and other open spaces surrounding it. After Kamppi Shopping Centre opened its doors to customers in 2005, it has witnessed quite some changes and improvements. Some of the most recent developments include the change of the logo, the complete redevelopment of the fourth floor and the closure and dismantling of the information desk on the first floor, all completed after I had collected the data for the purpose of this research.

Figure 4. Kamppi Shopping Centre (looking from Narinkka Square southwards)

On the North, Kamppi Shopping Centre opens onto Tennispalatsi Square (see Figure 5), an outdoor space which belongs to the same private owner as the shopping mall. Serving as the backyard of the shopping mall, the square welcomes everyone to come and use it at any time of the day. In fact, Tennispalatsi Square has plenty to offer for its users: vegetation, a wide variety of street furniture, the sound and view of a fountain and restaurant terraces. Designed as it is, the square appears to be very different from its neighbouring Narinkka Square, even though both squares are comparable in size. Unlike the other two spaces in the Kamppi area, Tennispalatsi Square changes every season. During the cold season, when its restaurants close their terraces for the winter, the square has much less free-standing objects and much more open space, and during each warm season, the vegetation and all the restaurant terraces look somewhat changed.

Significantly different in many of their physical characteristics, intended use, matters of ownership and management practices, yet developed at the same time and as a part of one redevelopment project, Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre are tightly connected. Not only are they located adjacent to one another, but they complement, support and even serve each other when it

comes to their public function. As a matter of fact, the three spaces can be considered as offering particularly favourable conditions for exploring and building an understanding of the publicness of different publicly usable spaces that make up the public space of the contemporary city. Given the fact that each of the three spaces within the Kamppi area are publicly usable, in this dissertation, each one is considered as a public space.

Figure 5. Tennispalatsi Square (looking from Fredrikinkatu Street northwards)

The context that the three spaces are in also makes them worthwhile for study. Having greatly increased their urban populations and industries after World War II, in the 1970s, Finnish cities started witnessing absolute deindustrialisation, which was followed by commercial restructuring (Andersson, 2001). The private sector has played a major role in urban renewal processes whereby the urban space of many cities has been restructured pursuing private interests and building shopping malls and other megastructures (Andersson, 2001). As the capital and the largest city of Finland, Helsinki, alongside its region, has been one of the fastest growing areas in its home country (Official Statistics of Finland, 2017), it has probably experienced the changes at their most intense and on the largest scale.

When plans for the redevelopment of the Kamppi area were being made, the City of Helsinki stressed the importance of integrating different functions, and the master plan set out to create a multi-purpose area (Kervanto Nevanliina, 2012). This goal seemed to have been satisfied at the very beginning of the 21st century with the development of Kamppi Shopping Centre, a multi-functional building that houses not only a shopping centre, but also public bus terminals, other services, offices and residential apartments, and the outdoor squares around the building. Yet, the contentment with the achievement did not last for long: in 2018, the Lasipalatsi

building located in the near vicinity of Narinkka Square was redeveloped into Amos Rex Art Museum, and more changes are soon to come to the eastern corner of Kamppi Shopping Centre and Tennispalatsi Square. Scheduled to be implemented in four years times, the changes will include the development of Kamppi Health and Well-being Centre - a new multi-storey and multi-purpose building, which will house not only health-care services, but also commercial premises, and modify the streetscape in the Kamppi area (YIT Corporation, 2022). The completed and ongoing redevelopment projects clearly show that the City of Helsinki continues focusing on functionality: in its City Strategy 2017-2021 (City of Helsinki, n.d.), Helsinki declared its intention to be the most functional city in the world and to dedicate a lot of attention to constantly improving everyday life for its residents and creating a pleasant and stimulating urban environment for everyone who happens to be in the city. Such an urban context adds further arguments for studying the phenomenon of publicness in the contemporary city through the intended and actual use of publicly usable spaces in the city of Helsinki.

As regards the other reasons behind the choice of the cases from Helsinki, Finland, one is the scarce availability of English-language studies on public spaces from places other than those of warm climate and English-speaking countries. Unlike public spaces in North America or the south and west of Europe, public spaces in the north of Europe remain relatively understudied even if the context, including social, political, economic and climatic, makes them worth scholarly attention. Yet other motives have been my personal interest in architecture, urban planning and urbanisation in Finland and the Nordic countries and my affiliation with a Finnish university. Appreciating my opportunity to study in Finland, I intended to do something valuable for the country that helped me grow as a scientist.

Research design

This research has been designed as a multiple-case study that combines exploratory and instrumental purposes and adopts a primarily qualitative approach. The intention has been to offer an in-depth analysis and investigation of the phenomenon of publicness in all of its complexity in a holistic manner. Since it focuses on the phenomenon in its completeness with special regard to the context (Stake, 1995; Thomas, 2016; Yin, 2003), the case study, or its variant known as the multiple-case study, has been found to work best when scrutinising the publicness as it is attestable in three different spaces, namely Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, within the Kamppi area. It is noteworthy, that my study involved not only analyses of each space selected as a case, but also across all three cases. Yet, cross-case comparisons, which the multiple-case study affords opportunity for,

were made to build an understanding of the phenomenon of publicness rather than a purpose in themselves.

Multiple sources have been exploited to collect empirical data and answer the three research questions framed. Having in mind that "no single source has a complete advantage over all the others" (Yin, 2003, p. 85), I employed three methods of data collection. The method of spatial observation, which implies scrutinising physical characteristics of a space of interest and various objects located in that space, was adopted to collect data about the possibilities opened in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre for different user groups to use the spaces and for different activities to be carried out. To obtain data about the activities that are actually undertaken in each of the three spaces and the user groups engaged in the various activities, the method of non-participant observation was utilised. Taking the role of a non-participant observer, I systematically watched over what different groups of users do in each space. Finally, the semi-structured interview with experts, those having professional knowledge about and/or duties and responsibilities towards one or some of the spaces, was used as a method to collect such evidence that could supplement the data obtained through non-communicative means and that could assist me in resolving any uncertainties surrounding those sets of data that had already been collected.

The three spaces within the Kamppi area were studied in parallel with one another, although empirical evidence from different sources was collected in sequence. To specify, first I studied the form and structure of the spaces, then I collected observational data about how the spaces are used, and finally I talked to the informants about the development, management and use of the spaces of interest. Working this way, I could not only use the data gathered in the earlier stages of data collection to inform me in the successive stages, but I could also ensure that the data about the three different spaces that I aimed to study, as public spaces and cases, were of a comparable kind and amount. Yet, this required combining (or shifting between) data collection and data analysis.

The analysis of the data collected was both concept-driven and data-driven. Taking a public space as a unit of analysis, I analysed different sets of empirical data about the use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre separately and then compared the findings about each space with the findings about the other two spaces. Next, I discussed the findings from the data within the conceptual framework primarily grounded in the notions that space is a product that the society produces for itself and its own use and reproduces through that use (Lefebvre, 1991), and that publicness is a social practice that is not only dynamic, but also always under-construction in different urban spaces (Tyndall, 2010). The results of the analysis are presented following the strategy of point-by-point comparison. This means that the findings about various aspects of the use of each

space studied are discussed by comparing them with the corresponding aspects of the use of the other two spaces.

Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation comprises six chapters, most of which are further subdivided into sub-chapters or sections, a list of references and six appendices. The first chapter is this chapter named Introduction. It is aimed at presenting the key points about this dissertation and introducing the reader to the following chapters. Chapter 2, Literature review and conceptual framework, offers a concise review of a bunch of prominent publications that discuss the publicness of public space and are available in the English language. In addition to introducing different notions of public space and its publicness, the debate surrounding recent changes in the publicness of public space is overviewed and the discussions on the shopping mall as a contemporary alternative to traditional types of public space is presented. An attempt is made to problematise the critique directed towards the recent developments and saturating much of scholarly literature on public space, thereby pointing to the need of a new approach to understand the publicness of public space in the contemporary city. In the chapter, I also introduce my approach, which I developed for the purpose of this dissertation and used to address the research problem. In the following chapter, Chapter 3, Research methodology, the reader can find a detailed account of the methods and techniques applied to collect and analyse empirical data about the three spaces studied. Ethical issues that were addressed when conducting this research are also overviewed in this chapter. Chapter 4 is aimed at presenting and discussing research results. The findings about the publicness of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre are presented and compared point by point. Each different sub-chapter within this chapter comprises an analysis of one of the three dimensions of publicness as found manifested in the three spaces within the Kamppi area. Chapter 5, Discussion, is dedicated to discussing the main implications of my research results, explaining how they relate to and compare with what is already known and how they contribute to filling in the gaps in the scientific knowledge about the publicness of public space. A summary of the main points and concluding remarks are offered in Chapter 6, Conclusions. This last chapter is followed by a list of references, and a handful of supplementary material are added as five appendices at the end of the dissertation.

2 Literature review and conceptual framework

2.1 Five concepts of publicness grounded in the use of public space

In the public space literature, as well as in everyday discourse, public space has often been distinguished from other spaces in the city by pointing out to its public use, which is sometimes referred to as public function. Even so, what "public use" or "public function" implies has been regarded in quite distinctive ways. This chapter looks at five selected concepts of the publicness of public space, highlighting their similarities and differences in relation to how they incorporate use.

The first concept of publicness is grounded in the notion that the publicness of public space is equivalent to its accessibility. Ali Madanipour (2004), a professor of urban design, argues that accessibility to public space is its defining feature, since it implies possibilities to enter and use space unrestrictedly:

> The essential quality of public space is its accessibility: the more open and unconditional the access, the more public it becomes. This openness should include physical as well as social accessibility: access to the place and to the activities within it; without free and open access, a public space is not quite public (Madanipour, 2004, p. 282).

Framing the concept of public space, Madanipour (1996) also turns to the contrast between public and private spaces and recognises public ownership as a characteristic of public space. Accessibility to different groups of people, the absence of private control and a variety of functions are all acknowledged as characteristic to public space, while private agency control and the lack of possibility for different people and groups of people to access the space are said to characterise private space (Madanipour, 1996). The concept of public space, thus, appears to be grounded in the notion that it is an antithesis of private space. This line of thinking is traceable in many academic disciplines, including urban planning and design, anthropology, human geography, sociology and political science. Setha Low and Neil Smith (2006), for instance, notice that nowadays what public space means is closely tied

with the meaning of private space, and to understand the former it is necessary to make a contrast between the two. Yet, in his book entitled *The Public and Private Spaces of the City*, Madanipour (2003) suggests that "public and private spaces are a continuum" (p. 239). What this implies is that publicness, as well as privateness, is a dimension measurable in degree rather than an either-or issue, and that it is defined by possibilities for entering and using public space. From this it follows that being (or becoming) more and less accessible to people and activities, a public space can be (or become) more and less public. The exact criteria for measuring the degree remain unspecified, though. Besides, as the focus falls on possibilities for use, it is not clear whether the degree of publicness is anyhow dependent on the activities carried out (or on how much the possibilities opened up are used by the public).

On the one hand, the second concept of publicness, which is formulated by Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Renia Ehrenfeucht (2009), compares very well with the one introduced by Madanipour (2004). To specify, looking at public space from the perspective of its users and seeing public spaces to be different in terms of their access, use, design, etc., Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht (2009) suggest evaluating the publicness of public spaces by comparing how different public spaces function. Publicness is definable as "the extent to which people have access without asking permission, expressed or implied" (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009, p. 7). In fact, the chance to freely choose how one wants to use public space is said to be "an integral public-space characteristic" (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009, p. 182). This probably means that accessibility, which defines possibilities for using public space, or its possible use, outlines its publicness.

On the other hand, Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht (2009) highlight another aspect of publicness, and this is equal rights granted for everyone to use public space and to use it for exactly the same purposes. Besides, in case of conflicts over activities, those activities that people carry out to survive are suggested as important to be prioritised (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009). Following this notion, the publicness of public spaces can be said to imply not only accessibility and rights over use, but also equal possibilities for all public space users albeit higher sensitivity to those who are particularly in need of using public space. This concept of publicness is important here for at least two reasons. First, it considers the function of public space as the principal marker of publicness and recognises that the publicness of different public spaces may vary given differences in this dimension. Second, it suggests that the function (or use) defining the publicness of public space is multidimensional, i.e., it implies not only activities, but also that they are chosen freely by all users and that all users are treated on equal footing.

Despite the fact that the following concept (and the third one introduced here), also comes from the field of urban planning, this one concept is quite distinct from that introuced above. Jeremy Németh and Stephan Schmidt (2011), making their

attempt to develop a conceptual model for evaluating the publicness of public space, refrain from singling out one or another dimension as more critical to establishing the publicness of public space. Instead, the scholars see publicness to result from the interaction of three components, namely ownership, management and users and uses (Németh & Schmidt, 2011). What makes their concept essentially different from many other concepts, and what is of special importance for this dissertation, is that public space users are recognised as inseparable from uses (or activities), and that both are considered as one component of publicness. At first glance, this indeed seems to be the case: being open and accessible for public use, public space is open and accessible to the general public, who can come and use it as they please. As I see it, no use of public space can exist without users, whereby users make any possibilities opened up in public space meaningful. Furthermore, public space users define how public space is used just like possibilities for a certain use define (or attract) certain user groups. Even so, when users and uses are put together rather than seen as dimensions of publicness in their own right, there is a risk that the interaction between them can overshadow their individual contribution or either of them can be undermined.

Having said this, Németh and Schmidt's (2011) approach to publicness is also distinct in that the scholars highlight the impossibility of public space to serve everyone, arguing that "spaces that attempt to do *everything* well often fail to do *anything* well" (p. 9). In addition, a claim is made that formal accessibility to all does not by default imply that all would have an equal experience of using public space and perceive it as the others do (Németh & Schmidt, 2011). To put it in other words, it is recognised that possible or intended use of public space may diverge from the way public space is used in practice. This is especially important to highlight, for few other notions of publicness distinguish between possibilities for using public space and the actual practices of using it.

The fourth concept of the publicness of public space to be reviewed is the concept offered by Don Mitchell (2003), who looks at public space through a framework based on Marxism and defines this type of urban space as "a representation of the good that comes from public control and ownership" (p. 137). What "the good" mentioned in the quote refers to is most likely to be the right to use public space, which involves the rights of carrying out various activities, inhabiting, appropriating and exercising control (Mitchell, 2003, p. 9). Although the scholar recognises only publicly owned spaces as public spaces, which stands in a sharp contrast to the position I take in this dissertation, he does recognise that "what makes a space public… is often not its preordained "publicness"" (Mitchell, 2003, p. 35). As Mitchel (2003) argues in *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*, it is the struggle between different people over the use of public space, their actions in taking control over the space and using it to satisfy their needs that

produces public space. From my perspective, this concept is important to consider since it suggests that publicness is to be established by the public and with the use of public space for coming together, coexisting, engaging in common activities, struggling for social justice and asserting and exercising one's rights. Taking this a step further, it can be argued that alongside this fourth concept of publicness, the use that defines publicness primarily implies the actual practice of space as public space, whereas public ownership and control can be seen as creating conditions for such use.

Finally, the fifth concept of publicness is the one commonly adopted by architects and urban designers, who tend to recognise that the actual use of public space for a variety of purposes and for carrying out diverse activities is what marks its publicness. Architect Sergio García-Doménech (2015), for instance, points towards a link between public space as a site for social interaction and a site for a wide range of activities, stating that "Public space functions as meeting place par excellence ... It is the place where occurs most citizen interactions, where it is circulated and where it develops all kinds of urban activities" (p. 60). What the definition appears to me to suggest is that the actual use of public space outlines its publicness, and that public space users have an important role to play in the process. In this respect, the architect's notion comes close to urban designer Elizabeth Macdonald's (2014) claims that streets become part of the public realm when they are "multi-functional places that serve many community needs and desires" (p. 421). This is also where this concept of publicness stands out from many other such concepts: it recognises the actual use of public space as a necessary precondition for and a dimension of publicness, while many other concepts are framed with reference to a range of possibilities for using public space. As for the possible (or implied) use or the source of ownership - which are distinguished as components or dimensions of publicness in some other concepts - it is not clear whether those have a part to play in this fifth concept of publicness.

The variety of concepts of publicness does not only disclose the fact that the publicness of public space is a contested issue, but also suggests that use is a fundamental dimension or component of publicness. All things considered, I hold that the publicness of public space first and foremost refers to use, and that public space in the contemporary city is such space that is used by the general public and for public purposes (i.e., is used *as* public space). Use is the principal marker of publicness; it is a dimension that prepares the ground for, delineates and (re)produces publicness. Yet, no one concept fully captures the kind of use that produces and defines the publicness of public space, and it is only when they all are considered together, that a more precise concept starts emerging. As I see it after having overviewed all the different concepts of publicness, the use that marks the publicness of public space is a multidimensional category comprising among other things

accessibility, diversity, sociability and equality – i.e., all that in the public space literature tends to be seen as characteristics defining public space and/or markers of its publicness but what, in fact, describes how public space can be used and how it is used. Public use implies the activities that public space is intended or possible to be used for (possible use) and the actual practices of use (actual use). Thus, the five concepts overviewed above are crucial when formulating a new concept to understand the complex phenomenon of the publicness of public space. I use those concepts as the point to start with when developing my approach to publicness, which is introduced in the following sub-chapter.

2.2 Towards an alternative approach to the publicness of public space

2.2.1 Constantly varying publicness of public space

In my study on the publicness of different public spaces in the contemporary city, I commit theoretically to those scholars who recognise that the publicness of public space is produced and reproduced through use, or its users' activities. Following Lefebvre (1991), I treat any urban space as social space and a social product that the society produces for its own use, but that is not static and changes with that use (i.e., is produced and reproduced). Public space, in turn, is seen to refer to a specific use of urban space (Lefebvre, 1991). In line with Tyndall (2010), I see the publicness of this ever-becoming public space to be a dynamic practice - something that the users of an urban space open for public use (re)produce when they use it as public space and practice its publicness. Although the possibilities that are open for public space users and the mechanisms of control employed in public space affect its users' behaviour and choice of activities, their practices are not limited to what is offered. Users themselves can and do suggest alternative ways of using public space, whereby the possible (or intended) use of public space may diverge from the actual use. Therefore, I argue that the publicness of publicly usable space is implied by the possibilities for using it as public space, the actual practices of using it as public space and any means that are used to suggest patterns of use and control that the actual practices correspond to the intended use.

In addition to this, I align with Tyndall (2010) and recognise that the publicness of public space is always in transition. As I see it, since use is what defines and (re)produces the publicness of public space, and the actual practices of using public space may diverge from its intended use and vary with its users' activities and preferences, publicness is not an inbuilt characteristic, and it does not have a pre-determined value. According to Lefebvre (1991), space is always a present space: "Itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to

occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others." (p. 73). Therefore, I hold that the publicness of public space – a constituent of social space – is not a constant in and of itself, but instead is constantly (re)produced through public space users' activities, some of which correspond to the activities that the space is intended for while some others diverge from them, bringing about ever new possibilities and redefining publicness. Varying with users' actions, the publicness of public space is also characterizable by constant variation. As a matter of fact, I tend to conceive various changes taking place in public space and its publicness to be a part of this variation.

In this dissertation, it is argued that variation in the publicness of public space primarily implies qualitative variation, and different spaces available for public use differ from one another in their kind of publicness. Treating "use" as the defining characteristic of public space, I lend my support to Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht (2009), who recognise that different public spaces unavoidably place some limitations on their use, that a variety of activities can not only improve accessibility but also result in conflicts over use, and that openness and accessibility entail equal rights rather than a lack of restrictions. As a matter of fact, I am inclined to believe that restrictions placed on the use of public space shall not be associated with a lower degree of publicness by default. What is necessary is that any limitations be considered in the light of other aspects of use or other components of publicness to evaluate their interrelationships and the cumulative effects they may have on publicness. Thus, I suggest that qualitative variation may or may not involve quantitative variation, i.e., variation in the degree of publicness.

Finally, as regards variations in publicness, qualitative and/or quantitative, I find them to exist not only among different types of public space but also among spaces representing the same type. The type of public space, even if it is associated with a certain use and, as a matter of fact, influences its users' choice of activities within that space, does not delineate all the practices that public space users can and do put that space into. As Lefebvre (1991) notes, space is not only consumed by its users, but also assumes an active role in its own production. Conforming with Tyndall (2010), who see the boundary between public and private to be porous, and following Lefebvre (1991) in his proposition about the productiveness and reproducibility of social space, I refrain from making any associations between a type of public space and a certain kind of publicness. I argue that the publicness of any public space should be evaluated without cliches about its use. Whether it is privately or publicly owned, any space open for public use belongs to the same network (Jankovič Grobelšek, 2012), and although spaces are separated by boundaries, they are all a part of an "ambiguous continuity" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 87). For this reason, in this dissertation it is suggested that the publicness of public space in the contemporary

city should be recognised in all of its variety and conceived with reference to various of its manifestations.

Having put forward these propositions, I turn to three spaces in the Kamppi area in the centre of Helsinki, Finland, for a multiple-case study. Despite differences in their physical characteristics and matters concerning their ownership and management, I treat all three spaces as public spaces because of their openness for public use. Conducting a multiple-case study, I intend to showcase variations in the publicness of public space and refine any theoretical propositions made above. My research strategy, methods, and materials are overviewed in Chapter 3. Research results and the discussion of the results are presented in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 respectively.

2.2.2 Publicness as a three-dimensional phenomenon

As discussed above, the public space of the contemporary city appears in a great many manifestations, each of which has its own distinctive characteristics. Use, albeit also somewhat different, is what makes all those different spaces comparable and what defines their publicness. To specify, I recognise public space to be any urban space that is (1) open and used for a wide range of activities, (2) accessible to all groups of people making up the public and used in practice by many of those different groups and (3) mediating any disputes over use in democratic ways. Grounded in this notion, I define the publicness of public space as the extent to which an urban space open for public use yields equally well to all groups of users for various activities, is in practice used in different ways and by different groups of users, and can be (re)produced through the use of public space chosen by its users.

Table 1. Correspondence between research questions and dimensions of publicness

Research question	Dimension of publicness
1. Which activities define and (re)produce each space as public space, and how is that done?	activities
2. Who are the groups of users engaged in those activities, and how do they contribute to defining and (re)producing each space as public space?	users
3. What forces affect those activities and the user groups undertaking them, and what are the effects on the use of each space?	control over use

Approaching the publicness of public space with reference to its use, I single out three dimensions of publicness: (1) *activities* undertaken in public space, (2) *user groups* engaged in the activities and (3) any mechanisms that exercise *control over use* (see Figure 1). To explore and compare the publicness of different public spaces necessitates focusing on each of the three dimensions by themselves and in relation

to one another. For this reason, my research questions have been worded with reference to the three dimensions of publicness (see Table 1).

Each of the three dimensions of publicness is evaluated through a set of constituent elements and their dialectical relationship. As for the elements making up each dimension, they are evaluated qualitatively. This means that the quality of each element defining one or another dimension is assessed not only by itself but also in relation to that of the other elements, and this is done individually in each case. Dialectical relationship among the elements constituting each dimension of publicness is also taken well into consideration. In what follows below, I define each of the three dimensions and draw an outline of the elements which constitute them, explaining how and why I singled out namely these elements. The idea of such a representation is borrowed from Németh and Schmidt (2011), who explain their conceptual model of publicness by offering a systematic overview of different dimensions and the range of their values. In my framework, however, instead of the range of values, I set out the elements that I see as constituents of each of my three dimensions of publicness.

Activities

The first of the three dimensions of publicness is the dimension of activities. This dimension refers to all the various actions performed by public space users when they use public space for any purpose other than to regularly carry out their working duties. What this means is that such activities as maintaining, supervising order or serving food, i.e., all the activities undertaken on daily bases by people who work in public space, fall out of the definition. Activities, as a dimension of publicness, are understood here to comprise three elements, namely (A) variety of activities, (B) complexity of activities, and (C) overall level of activity.

To begin with, in this dissertation, a variety of activities implies the number of different activities or a variety of purposes that public space users can use and do use public space for. This element is seen to be related to the publicness of public space in a way that, as Tyndall (2010) argues, publicness is constructed through social practice. Following the Project for Public Spaces (2005), activities are also treated as “the basic building blocks of a place” (p. 19). Besides, a wide variety of activities can be recognised as a marker of a responsive space, since public space is expected to be freely usable and respond to the needs of diverse user groups (Carr et al., 1995). Therefore, I believe it is important to consider what activities public space is used for and how many different activities are undertaken in general and at any one time.

Although a variety of activities contributes to liveliness, it is not sufficient to consider the range and number of different activities to understand activities as a dimension of publicness. What matters, in addition, is how the activities overlap and

shift between one another (Gehl, 2010), or how they interact with and relate to one another. I assume that the use of public space is more than a sum of all the different activities taking place there. To explain, while some activities take place independently, there are activities that are present only because other activities bring them up or sustain them; alternatively, some activities are absent because other activities discourage or obscure them. Furthermore, when activities accumulate, they show a tendency to produce unexpected results, so that, as Jan Gehl (2010) notes, "one plus one quickly becomes more than three" (p. 65). These are the reasons why I consider the interrelation and interaction of different activities and the effects various activities have on each other to be another constituent element within the dimension of activities. In this research, I refer to the element described above as the complexity of activities, and distinguish three ways in which different activities undertaken by public space users are linked: a) activities take place in parallel, b) activities succeed other activities (i.e., they are undertaken after other activities are over), c) activities develop out of (or because of) the presence of one or some other activities.

Finally, the overall level of activity, which is the third element of the dimension of activities, is definable as the variety of activity types at a given time and the number of users engaged in the activities. Although public space neither does nor is expected to serve for all purposes at any one time (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009), activity level is important to consider for at least two reasons. First, in a similar way how some activities can have a positive or negative effect on other activities, the overall level of activity can either encourage or discourage some activities and invite or deter some user groups. Second, activity level shows public space users' interest in using a particular public space in general, at a particular point of time, and in (re)producing it as public space. Public space, to use Lefebvre's (1991) concepts, belongs to the lived moment of social space, and it is as much a given as it is ever becoming in its use. Taking a step further, I assume that the higher the overall level of activity, the better chances there are for the (re)production of publicness.

Users

Users, which in this dissertation are considered as another dimension of publicness, are defined as all the people who visit public space and use it for any purpose other than to regularly carry out their working duties. Thus, not everyone who is present in public space is regarded as a user by this definition, and only the presence of those people who perform other actions than work-related daily tasks falls into my definition. The dimension of users is assessed on the diversity of user groups, namely (A) age groups, (B) gender groups and (C) social groups. The choice of the elements

can be traced back to the notion that accessibility to all user groups is the defining feature of public space (e.g., Madanipour, 2004; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009). As I see it, being open and accessible for public use, public space is first and foremost open and accessible for the use of the public, which is made up of people differing in age, gender and various social features and cultural traits. It is these diverse groups of people who are supposed to become the users of public space and take advantage of the opportunities that are available, test the limits and turn the possible or the intended into the actual use. Therefore, diversity of user groups in terms of age, gender and social and cultural aspects is recognised here as an indicator of public use and, in this way, the publicness of public space.

In addition to the three components listed above, I include a fourth component, (D) the company that public space users are in when they use a public space. The idea to pay regard to whether public space users are alone or with someone when they use public space comes from William H. Whyte (1980, 2009), one of the most well-known investigators of public space, whose extensive research has showed, among other things, that in public space people behave differently when alone versus when accompanied by someone and that the company that one is with is related to the selectivity associated with the use of public space. Yet, a lot of research on publicness has too often neglected this element.

Besides working as an indicator of publicness, diversity of users is closely tied to the variety of activities, which is an element in my defined dimension of activities. As I see it, differences in age, gender and social aspects precondition different needs and interests in public space and result in different patterns of use. It is merely because public space is open to and in practice used by diverse user groups that it is characterised by some variation in use and variety of activities by default. As a matter of fact, I consider the diversity of user groups to be an important precondition for a variety of activities.

Even so, I choose to distinguish activities and users as two separate dimensions of publicness while some of the existing conceptual frameworks of publicness treat them as one (e.g., Németh & Schmidt, 2011) or approach both though other dimensions, as for example the dimension of accessibility (e.g., Kohn, 2013). From my perspective, public space is possible to demonstrate a wide variety of activities without any diversity of user groups, as needs and interests in public space can differ not only between user groups but also within anyone group. Moreover, the mixture of uses might not coincide with, or be complementary to, the mixture of user groups (e.g., Francis, 2014). It is for these reasons that I find it to be necessary to distinguish users as a dimension of publicness if one is to pay equal credit to both users and activities for the role they play in the (re)production of publicness. Their interdependence is crucial to recognise, though.

Control over use

The last of the three dimensions of publicness, control over use, is conceived as comprising any mechanisms that exercise control over how and by who public space can be used and is in practice used. Writing about the production of social space, Lefebvre (1991) argues it to have the power to control: "the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of actions; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power" (p. 26). Tyndall (2010), in his turn, finds that the publicness of public space is determined by the agency of individuals and groups, as well as by the space itself. Taking a step further, I argue that even if public space is associated with the right to use it freely, this is hardly possible: some design solutions and organisational matters, but also some user groups and the activities they carry out, might (un)intentionally affect how publicness is practiced, i.e., affect who uses public space and what activities they undertake in that space. As regards control over use, I stand in line with those scholars who suggest that "Public-space controls are important negotiations" (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009, p. 11), and what is essential is that all user groups are a part of those negotiations (Madanipour, 2003; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009) and that control and freedom are balanced (Carmona et al., 2003). Therefore, instead of seeing control over use as a threat to public space, I treat it as a dimension of publicness.

With these theoretical propositions in mind, in this dissertation control over use is assessed through any means taken to control (A) possibilities for using a publicly usable space and (B) the actual practices of using it as public space. Although means of control are typically associated with the design and management of space, they are not limited to that. I assume that contextual conditions, such as the weather or special occasions, as well as users and their activities, can assume controlling power and influence both the possible use and the actual use of space. The publicness of public space is seen here as enhanced by such control that equally encourages the involvement of all user groups and ensures that all are free to carry out the activities of their choice if they acknowledge other users' entitlement to do the same. Alternatively, any means of control that disregards this (either intentionally or not) is recognised as compromising the publicness of public space. To conclude, the dimension of control over use is tightly linked to, and even overlaps, the other two dimensions of publicness, namely activities and users, which are also interrelated.

The three-dimensional framework

In this dissertation, the publicness of public space is conceived as a three-dimensional phenomenon, comprising (1) activities, (2) users and (3) control over use. Figure 6 contains a more detailed schematic representation (as compared to

Figure 1) of the analytical framework devised for exploring (and comparing) the publicness of different types of public space and used in this dissertation to study the publicness of three selected spaces.

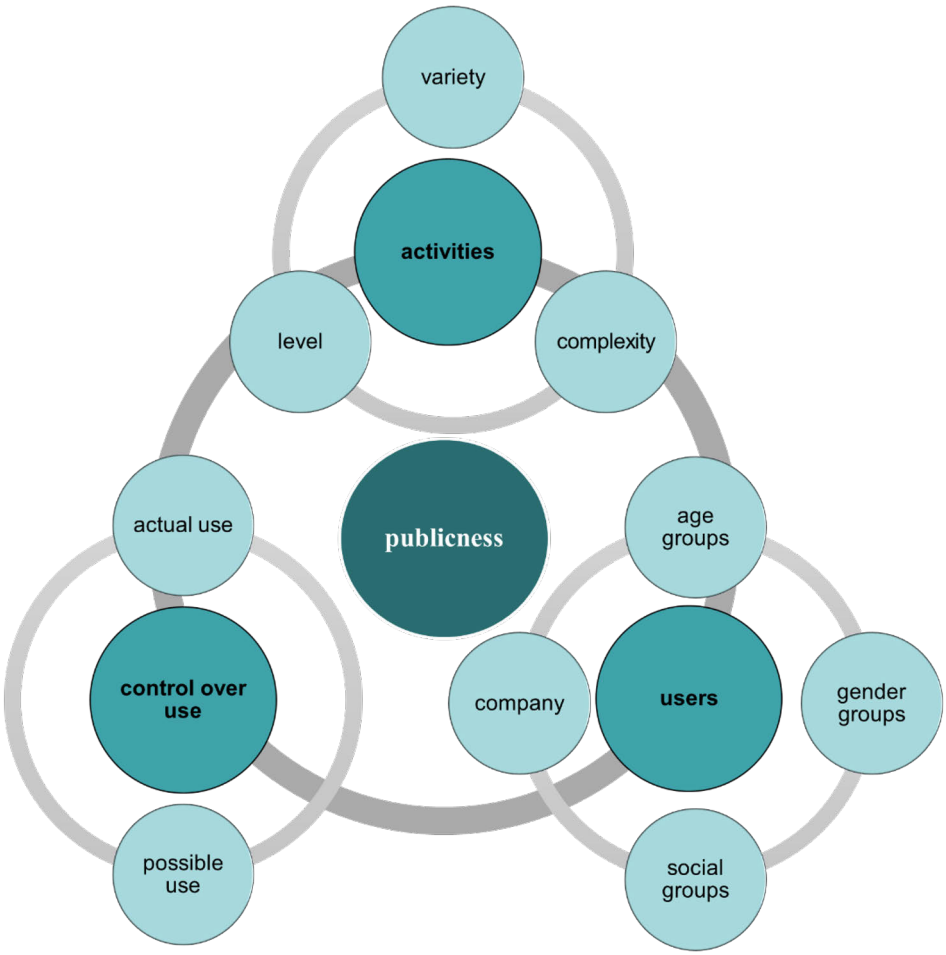


Figure 6. Framework for exploring the publicness of public space

Such an approach to publicness that is grounded in the dimensions of activities, users and control over use is particularly valuable for conceiving the publicness of public space in the contemporary city for at least three reasons. First, as Lefebvre (1991) notes, public place, as well as other terms used to name different types of urban space, refers to how space is used or how its spatial practice is expressed and constituted. Thus, associating publicness with activities undertaken in public space, users who undertake the activities and control exercised over use makes it possible to evaluate the possible and actual use of public space. Second, approaching

publicness though use gives a chance to categorise all publicly usable spaces as public spaces and to compare them namely on the terms on which they are placed within the same category (i.e., compare their use). This is essentially important given that recent design and management practices have rendered a wide variety of public space types (Carmona, 2010b), and that it is by comparison with other public spaces that the public function of a space can be evaluated (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009). Third, the three dimensions, which in this dissertation I consider as delineating publicness, allow recognising the instrumental role of planners, designers, owners and managers and the productive role of users and activities without initial preconceptions on the importance of any. By performing an in-depth analysis of the three dimensions (including their dialectical relationships), I expect to explore and better understand the proven complex phenomenon of the publicness of public space in the contemporary city.

2.3 Publicness of the shopping mall as a public space

The public space literature abounds with remarks that post-modern society has increasingly been exchanging more traditional types of public spaces, such as public squares, promenades and parks, for the shopping mall and leaning towards it for a variety of public activities (e.g., Crawford, 1992; Whyte, 2009). The process must be well on its way: it has even been said that "shopping malls are heralded as the new town square" (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006, p. 977). Even so, the publicness of this contemporary version of public space has not always been appraised positively. While some recognise the shopping mall to serve certain useful public functions (e.g., Lloyd & Auld, 2003; Korngold, 2017; Lontoc, Arellano & Baquiran, 2023), others see the mall to be of limited or illusory publicness and charge it with setting a distorted model of public space (e.g., Goss, 1993; Voyce, 2006). Three main approaches to the publicness of the shopping mall can be singled out. In particular, the shopping mall is seen as (1) a space of contrived publicness, (2) a space of a peculiar kind of publicness, and (3) a space that is produced as public though its use. This sub-chapter overviews the debate surrounding the publicness of the shopping mall as a public space.

2.3.1 The shopping mall as a space of contrived publicness

In scientific literature, the most pervasive of all the notions in relation to the publicness of the shopping mall is the idea that it is more limited than that of more traditional types of public space and, due to this reason, is not real, artificially created, or even non-existent. Although social scientists, especially sociologists and

social geographers, might appear to be the leading proponents of this notion, in fact, there are scholars representing a wide range of academic disciplines who tend to approach the shopping mall as a space of limited or even contrived publicness.

To begin with, in his prominent article "The "magic of the mall", cultural geographer Jon Goss (1993) argues that the shopping mall provides only those services that do not clash with consumption-led activities, admit the tenants who would not attract undesired groups of people and make attempts to prolong the stay of the desired groups of users. Taking an interest in, among other things, popular landscapes of consumption, the scholar acknowledges that although the shopping mall works as a site for people to meet and offers not only the possibility to shop, but also the possibility to use public services and enjoy events, it excludes some activities (e.g., political activities) and some groups of people (Goss, 1993). In addition to the exclusionary management practices, the way the space of the shopping mall is arranged and designed is also found to affect access to and use of the space and, in this way, to limit its publicness. (This is comprehensible and possible to justify since the design of urban space is about the physical no more than it is about the social, cultural and other aspects, all of which are closely connected (Banerjee & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2014)). According to Goss (1993), instead of making their own decisions, in the shopping mall, people keep to the plan that has been devised for them. It is in this way that the use of the shopping mall and, as a matter of fact, its publicness, is severely limited and made narrow.

A related idea is presented in Malcolm Voyce's (2006) publication. With his research interests in property law and related issues, Voyce (2006) takes a genealogical approach and asks "how the new hegemonic view of the 'new public space' came about" (p. 270). What he finds out while scrutinising the Hornsby mall in Hornsby, Australia, is that the space in question is not open for political activity or performing, and collecting money for charities is subject to a fee for a stall (Voyce, 2006). Making a comparison between the shopping mall and the public space of the past, the scholar remarks that "While the streets of old may have been romantically constructed as free in their disorder, the space within and around shopping malls (such as the Florence Street mall in Hornsby) is controlled and ordered space" (p. 275). To take a step further, if the publicness of public space rests on its use (both possible and actual), as I suggest in this dissertation, then the publicness of the shopping mall as detected and described by Voyce (2006) must be viewed as restricted or compromised. Yet, it is important to recognise that the activities that the scholar finds to be restricted or controlled are quite few, and these represent but one small part of the broad spectrum of activities public space users are interested in carrying out.

In literature on public space, I have found it common for scholars to name no more than a few restricted activities when they compare the publicness of the public

square (or other more traditional public spaces) with that of the shopping mall, praising the former for opening up opportunities for such activities and criticising the latter for restricting them. In most cases, the scholars point to various restricted activities involving the expression of freedom of speech and political activities. Even so, in some publications, the shopping mall is said to place restrictions on a wider range of activities. For instance, Gerald Korngold (2017), a professor of law, argues that the publicly used, but privately-owned and controlled, space of the shopping mall places restrictions on free speech and public expression. Unlike traditional spaces for shopping, the shopping mall is said to be designed and managed to increase the owner's profit. This results in tying social interaction with profit-making, offering experiences to encourage people to spend, imposing regulation on behaviour, and restricting activities that threaten to compromise profit-related ends (see Korngold, 2017). Under such a notion, the publicness of the shopping mall mainly refers to pay-free accessibility to all user groups and the possibility to freely choose activities from those that are offered. As I see it, this critical account is not only more credible, but also sharper. To specify, when the publicness of public space is defined by use (as I do in this dissertation), then severely restricted possibilities for using the space of the shopping mall – a contemporary version of public space – shall be seen to negatively affect both the actual practices of publicness and the possibilities for (re)producing it. This stands quite afar from any of the concepts of publicness (see Chapter 2.1.) that recognise public use as the key component of the publicness of public space. For this reason, I am inclined to believe that the publicness of the shopping mall as presented in Korngold's (2017) publication is publicness of a lower degree.

While studying the publicness of the shopping mall and comparing it to that of public squares, it is worthwhile to turn to Whyte (1980, 2009), who has carried out research in various public spaces in New York and compared how people use them. Unlike the critics of the shopping mall referred to above, Whyte (1980, 2009) has listed a range of activities that tend to be unwanted in shopping malls. For example, shopping malls have been found to problematise eccentric behaviour, the taking of pictures, the passing out of leaflets and teenagers' hanging out (Whyte, 2009). By not only placing restrictions on certain activities, but also making attempts to screen out certain groups of users, the shopping mall is said to be "not truly public" (Whyte, 1980, p. 79). What this shall be seen to imply then is that the publicness of the shopping mall differs from that of other public spaces, primarily from public squares, in its degree, which in the previous sub-chapter I suggested to be measurable by the ease of undertaking various activities, the range of activities and the variety of user groups.

Similar insights about the publicness of the shopping mall can be made when referring to many other case studies focused on the possible and actual use of the

shopping mall as public space. In one study, geographers Lynn A. Staeheli and Don Mitchell (2006) argue that although the shopping mall is a safe and social space, it is characterised by regulated use and restrictions on certain activities e.g., political activity. By making this proposition, the scholars stand very much in line with other social scientists, some of whose viewpoints towards the publicness of the shopping malls are introduced above (e.g., Voyce, 2006; Korngold, 2017). Yet, Staeheli and Mitchell (2006) take a step further and highlight that the users of the shopping mall represent but a limited part of the public – they are a group of people who act as consumers and conform to social norms and regulations. Furthermore, all kinds of regulations, including careful selection of retailers, supervision of competition among them and restrictions on users' behaviour are said to be imposed to ensure that the shopping mall remains a space of and for consumption (see Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006). Appraising the effects of various limitations placed on the access and use of the shopping mall, the scholars suggest that the space represents a place for a community and civility, not a place for the public, but functions as the new town square, "a *de facto* public space" (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006, p. 980). As I see it, what is suggested here in relation to the publicness of the shopping mall is that it is not merely lower in its degree as compared to that of the public square. Instead, by representing itself as if it were just like the square but having no interest in replicating the same functions, it is a space of contrived publicness. If that is so, the space of the shopping mall is then highly similar to what Goss (1993) notes in his nominal article:

> The shopping center appears to be everything that it is not. It contrives to be a public, civic place even though it is private and run for profit; it offers a place to communicate and recreate, while it seeks retail dollars; and it borrows signs of other places and times to obscure its rootedness in contemporary capitalism (Goss, 1993, p. 40).

To conclude, from all the criticism expressed towards the possible and actual use of the shopping mall, it follows that this type of urban space, which social theorists and the media, as Sharon Zukin (1995) finds, recognise as the "primary public space of postmodernity" (p. 188), differs in principle from the public square or other more traditional public spaces as far as its publicness is concerned. Not only is the publicness of the shopping mall seen as circumscribed by various restrictions and regulations, but it is also found to be devised to encourage the undertaking of certain activities, namely those related to shopping and consumption, to prioritise some groups of users over other groups and to deny the possibility to unconditionally choose what purpose to use the space of the mall for. Yet, a recent study on the health of and prospects for the shopping malls of the USA has demonstrated that those

shopping malls that are able to transform into multipurpose buildings and offer experience in addition to goods and services have better chances to withstand various challenges, such as online shopping or the overbuilding of shopping malls (Burayidi & Yoo, 2021). In fact, there are many things that the critics fail to recognise regarding the shopping mall and its publicness. These include the recognition that regulations do not by default imply fewer opportunities or less varied use of the shopping mall as compared to the more traditional public spaces; encouraging certain activities over others or making the space of the mall more attractive for certain user groups may not be intentional or may not work to discourage other activities or user groups; priority given to some activities or users does not necessarily restrict others; and the space produced for public use is not static, but it is instead constantly (re)produced by its users. In search of a balanced argument, it is important to review counterarguments and opponents' ideas, which is what I attempt to do in the sub-chapters below.

2.3.2 The shopping mall as a space of peculiar publicness

According to another line of argumentation, the publicness of the shopping mall diverges from the publicness of public space, but it does so in a way different from that identified by its critics. The image of the shopping mall as a controlled space, where the variety of people is narrowed down to customers and the range of activities to shopping, and the image of the public square as the public space ideal are stereotypical and no longer valid. In the public space literature, there are arguments that the shopping mall is a space of and for a variety of activities and social interaction (e.g., Listerborn, 2005; Edwards, 2006) and claims that even if shopping malls appear similar, in practice, they may be used in quite different ways (Miller, Jackson, Thrift, Holbrook & Rowlands, 1998). What I see this to imply in relation to the publicness of the shopping mall is that it can be different from that of the public square without being lower in degree.

I shall begin introducing this alternative approach by recognising that even those scholars who express their criticism towards heightened control and exclusionary practices of the shopping mall recognise that a controlled environment does not necessarily result in exclusion (e.g., Whyte, 1980; Lloyd & Auld, 2003). For instance, in their case study, Kathleen Lloyd and Christopher Auld (2003) approach the shopping mall as a leisure space, but they nevertheless demonstrate that by emphasising consumption-based activities or adopting exclusionary practices, the management of the shopping mall does not try to overcome either the composition of users or non-commercial activities they undertake. In fact, the scholars find that the shopping mall can positively affect social values attached to public space and assist in developing a community out of diverse groups of people, who can meet and

interact in the shopping mall (Lloyd & Auld, 2003). Although treated as a leisure space rather than a public space, the shopping mall is nevertheless found to serve an important public function.

Even more convincing is architect and urban designer Patricia Simões Aelbrecht (2016), who notes that traditional definitions do not serve to recognise that these fourth places are spaces of social interaction and inclusivity, and that they are characterised by a "great sense of publicness" (p. 126). Some other scholars, although they find the shopping mall to be primarily dedicated for a specific set of activities, recognise that the space of the mall is public in nature and similar to a public forum (Zhang & He, 2020) or it serves as a centre of public activities that is able to integrate a range of otherwise dispersed urban functions (Lontoc, Arellano & Baquiran, 2023). On the grounds of these propositions, I intend to make at least two claims in relation to the publicness of the shopping mall. The first claim is that the actual use of the shopping mall, including the variety of activities and users, may be well comparable to that of the public square or another traditional type of public space. The second claim goes as follows: comparable in use, the shopping mall may compare well to more traditional public spaces, those that have for long been considered as the prime location of public life.

In addition to the ideas introduced above, some scholars (e.g., Listerborn, 2005; Robbins, 2008) acknowledge the fact that there are people who find the kind of space provided by the shopping mall to be attractive, sociable and safe. Others recognise the shopping mall to be an important site for different groups of people, who are interested in using it for various everyday purposes. According to Paul Edwards (2006), who takes an interest in public space as civic space and highlights citizens' rights over its use, the shopping mall offers a wide variety of activities and public experiences, hosts events and provides spaces that motivate people to get together and to interact. As a pragmatist researcher, the scholar maintains that "On every level, apart from legal ownership, the mall operates as public space" (Edwards, 2006, p. 20). What this implies then, I argue, is that the shopping mall is comparable to the public square or other public spaces not only as far as the range of activities and the variety of users are concerned, but also as regards the rights to accessing and using the space. Although different activities undertaken and different group of users present produce a different kind of publicness of the shopping mall as compared to that of another type of public space, this publicness is neither more nor less real and is instead unique.

It is also noteworthy that it is not only in the shopping mall, but in public space in general, that some social and political activities are problematised so that, as Edwards (2006) maintains, "Every urban space, not only the mall, is open to charges of exclusion, commodification or Baudrillardian hyper-reality" (p. 23). Many other scholars, likewise, question namely traditional types of public spaces in terms of

their public or social function. For instance, Daniel Makagon (2003), a professor of communication who has some of his research interests in urban communication and public life, discloses that social interaction is not what brings people to the Times Square (New York, US) and that other purposes such as shopping or trading are more attractive. Furthermore, it is collective shopping that is said to be the activity resulting in interactions between the users of the world-famous square (see Makagon, 2003). Taking a step further, I suggest that by being a place of sociability and for satisfying everyday needs and aspirations, the shopping mall approaches the public square in its public function. The public square, in its turn, resembles the shopping mall by having commercial activities as one of its major attractions. The proposition I am putting forward is that although the publicness of the shopping mall is different from that of the public square, the differences lie elsewhere than restrictions over use or the overall range of activities.

Architects and urban planners, likewise, question the critique directed towards shopping malls. Francesco Chiodelli and Stefano Moroni (2015), in their part, place a number of arguments, three of which are of particular importance here. The first, and most common in the public space literature, is the argument that public debate and social interaction is not confined to publicly owned space and can unfold in private and even virtual spaces (Chiodelli & Moroni, 2015). This implies that the privately- owned shopping mall may also function as a public space since it can used for carrying out public activities. The second argument suggests that even if shopping malls have the right to regulate activities undertaken in the space they offer, this does not mean that political activities cannot take place there (Chiodelli & Moroni, 2015). The third argument, and the most important one in this context, is that being commercially-minded, shopping malls are made accessible almost without any restrictions and more than other places, and they are visited by a great diversity of people (Chiodelli & Moroni, 2015). These arguments, again, suggest that the kind of publicness which the shopping mall represents can be recognised as a unique or peculiar publicness without qualifying it as a publicness of a lower degree, illusory or contrived.

To conclude, scientific research has shown that the shopping mall is well-received by many different groups of users and proved that some of them prefer the shopping mall over other public spaces. It is for more groups than consumers and more than a place for shopping; it can be a pleasant and safe place for various every-day, social and other activities. On the other hand, located indoors, carefully managed and consumption oriented, the shopping mall is bound to differ from the more traditional embodiments of public space as far as its publicness is concerned. Making a comparison between the publicness of the shopping mall and the publicness of other spaces open for public use is crucial for interpreting and understanding them all in the contemporary city where they serve the public. Yet,

the comparison shall focus on pointing out the peculiarities of each space rather than measuring their degree or selecting one as a canon. What the peculiar publicness of the shopping mall implies remains to be scrutinised in order to be discovered and properly described.

2.3.3 The shopping mall as a space of publicness delineated through practice

The last of the three approaches that I managed to detect in literature on the shopping mall as a contemporary version of public space rests upon the idea that instead of being definable as a characteristic, the publicness of the shopping mall is produced when the space of the mall is used as public space. Taking a post-structuralist approach to urban space, Tyndall (2010) argues that "the publicness and/or privateness of place and practice are constantly under-construction" (p. 126). The scholar refutes normative approaches alongside which new varieties of public space are seen as exclusionary and consumption-oriented, saying that their publicness is different from that described by the critics (Tyndall, 2010). Not only does he see the public space of the past to be idealised, but also suggests that the publicness of any space depends on people and their action (Tyndall, 2010). This second part of the statement is especially important to pay attention to when discussing the publicness of the shopping mall as delineated through practice. What I see this to suggest is that disregarding the combined efforts of private ownership, management, control and design, all of which may create and suggest certain patterns of use and encourage the presence of certain groups of users, there abound possibilities for overcoming this and thereby (re)producing the publicness of the shopping mall. By acting as they please and undertaking the activities of their choice (i.e., by practicing publicness), the users of shopping mall are powerful enough to initiate changes in this way (re)producing the publicness of the space they use.

For Tyndall (2010), publicness is a dynamic social practice that people using the space adopt. Claiming that "publicness is constituted by subjects" (Tyndall, 2010, p. 126), the scholar takes Westfield-Liverpool shopping mall in Sydney, Australia, as a case and analyses the ways in which shopping mall users can influence the publicness of the mall in question. The study reveals that certain public rhythms can be traced in the use of the mall throughout the day, the week, etc., and that these rhythms are tapped out by the users themselves. When some user groups are more numerous than others, and their activities dominate, the publicness of the shopping mall is compromised, as the dominance of one group discourages other groups from using the space. Thus, it is the users and their perceptions rather than (or not only) the regulations or control mechanisms that influence the publicness of the shopping mall and control its rhythms (see Tyndall, 2010). Although Tyndall (2010) admits

that consumption is an important element of the shopping mall, and the publicness of this type of public space does not equal that of the public space ideal, he nevertheless suggests that users easily manipulate that. Even a fierce critic of the shopping mall, Goss (1993), admits that the built environment, albeit coded with certain meanings, is liable to different interpretations, and what interpretations are made also depends on those who read the environment and interpret the meanings suggested. On balance, I make the following deduction: if publicness is something that is practiced by public space users and something that is characterised by constant change, the shopping mall is public because its users use it as public space, and it is public as much and in as a peculiar (or unique) way as its users practice its publicness.

The idea that the publicness of the shopping mall is of a peculiar kind is also recognised by Jacob C. Miller (2014), a human geographer, who regards the shopping mall as an *affectual space* or space that is in constant transition and that cannot easily be brought under control. To approach the shopping mall, Miller (2014) takes nonrepresentational theory and the 'new materialism' literature as his framework and Abasto Shopping Mall in Buenos Aires, Argentina, as a case. The scholar finds out that even if the design of the space inside the mall, including the placement of the escalators and the arrangement of benches, dictates certain patterns of use, visitors are free to act (Miller, 2014). In fact, the case study demonstrates that the users of the shopping mall tend not to follow the patterns suggested and, in this way, modify the space of the shopping mall and produce a space that is always in transition: "visitors not only reject the plan but end up producing unexpected affects in the mall itself" (Miller, 2014, p. 20). On the bases of his empirical findings, Miller (2014) proposes that visitors' subjectivity alongside unexpected happenings may challenge the effects that the retail-oriented space of the shopping mall is planned to have, creating a space that is constantly becoming what it is.

Although they approach the shopping mall relatively differently, both case studies overviewed above suggest that it is the users of the shopping mall who decide how and for what activities the space inside is usable. The metaphor 'mall without stores' that Miller (2014) uses in his article thereby represents that the space of the shopping mall is open for the public to come and use it as they please and for a variety of activities. As I understand it, not only does the absence of stores referred to in the metaphor stand for the idea that the activity of shopping (as well as related activities) has no ruling power over all the other activities, but it also suggests that any regulations on accessing and using the mall are recognised by its users as requests or expectations rather than prescriptions or imperatives. For them, I argue, the shopping mall is the public space of their times - the space that is open for their use as the owners expect and as they themselves envision, and the space that yields to (re)production through practice.

At this point it is worth to turn to Sirpa Tani's geographical study (2015) on teenagers' use of the space in Kamppi Shopping Centre in Helsinki, Finland, and the interaction between them and the space they use. The data which the scholar obtains from observations and interviews show that teenagers enjoy hanging out in the shopping mall because it is centrally located and easily accessible by public transport, meanwhile its spaciousness offers opportunities to spend time among a large group of peers and the presence of other user groups creates favourable conditions for displaying themselves and watching others (Tani, 2015). Although managers' and security guards' actions taken in an attempt to reduce opportunities for hanging out are said to make the shopping mall less flexible, or tighter, teenagers' resistance by persistent use of the mall infuses the space with new meanings and makes it more flexible, or looser (Tani, 2015). In one of her articles, Noora Pyyry (2016) makes a highly comparable concluding remark saying that the teenage girls who hang out in the shopping mall use the space in creative ways, thereby escaping the forces of commercialisation and making engagements they find meaningful. Although the scholar refers to such use of the shopping mall as "dwelling with the world" (Pyyry, 2016), it is highly related to Tani's (2015) concept of the looseness of space and correlates to the publicness of public space when it is conceivable through use. What this suggests to me with regard to the publicness of the shopping mall – and this stands very much in line with what the previously overviewed case studies disclose – is that publicness is as much predefined as it is produced through practice.

Having consider three different approaches, I make the following propositions pertaining to the publicness of the shopping mall. First, the publicness of the shopping mall is of a peculiar kind, whereby comparing it against the publicness of the public square makes the former appear as contrived. Comparing the publicness of different spaces is crucial in understanding the phenomenon of the publicness of public space in the contemporary city, where public spaces are strikingly different. Yet, no kind, type or degree of publicness shall be used as a model of publicness against which the other ones are compared and evaluated. Second, in addition to being of a peculiar kind or type, the publicness of the shopping mall is also in constant transition. Definable through use, the publicness of the mall is also (re)producible through the use of the mall as public space. Third, the fact that the practice of publicness can (re)produce the shopping mall as a public space serves as a valuable argument in support of the claims that use is the principal marker of publicness and that the shopping mall can be considered to be a public space.

2.4 Changing publicness of the public square and other traditional types of public space

In the previous sub-chapters of this Chapter 2, it has been suggested that the publicness of public space is primarily grounded in use, including both possibilities for and the actual use of urban space as public space. In scientific literature, a common practice has been to refer to the public square as the oldest embodiment and the prime example of public space and compare any other space open for public use to the public square. This, however, has turned out to be essentially problematic because the public square, as well as other more traditional types of public space, has undergone changes alongside the changes in society. Following Mathew Carmona, Tim Heath, Taner Oc and Steve Tiesdell (2003), a group of scholars working in the fields of architecture and urban design, "Urban environments are continuously and inexorably changing. From the first design drawing to the final demolition, environments and buildings are shaped and reshaped by technological, economic, social and cultural change" (p. 196). Under the ever-changing conditions, traditional embodiments of public space have not remained intact either. In what follows below, I overview the principal of those recent changes, giving a special reference to their implications for the use and, in this way, the publicness of public space in general and the public square in particular. Doing so I intend to put forward the argument that in the contemporary city, the publicness of public space is bound to vary with variation in its use, which (re)produces it.

2.4.1 Privatised and less/more controlled public spaces

Many of the dramatic changes that the use of the public square and other traditional types of public spaces have been experiencing over the past few decades tend to be primarily associated with changes in urban development practices and the increasing privatisation of public spaces. While in the past public actors used to work on their own to (re)develop various public spaces, recently a common practice has been for public and private bodies to work in cooperation or by forming a joint coalition between public actors, private companies and community representatives (Squires, 1991/1996; Carmona et al., 2003). Despite its pervasiveness, the involvement of the private sector has generally been found to have negative implications on the publicness of any public space.

Following Madanipour (1996), interested in securing the capital they invested in the development of space, private actors shape that space accordingly. As a result of this, urban space comes to reflect "the values and aspirations by those who produce it" (Madanipour, 1996, p. 109). Moreover, private companies are interested in minimising uncertainties related to the investment that they make and attempt to control the space (Madanipour, 1996). From my perspective, the effects of

privatisation on the publicness of the public square and other traditional embodiments of public space shall be seen as twofold. On the one hand, as private control involves screening out people so that the owner can decide who are entitled to access the space and how it can be used, the establishment of private control mechanisms in any publicly usable space may negatively affect the possibilities for certain individuals and user groups to access and use the space. If that is the case, then public spaces that are being privatised risk becoming less accessible and open, alongside which their publicness may be compromised. On the other hand, private owners may not necessarily utilise their rights to exercise control over the spaces they own; private control may not by default imply curbed possibilities to enter and use the spaces and, more importantly, private money and management may improve the quality of publicly usable spaces.

At this point it is worthwhile to turn to studies on the effects of privatisation and urban redevelopment on the publicness of public space. Mitchell and Staeheli (2006), for instance, argue that the redevelopment of the public squares and other public spaces in the central areas of cities in the US have resulted in the exclusion of some groups from public space. Moreover, public space is said to have turned into "a battleground over the homeless and the poor and over the rights of developers, corporations, and those who seek to make over the city in an image attractive to tourists, middle- and upper-class residents, and suburbanites" (Mitchell & Staeheli, 2006, p. 144). To justify their claims, the geographers point towards Horton Plaza Park, a publicly-owned plaza in San Diego, California, USA, saying that since its redevelopment, the public square has been uninviting to undesirable user groups and the practices of using the square have been controlled by a private company (Mitchell & Staeheli, 2006). Finally, Mitchell and Staeheli (2006) argue that the involvement of the private sector in redevelopment projects has modified the notion of public space, i.e., what it means, how it is used, and who has the right to control it. Comparable insights can be traced in a study conducted by Emil van Eck and Rianne van Melik (2023) on the "soft-privatisation" of public space, outdoor retail markets in particular, in the Netherlands. According to the study, the handing of responsibilities for outdoor markets over to trader-run organisations has made the management of the markets more cost-effective and has brought enjoyable events to the spaces. Yet, this has had negative implications for some traders, who found themselves excluded from the markets and their management.

Writing about the involvement of private actors in the ownership and management of public space, sociologist Sylke Nissen (2008) distinguishes six levels of privatisation and the development of spaces of a hybrid character. The first two levels identified comprise public spaces that have been redeveloped and are currently managed by private actors, resulting in their displaying various signs of the involvement of private agency. The third level of privatisation is a result of the

development of private spaces that bear little resemblance to public spaces. The fourth and fifth levels, which are exemplified by various shopping malls and shopping centres, are the levels of complete privatisation and exclusionary tendencies as regards access to and use of public space. Finally, according to Nissen (2008) the highest degree of privatisation is to be found in the spaces characterised by private access and complete detachment from the public agency. What the typology suggests is that the level of private actors' involvement in the production or management of various public spaces correlates with the level of control and is in inverse proportion to the accessibility and usability of public spaces. If that is so, then I can deduce that the more intense the involvement of private actors is, the more controlled public spaces become, and the more their publicness suffers.

Although it holds true that a higher degree of control entails a lower degree of publicness, it is still debatable whether legal privatisation of a public square or another traditional type of public space implies, by default, the establishment of stricter control over the use of that space. In search of a balanced argument, I suggest that it necessary to acknowledge that the involvement of the private sector in the development, management or ownership of various public spaces can also determine positive outcomes on their publicness. It is widely known that active and varied use of public space necessitates facilities that can support a variety of activities but that require constant maintenance. Some architects, urban planners and urban designers tend to recognise, as Stephen Carr, Mark Francis, Leanne G. Rivlin and Andrew M. Stone (1995) do, that private actors and their money can contribute to keeping public spaces in good condition and ensuring that they are comfortable, safe and enjoyable. A recent study of the practices of managing public space in the Netherlands has revealed the need to include a variety of stakeholders to respond to the challenges facing public space and to maintain its values (see Duivenvoorden, Hartmann, Brinkhuijsen & Hesselmans, 2021). Some scientists argue that when public spaces are underused, their maintenance suffers, making the spaces even less attractive and usable (e.g., Carmona et al., 2003). Similarly, when public spaces are not properly managed, people are discouraged from using them and encouraged to use private spaces, which in turn poses a threat to public space (Carmona, 2010a; 2010b). All things considered, I am inclined to believe that the involvement of different actors, including those from the private sector, might be necessary and even beneficial for keeping public spaces lively, safe and usable and, thereby, for maintaining their publicness. This is especially true for those public spaces that are in run-down areas and the spaces that the contemporary city has neglected.

In addition to those who find privatisation to be in one or another way beneficial for public spaces, there are scholars working in the field of anthropology and urbanism who demonstrate that activities in more traditional public spaces may, in fact, be somewhat controlled given no change in ownership. What they point towards

is that, even in publicly owned spaces, the activities that are allowed to take place and do take place are – and have to be – constantly negotiated. Interesting themselves in urban anthropology, Low and Smith (2006), for instance, argue that the public sector may limit access to certain places, which means that the publicness of public spaces can hardly be secured by curbing private interest. In her more recent publication, Low (2022) recognises the undesirable effects of privatisation and other recent changes but chooses to focus on the values of various publicly usable spaces, highlighting the social, cultural and even environmental benefits. An anthropologist and a professor of urbanism, Robbins (2008), in his turn, contemplates that the need to increase security and/or carry out maintenance work may result in the closure of legally open spaces at certain times of the day. The scholar also claims that "private spaces in many instances in today's world are often less exclusive, and more accessible than those that are putatively public" (Robbins, 2008, p. 142), even if their owners can place restrictions on the use of the spaces they own.

As far as the effects of privatisation on the publicness of the public square and other traditional public spaces are concerned, I put forward four propositions. First, publicness limited by restrictions on the access to and activities in public spaces may not necessarily be an outcome of privatisation and the strife for achieving certain private goals. In fact, it may be related to the long-established uses of a particular public space, its users' preferences or the vision of the space projected by public bodies. Second, control over access to various public spaces, whether they are privatised or not, may be exercised as much for the reason to limit the variety of activities and user groups as for the reason to guarantee the possibility for that variety, in this way maintaining rather than compromising their publicness. Third, how much public the public square (or another public space) is depends on a number of factors and their relationships. When evaluating each of their publicness, it is important to consider not only the source of ownership or the nature of management and control, but also, and more importantly, reasons or purposes the control is exercised for, the extent and manner of control and, most importantly, the effect it has on the use of the public space that is of interest. Fourth and finally, the effects of privatisation on the publicness of various public spaces might be more complex and varied than it might seem at first.

To conclude, I am convinced that it is stereotypical to assume that a change in ownership and/or management and the subsequent privatisation of public space implies by default a lower degree of publicness. Legal ownership, although it has widely been considered as a principal criterion to distinguish between public and private spaces, is no more than a factor affecting how different spaces can be and are used. It is for this reason that I recognise the source of ownership as a contextual condition for publicness and approach it with the same sensitivity as any other contextual condition rather than as a marker or dimension of publicness. Given the

overwhelming variety of spaces with public function in the contemporary city, this approach is particularly advantageous, as all spaces open for public use and used as public spaces can be explored and compared in terms of their publicness.

2.4.2 Redeveloped and less/more accessible public spaces

Another transformation that the public square and other more traditional manifestations of public space have experienced recently is related to the changes in their physical form and structure. In a great many cities around the world, various public spaces, as they appear today, derive from all kinds of regeneration processes that have not only modified the way they look but also resulted in so far-reaching changes as to override their publicness and to render the concept elusive.

In the influential book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, urban writer Jane Jacobs (1961) criticises the idea behind unslumming (or urban redevelopment) which is to increase tax returns and to bring back to the city higher-income people. In fact, unslumming is argued not to work in reality: instead of trying to solve the problem of slums it attacks the outcomes, and the new projects are neither cost-effective nor better than the slums themselves (Jacobs, 1961). As for the use of the redeveloped spaces, they are said to be underused and charged with, among other things, supporting no diversity (Jacobs, 1961). Although the writer does not refer to the redevelopment of public spaces particularly, having in mind that urban redevelopment projects are found to favour the interests of some groups and negatively affect the variety of activities and users in urban spaces, it can only be assumed that after they are redeveloped, various public spaces are affected no less differently. Yet, what remains to be clarified is how exactly this affects the publicness of public space in general and different public spaces in particular.

A significantly different viewpoint on the effects of urban redevelopment on the publicness of traditional public spaces is found in Diane E. Davis' (2013) case study conducted in the historic centre of Mexico City, Mexico. A sociologist by education, the scholar focuses on socio-spatial practices and discloses that as a result of the need to solve the problem of growing insecurity in the public squares and streets of Mexico City, previously ineffective measures taken to deal with the issue and the aim to speed up real estate development, the city has completed some downtown revitalisation projects and adopted a security strategy referred to as the "zero-tolerance strategy" (Davis, 2013). This involved introducing regulations over activities in the redeveloped public spaces, restricting some social groups from accessing and using the spaces, and giving the right to have private security guards control the use of the spaces (Davis, 2013). At the same time when some of those spaces became less public, since they became less accessible and more regulated, Davis (2013) found them to have also become more secure and more diverse in user

groups and activities. The findings from the case study overviewed above are important to this dissertation for at least two reasons. First, as I see it, the study demonstrates that although the redevelopment inevitably modifies the publicness of public spaces, it can entail a qualitative, not a quantitative, change. Second, redevelopment can have an overall positive impact on the publicness of traditional public spaces; for even if they become less accessible and open to some user groups and activities, they open to other and more varied groups of users and, what is more, to those that they have never been open to before.

Similar insights can be made with reference to Whyte's (2009) account on the impacts of urban redevelopment in the form of gentrification. The famous investigator argues that many areas that are charged with gentrification are, in fact, not undergoing it, for regeneration neither results in displacement nor in the moving in of higher-income people (Whyte, 2009). In fact, deterioration, may be no less a serious menace to publicness as redevelopment is, because the former threatens to put public space out of any use or, even worse, encourages criminal activity. Having all this in mind, I am inclined to conceive the redevelopment of the public square and other more traditional public spaces in the way that Iris M. Young (2010) conceives social change, i.e., "not as the negation of the given but rather as making something good from many elements of the given" (p. 233). Instead of saying that redevelopment does not involve sacrifices, I suggest recognising that the benefits of redevelopment outweigh the costs or the compromises which need to be made in relation to the use of public spaces undergoing transformations.

Finally, the validity of an idealised view of the public square and the publicness which it has been praised for also needs to be questioned. At this point it serves to turn to Karen Malone (2002) who claims that the history of public space tends to be romanticised and who asks "if there was ever a time when street spaces were free and democratic, equal and available to all" (p. 159). In fact, at different time periods, various groups of users have been denied access to public space (Malone, 2002), and the contemporary city is no different in this respect. Indeed, it must be recognised that it is not only recently or alongside urban redevelopment processes that certain types of activities or patterns of behaviour and certain groups of people have been disapproved of the right to use public spaces. From my perspective, what is different in this epoch is that publicness, which was once shaped by the elite groups, social norms, stereotypes and false assumptions, has recently been conditioned by the combined efforts of all those and in the form of redevelopment projects.

2.4.3 Securitised and exclusionary/inclusive public spaces

Securitisation, which here implies the establishment of certain mechanisms to control how and by whom a public space can be accessed and used, is as much a

result of the involvement of the private sector in the (re)development of various public spaces (including the public square and other more traditional types of public spaces), as it is an end in itself pursued by the public sector and approved of or called for by the public. The aims behind securitisation may be strikingly different, including, but not limiting to, an intention to secure the money invested in a public space and to make a profit out of that investment (Madanipour, 1996), a dedication to benefit the public by enhancing the quality of life and well-being (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009) and a desire to improve safety (Atkinson, 2003). The outcome, however, might be highly comparable and related to undesirable changes in the publicness of securitised public space.

According to the distinguished sociologist Richard Sennett (1993), it was already in the nineteenth century that people became increasingly afraid of the unknown and of victimisation in public. Seeing a crowd of people as unpredictable and potentially violent, they retreated from the public and walled themselves off from others (Sennett, 1993). Georg Simmel (see Simmel & Wolf, 1950), in his turn, described a metropolitan man, who faced by the metropolitan environment and reality, which he found threatening and which he tried to protect himself from, developed the habit of responding with his intellect rather than his emotions. In accord with the ideas mentioned above, more recently scientists from different academic disciplines have argued that in response to the fear of danger, real or imagined, changes in public space take place (see e.g., Mitchell, 2003; Whyte, 2009). As I see it, three main lines of argument can be distinguished in the scientific debate on the effects of securitisation on the publicness of the public square and other more traditional types of public space.

Following the first line of argument, developed mostly by radical geographers and some other social scientists, securitisation results in exclusionary management practices and, as a matter of fact, is associated with the loss of public space in general (e.g., Davis, 1992; Zukin 1995; Mitchell, 2003). In "Fortress Los Angeles: The Militarization of Urban Space", geographer Mike Davis (1992) offers a detailed case study on various defensible strategies that the city of Los Angeles in California, US, has taken and that have considerably modified public spaces of the city. Among the spaces presented as having undergone securitisation, there are both more and less traditional public spaces that are fenced, closed on weekends, monitored by surveillance cameras and security guards, and/or restricted to the use of residents only (Davis, 1992). Taking a Marxist perspective, the scholar suggests that the end result implies exclusion and the lack of variety: "The New Downtown is designed to ensure a seamless continuum of middle-class work, consumption, and recreation, insulated from the city's 'unsavoury' streets" (Davis, 1992, p. 159). What is noteworthy is that it is not only corporate interests that are found to have played a role in militarising Los Angeles; as Davis (1992) argues, poor city residents have

been excluded from certain public spaces, and the city has been turned into a fortress in the interest of middle-class people.

The image of a fortress is also adopted by Mitchell (2003) according to whom public space has been "significantly fortified or at least radically transformed – in the name of security over the past generation" (p. 1). By fortification of public space, Mitchell (2003) means fencing of public parks, turning to private police service for the purpose of surveillance in public squares and train stations, equipping public spaces with surveillance cameras and restricting the time of using certain traditional public spaces. In addition, public space is found to have been made less accessible and less democratic due to ordinances and laws passed to reduce fear in public and deter undesirable groups of people from using public space (Mitchell, 2003). Mitchell (2003) is critical towards the trend saying that "When all is controlled, there can simply be no right to the city, unless, of course it is for you – for your desires, for your interests, maybe even for your needs – that the city is controlled in the first place" (p. 229). Although all is said to be done to maintain the publicness of public space, the result is that undesirable people, mostly the homeless, and the activities they need to undertake in public spaces in order to survive are not only excluded, but also criminalised (see Mitchell, 2003). What this study, as well as the one mentioned earlier, appears to me to suggest in relation to the publicness of the public square and other more traditional types of public spaces is that in the securitised public space, public space users and their activities are categorised into more and less desirable, making public space more exclusive and less public. This change becomes the principal argument against securitising and public spaces.

Although both studies overviewed above take quite a radical approach, they are of great importance for this dissertation as they disclose certain aspects about the changing use of traditional public spaces in the contemporary city. Thereby, among other important points, there are the claims: that the exclusion of certain groups from traditional public spaces can be practiced by public actors; that undesirable groups can be discouraged not only from using, but also from entering spaces designated as public; that public space may be reserved for the middle-class and the activities they approve of; and that the role of the mediator who negotiates between different interests pursued in the public space may be transferred from the users to police or to private security guards. Taking everything into consideration, there cannot be any doubt that a securitised public space, because it discriminates between more and less desirable users and legitimate activities and deny certain groups their rights to access it, to use it and to engage in its (re)production, is marked by a different kind of publicness than the public space ideal. Yet, what remains to be explored is how all these changes associated with securitisation affect the publicness of the public square or other traditional public spaces, in particular, who are the groups of users that are excluded, what activities are qualified as more and less legitimate than others, what

means are devised to ensure the desired use and restrict other activities, and, finally, what kind of publicness is (re)produced and how is that done.

Another line of argument is represented by those scholars, mostly architects, urban planners and urban theorists, who find securitisation of public space not to be directed to any particular groups of users or activities and, thereby, to have more varied, if not more far-reaching, effects on the publicness of various public spaces. Based on the evidence from his numerous studies on the use of public spaces, Whyte (2009) argues that defensive space, which is to discourage certain groups, discourages the rest of the users and, when abandoned by them, attracts namely those who were originally targeted to discourage. What Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht (2009), in turn, find problematic when it comes to the interest in safety, is the risk that various other goals, such as communicative or political, are compromised. Increased concern over security and placing restrictions on certain activities reduce opportunities for interactions with strangers, negotiations over the use of public space and spontaneity, which is "a quality for which we turn to public spaces" (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009, p. 272). Urban surveillance becomes normalised, bringing about changes in socio-spatial practices and making the urban environment fragmented (Silk & Manley, 2017). Assuming that this is the case, one may deduce that, in relation to publicness, securitisation does not only imply accessibility reduced to pre-defined activities and groups of users who take a particular delight in those activities, but also implies less inclusiveness for everyone and every activity. This, I argue, is particularly problematic as it compromises opportunities for practicing publicness and, in this way, opportunities for (re)producing it, since they would be operationalised though use. However, whether this is the case is still an open question.

In addition to the two lines of argument introduced above, a third approach to determining the effects of securitisation on the publicness of public space can be distinguished. Following this approach, increased security does not by default imply jeopardising publicness; it can have both positive and negative effects. Based on Simões Aelbrecht (2016), control undertaken for the purpose of security is double-edged: although it is instrumental in limiting access and encouraging segregation, it is also necessary for increasing the feeling of safety in public space. Indeed, even if the fear people feel in public space is not always congruous with real danger (Carmona et al., 2003; Low & Smith, 2006; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009), it must be recognised, as Lloyd and Auld (2003) suggest, that "perceptions of crime are as real as objective realities as they influence people's patterns of use of public spaces" (p. 340). I believe that allowing crime or unlawful activities to dominate over other activities does not help to guarantee better accessibility and maintain publicness unchanged. At this point it is worthwhile to return to Davis (2013), who by the end of her case study admits that those areas of the Mexico City

where the strategy of zero-tolerance was not adopted remained insecure to such a degree that publicness was compromised to no less of an extent than where the regulations were applied in the historical centre.

Summarising the three approaches to the securitisation of various traditional public spaces and its effects on their publicness, it shall be said that increased security seems to be as likely to discourage as it is to encourage people to use public space. From my perspective, the effects of securitisation on the publicness of more traditional types of public space in general and the public square in particular are oversimplified if they are only associated with the exclusion of certain groups from public space. I am inclined to believe that instead of becoming more exclusive *per se*, the various public spaces as a result of increased security are instead excluding different groups of people and those who are excluded perceive the exclusion differently, which naturally preconditions variations in the use and the publicness of those various public spaces. Consequently, further research is required to find out what the situation is, i.e., what activities are approved of more than others, who are prioritised and who are excluded, who and in whose name makes the decision, and how it all varies across different (including more and less traditional) public spaces in the contemporary city.

2.4.4 Retailised and (un)diversified public spaces

Retailisation, which can be defined as a more or less gradual adaption of public spaces for consumption and retail, is the last of the four changes that is overviewed here as a force reshaping traditional public spaces. To begin with, it shall be noted that spaces dedicated for shopping were present already in in the Middle Ages (Carr et al., 1995), and that consumption has long been an important element of cities (Kunzmann, 2014). In his book *Cities and Consumption,* human geographer Mark Jayne (2006) states that "Cities are molded by consumption and consumption has been molded by cities" (p. 214). Looking at urban space through the lens of culture and consumption, the scholar argues that consumption is written in the shape and form of the city (Jayne, 2006). Despite this, in much of the public space literature, retailisation tends to be presented as one of the greatest changes affecting the publicness of the public square and various other types of public space.

Writing about the retailisation of urban space, Mattias Kärrholm (2012), who specialises in architectural theory, explains that urban spaces with shopping as the primary function rose in importance when interest in consumption substituted interest in production, and shopping became a part of social life and the identity creation process. What this means in practice is that commercial rhythms are synchronised with daily, seasonal and various other urban rhythms, whereby the latter ones are commercialised (Kärrholm, 2012). Referring to commercial

synchronisation in Mälmö, Sweden, Kärrholm (2012) shows how retailisation affects unrestricted access and the variety of activities undertaken in public spaces of the city. On the basis of his findings, the scholar argues that although synchronisations offer new possibilities, they also bring about a more intense private control and may lead to decreased complexity of *territorial productions* (i.e., various activities and uses of space that establish the space as a territory) and fewer opportunities for the unexpected to happen in public space (Kärrholm, 2012). From this it follows that publicness, which the scholar defines as "the result of different territorial productions (and thus stabilisations) intermingling in one place" (Kärrholm, 2012, p. 19), can at a time be affected in quite different ways. What I see his study to suggest in relation to the publicness of the public square and other traditional types of public space is that putting a spotlight on one particular use and (re)producing public spaces to encourage activities specifically related to retail, entail jeopardising their publicness, which is grounded in a variety of activities. Thus, it is not the introduction of commercial activities or shopping that is to be problematised, but rather their dominance over other activities.

In fact, following Kärrholm (2012), shopping is an activity that people willingly engage into and find meaningful. Architect Klaus R. Kunzmann (2014), on his part, even recognises shopping as the main purpose for which people visit urban spaces and the activity that keeps those spaces lively. A related idea can be detected in geographer Michelle Lowe's (2005) study on the impact of newly developed West Quay shopping mall (Southampton, UK) on the use of the city centre. The shopping mall, as Lowe (2005) explains, was produced for stimulating economic activity in the city and maintaining the role of the city centre as a regional centre of retail activity. Regardless of worries expressed shortly after the development, the mall did not render the rest of the centre empty (Lowe, 2005). In fact, quite some benefits are attributed to the outcomes of the project, including the enlarged number of people visiting the area and greater overall attractiveness of the area (Lowe, 2005). Therefore, I am inclined to believe that the retailisation of public spaces in the contemporary city can bring about qualitative changes in the variety of activities undertaken there, while quantitative changes may or may not follow suit.

Having said so, it is important to note that many other scholars have recognised that providing opportunities for shopping and consumption is an important function of public space and retailing is significant for the overall diversity of activities in public space (e.g., Whyte, 1980; Carr et al., 1995; Gehl, 2010, 2011). For example, an inter-disciplinary group of scientists composed of Daniel Miller, Peter Jackson, Nigel Thrift, Beverley Holbrook and Michael Rowlands (1998) recognise shopping to be "a network of activity of which the actual point of purchase of a commodity is but a small part" (p. 14). Shopping, thus, is not only an activity that people carry out on daily basis, but also an activity that assists in maintaining social relations and

creating identity (Miller et al., 1998). Drawing on the example of South Bank Parklands, an area in Brisbane (Queensland, Australia), Lloyd and Auld (2003) also note that commercial activities are important in sustaining non-commercial, leisure activities. A related idea is offered by Sven-Olov Daunfeldt, Oana Mihaescu and Niklas Rudholm (2022), who having studied 17 cases in Sweden conclude that the development of external shopping malls may positively affect the centres of small cities by making them appear as an attractive place for leisure and retail activities. Taking this idea further, I see shopping as an integrated and integrating activity, i.e., an activity that contains a number of activities within itself and is capable of evoking other activities and possibly more active forms of participation in public space and public life. To put it in other words, the opportunity to shop and use commercial services work to attract users having to satisfy certain needs and create opportunities for satisfying other needs, such that were not even intend to be satisfied. From this perspective, retailisation, because it improves opportunities to shop, can be said to have a positive effect on the publicness of various public spaces.

From my perspective, looking at retailisation merely as a threat to the variety of activities that can be undertaken in the public square and other traditional public spaces implies taking a narrow perspective and overlooking the opportunities it can open. It is important to recognise that retailisation is a change that can encourage alternative ways of using public spaces and create conditions for improving their publicness. Yet, the question remains whether this new variety of activities is complementary or not with a diversity of people, which is another dimension of publicness and a component of use.

Coming to the end of the literature review, four concluding remarks shall be made. The first is that the publicness of public space is primarily to be understood and defined through use, both possible and actual. Use (or various aspects of use) is one of the pillars that different concepts of publicness rest on and the only one pillar they all share. Second, as use defines the publicness of public space, all the spaces that are open for public use and in effect used as public spaces belong to the city's inventory of public space. From this it follows – and this is my third remark – that publicness varies not only across different public spaces, but also within one and the same space, because use varies with time. Variations in publicness make the phenomenon difficult to accurately define and imply the need to conceive it in relation to those variations. Fourth, public spaces cannot not be graded by the degree of publicness, for variations may be qualitative as much as they may be quantitative. The questions whether a public space is public and which public is more or less public shall be substituted by the question of how or in what way is the public space public. With these propositions in mind, I have conducted a multiple-case study and explored the publicness of three spaces within the Kamppi area of Helsinki, Finland. My research methodology and results are overviewed in the chapters that follow.

3 Research methodology

This chapter is aimed at presenting the design of the multiple-case study that I carried out and the methods I used to collect empirical data. In addition, it provides an outline of the data collection processes and an account of the steps taken to analyse and interpret the data under the conceptual framework. The chapter ends by reporting how ethical issues have been addressed throughout the whole research process.

3.1 Research strategy and data collection methods

3.1.1 Multiple-case study as the research strategy

This research follows the strategy of the multiple-case study. Generally, the case study is considered to be a most suitable strategy for research that aims to explore, explain and describe a phenomenon paying special regard to its complexity and its context. It is a strategy that makes it possible to focus on the phenomenon in its completeness (Thomas, 2016), to take a holistic perspective to the phenomenon studied (Yin, 2003). As my intention was to explore the publicness of three spaces open for public use by scrutinising each one of them independently as well as by making comparisons across all three, I found the multiple-case study to be the most suitable variant of the case study strategy and designed my study accordingly.

By its research purpose, this multiple-case study is primarily an *exploratory case study* (see Yin, 2003). Having the overall aim to explore and describe the publicness of public space in the contemporary city, I set myself a task to scrutinise a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, to build an in-depth understanding of it, to offer real-life examples and to develop some theoretical propositions or *analytic generalisations*, as Robert K. Yin (2003) calls them. According to Clifford Geertz (1973) such generalisations are within, rather than across, cases. The main intention of this study is to explore publicness and to build an understanding of what it means and how it is (re)produced in the contemporary city.

Instead of testing a theory, I explore and compare three physically and legally different, yet geographically close and publicly usable spaces (see Chapter 1) aiming to offer "a particular representation given in context and understood in that context"

and to generate "exemplary knowledge" (Thomas, 2016, p. 73). It is for this reason that in this dissertation, each of the three spaces is studied as an environment in which the phenomenon of publicness manifests itself, and each is treated as a representative of a different type of public space. Narinkka Square represents a fully open (and nearly free from street furniture or other objects) publicly-owned square; Tennispalatsi Square is an open, yet landscaped and furnished, privately-owned square; and Kamppi Shopping Centre is a multipurpose development that houses a bus station and a shopping mall. Consequently, the three spaces in the Kamppi area serve as instruments for exploring, understanding and describing the publicness of public space and any variations within it. From this perspective, and making a reference to Robert E. Stake (1995), this multiple-case study might also be considered as an *instrumental case study*.

Finally, it must be noted that building an understanding of the publicness of public space by studying three publicly usable spaces, I compare my findings from each case and explore similarities and differences across the spaces. According to Gary Thomas (2016), "With multiple studies, the emphasis is on comparing clearly different examples, and the contrasts found between and among the cases then throw the spotlight on an important theoretical feature." (p. 177). Involving three cases and a comparative approach, this multiple-case study has features of a *comparative case study*. Even so, I intend to identify similarities and differences in the publicness of three different spaces to understand the publicness of each space. Therefore, comparison is a tool for analysis rather than the purpose to be accomplished. As the research follows a holistic design (see Yin, 2003), each of the three spaces studied serves as a unit of analysis and a unit for comparison, and the analysis of each case and the cross-case analysis are made in parallel. This approach is compatible with both exploratory and instrumental purposes of this multiple-case study.

3.1.2 Research methods

Empirical data about the publicness of the three spaces was collected first by scrutinising how the spaces are designed and managed (i.e., observing the principal physical characteristics of the spaces and various objects located in the spaces) and next by examining how the spaces are used (i.e., observing activities undertaken in the spaces and people engaged in the activities). To supplement the data collected by non-communicative means, interviews with people responsible for managing, supervising, developing or otherwise taking care of the spaces were carried out. Table 2 shows what research methods I used to collect empirical data about each dimension of publicness and to answer each research question.

I found that obtaining data from multiple sources was necessary for at least three reasons. First, the use of a few research methods can render large quantities and

multiple forms of qualitative empirical data, allowing for a more in-depth analysis and increasing the validity of research results. Second, data collected from one source becomes possible to corroborate with data collected from other sources. According to Yin (2003), the greatest advantage of using multiple sources of evidence is that it allows for "*converging lines of inquiry*" (p. 98). Third, data about the same phenomenon can be collected both sequentially and in parallel, meaning that data obtained from one source can be used to inform the collection of data from other sources and guide later stages in the data collection process. The advantage of this is the opportunity to make data collection more flexible and better targeted.

Table 2. Correspondence among dimensions of publicness, research questions and research methods

Dimension of publicness	Research question	Research methods	
		main	other
activities	1. Which activities define and (re)produce each space as public space, and how is that done?	non-participant observation	semi-structured interview
users	2. Who are the groups of users engaged in those activities, and how do they contribute to defining and (re)producing each space as public space?	non-participant observation	
control over use	3. What forces affect those activities and the user groups undertaking them, and what are the effects on the use of each space?	spatial observation	

The first of the research methods adopted was the spatial observation. This scientific method of inquiry involved visiting the spaces selected as cases, systematically inspecting their physical characteristics and the objects located there and gathering observable facts about them. Applying this method, I intended to explore the form and structure of the three spaces within the Kamppi area to understand how they can be accessed and used, and what is done to condition their possible and actual use. Another purpose was to familiarise myself better with the spaces studied and prepare for collecting data about the actual use of the spaces. At this stage, I found it important to stay away from observing any forms of public life going on in the spaces to stay fully focused on the physical dimension of the spaces. The results obtained from the spatial observations were expected to inform the latter stages of data collection, which involved conducting non-participant observations and semi-structured interviews. Yet, when taking the next step in the data collection process and collecting observational data about public space users and their activities, I continued observing the form or structure of the spaces and made notes on any aspects that I felt had not been sufficiently considered previously.

The method of non-participant observation, the second of the methods used, was utilised to gather empirical data about activities and users in the spaces studied as

cases (i.e., to find out how the three spaces function as public spaces). I took the role of a non-participant observer and did no more than watch over what the users of the spaces do. In this choice of an observational method as the principal method of scientific inquiry, I was highly motivated by the authors of Project for Public Spaces (2005), who argued that "When you observe a space, you learn about how it is actually used, rather than how you think it is used" (p. 51). Another reason behind this choice was that the method allows the researcher to pay attention to the activities undertaken and the impact of those activities on the space (Michelson, 2014). Given all this, observational data were regarded as particularly important to obtain for exploring the actual practices of using the selected spaces.

The third of the data collection methods I adopted was the semi-structured interview. As observations were planned to be conducted in an unobtrusive manner, avoiding any verbal contact with the people observed, I saw it to be crucial to apply a communicative method of inquiry to clarify any possible uncertainties in the other data sets and to supplement the data collected though observations, both spatial and non-participant. Interview data were gathered by conducting semi-structured interviews with managers, architects and other specialists whose professional and/or contractual duties and responsibilities were in one or another way related to at least one of the three spaces studied. All the research participants were regarded as informants or experts, and they were expected to speak in the name of the organisation they represented. Since the method of the semi-structured interview was primarily adopted to supplement the data obtained by non-communicative means, it was the last of the methods I utilised to gather empirical data.

Before giving more details about the data collection processes, it is worthwhile to remark that when the research was being designed and the methods selected, I was not familiar with any other study exploring the publicness of public space that was designed in a highly comparable way to my study. With its focus on observational means for obtaining evidence, my approach to data collection also somewhat diverged from those adopted in the studies on public spaces that I had familiarised myself with (e.g., Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Miller, 2014; Tani, 2015). In fact, the methodology that I have developed has an added value as it is possible to replicate it the future for studying how other public spaces (or other urban spaces) are used.

3.2 Data collection

3.2.1 Data from spatial observations

The data collection process started with spatial observations. Adopting the method in question implied observing and examining the physical form, structure and spatial arrangements of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping

Centre and the kinds of free-standing objects located in the spaces. Having the data about the physicality (or materiality) of the three spaces, I expected to be able to detect any regulations concerning the possible use of each space. In addition, I intended to develop some theoretical propositions regarding control over the use of public space (which in this research is singled out as one of the three dimensions of the publicness of public space) and to prepare to observe the actual use of the spaces.

Spatial observations were conducted in a semi-structured way. The process of collecting observational data involved visiting the three spaces, observing their physicality, examining various of their elements, carefully filling in ready-made data collection forms (one for each space) and recording any other pieces of apparently valuable (but not pre-defined in the data collection form) data in a field diary. The data collection form (see Appendix 1 for an excerpt), which I used to guide the data collection process, was prepared with reference to the site and floor plans of the three spaces and scientific literature (mostly Whyte, 1980, 2009; Project for Public Spaces, 2005; and Gehl, 2010, 2011) that analyses the performance of public spaces paying regard to, among other things, their design and physical characteristics. Moreover, as I was well-familiar with all the spaces studied, I used my own experience as a user. The final version of the form that I used for recording and structuring spatial observations comprised two sections, both of which were considered and filled in point-by-point. One of the sections was allocated for the data about the physical characteristics of the space studied, namely open space, entrances, windows, stairs, lighting and floor, whereas the other section was left for the data about the objects located in the space, including benches and chairs, other seating options, plants and vegetation, devices for surveillance, signs, litter bins and bike-stands.

Some level of pre-structuring, which the data collection form made possible to reach, was primarily needed to make the research process more manageable for a single researcher as I was. Furthermore, this allowed me to ensure that various characteristics of one space would be examined as in depth as those of the other two spaces, and that the data collected about physically different, but functionally similar, spaces would yield for comparison. However, to maintain a qualitative and holistic approach to research and explore the cases selected thoroughly, it was important not to limit data recording to the filling-in of a ready-made form. Consequently, beside the points listed in the data collection form, any other relevant data about the physical characteristics of the three spaces observed were recorded in a less structured way using a field diary. The observational data gathered as field notes and held in the field diary supported and supplemented some and explained some other pieces of the data systematically recorded in the data collection forms.

Spatial observations were made, and data were collected in the early summer of 2019 and late summer of 2020. The fieldwork yielded rich empirical data about possibilities for and control over the use of each of the three spaces in the Kamppi

area. The next steps in the research process involved processing and analysing this data and collecting data by observing how the spaces are used in practice.

3.2.2 Data from non-participant observations

The purpose of making non-participant observations was to collect observational data about how each of the three spaces are actually used, i.e., what activities are undertaken there and what groups of users use the spaces. Although my overall research approach was primarily qualitative, observing people and activities, I integrated elements from both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

I shall begin describing the data collection process by making a note that I took the role of a non-participant observer. This implies that I did not interact with the people present in the spaces studied and remained distant from any activities happening in the spaces during the process of data collection. Limiting my actions was important for at least three reasons. First, by taking no active part in any of the activities, I expected to avoid reactivity (see Foster, 2006), which is important to do for exploring a phenomenon of interest in its real-life context unaffected by outside stimuli. Second, a non-participant role was seen to safeguard me from the views of the people I was to observe (see e.g., Burns, 2000; Foster, 2006); my goal was to remain as alert, open-minded and objective as possible. Third, keeping a distance from the users of the spaces, I could focus on what was going on in the spaces observed and did not need to trade-off between talking to the users and observing their activities. Nonetheless, intending to collect both qualitative and quantitative data, I spent a decent amount of time in each of the spaces within the Kamppi area and observed the life there in its entirety.

Given the characteristics of the spaces, the tools used and the resources of time and manpower available, some level of pre-structuring was highly needed to collect observational data. To specify, one of the three spaces contains landscape design elements and another one is a multi-storey building, precluding any possibility of observing their whole spaces at a single time by a single researcher who depended upon their own manpower alone. Thus, a specific strategy for observing the spaces had to be devised and followed. In addition to this, some pre-structuring was necessary to stay focused when exposed to overwhelming stimuli at the research site. Finally, my schedule had to be kept tight because the duration of the warm period, which is most suitable for observing how outdoor spaces are used, is relatively short in Helsinki due to the city's location in northern Europe. Pre-structuring allowed me to ensure good time management of the data collection process.

For ideas about the practices of gathering observational data, I turned to the most prominent accounts on the use of the method for studying public spaces. One of them is Whyte's (1980) *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*, where the researcher

describes how he studied the use of different public spaces in New York and what he learnt from the study. To find out what to pay attention to when conducting non-participant observations, I consulted Gehl's (2011) *Life Between Buildings*. Another important source of information was the publication *How to Turn a Place Around: A Handbook for Creating Successful Public Places* by Project for Public Spaces (2005). In the publication, I came across the technique of *activity mapping*, which is based on collecting observational data by visiting the space of interest on different days of the week, observing all the activities undertaken in the space for a limited time and recording what is noticed in forms specially prepared for the purpose (Project for Public Spaces, 2005). Having modified this technique to fit my research, I developed a technique that I could use to obtain observational data about activities and users present in three spaces which I had selected as cases. The technique I applied involved: (1) selecting a representative sample of spots and directions of motion in each space; (2) visiting each space on all days of the week (within the period of one month) and a few times a day at more or less regular intervals; (3) observing and recording what activities are undertaken in the selected spots and directions of motion and what groups of people undertake the activities; and (4) remaining alert to and recording what is going on elsewhere in the space observed and what is the overall experience of being in the space. In this way, I could collect observational data in a mixed manner, i.e., in both more- and less-structured ways.

An alternative approach to gathering observational data about public space users and their activities in public spaces would have implied visiting the spaces without much preparation in advance and acting as a participant observer when collecting data. The benefit of working in a less-structured way is that a researcher can explore public space users' ideas about the spaces they use and get to know the reasons behind their choice to use a particular space and in a particular way. On the other hand, as noted by Peter Foster (2006), it requires spending long hours in the research field and building relationships with research participants, while the data collected in such a way can hardly be used as comparative data. This did not correspond well to my research aim, and neither did it match my, as a researcher, conditions.

There are three reasons to give to explain my choice to act as a non-participant observant. First, since I intended to study and understand the use of public space by scrutinising the activities undertaken by public space users, I wanted to get as close to what I study as possible. Second, I was an individual researcher with limited knowledge of the Finish language, I had almost no funding for research, and I did not reside in Finland at the time when I had to collect data. Third and finally, as a researcher and as a person, I felt much more comfortable working in a more-structured way and gathering the bulk of my data through non-communicative means. Although by choosing the role of a non-participant observer I sacrificed the opportunity to find out more about individual user's motives for and experience of

using a particular public space, I secured some other aspects, including the opportunity to stay fully focused on what can be seen when observing.

Prior to gathering any data when making non-participant observations, I analysed the data I had already obtained from spatial observations (see Chapter 3.3.1) and selected eight to fifteen spots to be observed in each of the three spaces. Which spots and how many of them were selected varied among the spaces depending on their physical characteristics and available facilities. All the spots I selected are listed in Appendix 2. In Narinkka Square and in Tennispalatsi Square, I selected seven spots and three directions of motion. In Kamppi Shopping Centre, which a multi-storey space, I identified 17 spots (four on E Level, seven on the first floor, three on the second floor, three on the third floor and one on the fifth floor) and seven directions of motion.

The next step was to decide on what to focus on when observing the selected spots. With reference to the publications mentioned earlier in this chapter and the empirical data from spatial observations, as well as relying on my own experience as a user of the spaces, I first listed fourteen activities. By their nature, the activities fell into two big groups, namely passive uses (or activities that do not imply an active engagement with the space or other users of the same space) and active uses (or activities that imply the use of available facilities and/or an interaction with other users of the space). Yet, it was on the very first day of data collection that the need to add six more activities arose, extending the original list of activities to nineteen and the groups that they were divided into to three. Table 3 contains the final list of activities that was used to categorise the activities witnessed when visiting the spaces and collecting observational data.

As regards the observational data that were collected about the users of the three spaces within the Kamppi area, they comprised no more than the data needed to answer the research questions. Having carefully traded off between ethical issues (see Chapter 3.4) and the research questions, I decided to record only such information as public space users' approximate age, gender and affiliation with social groups, as well as whether they were alone or not when using a particular public space. The four aspects were singled out based on the theoretical propositions and empirical evidence alongside which the use of public space varies between different user groups. To specify, having closely read the publications by Whyte (1980; 2009), Carr et al. (1995), Malone (2002), Carmona et al. (2003), Project for Public Spaces (2005) and Tani (2015), to mention those that I found most influential, I concluded that public space users' gender, age, social group and the company they use public space with tend to affect how they use it. All the data about the users observed were collected as categorical data, measuring the value of each aspect or variable using my own senses and insight only. Categorising the data allowed ensuring that the people observed were impossible to identify with reasonable effort

and made the data collection process manageable for a single researcher. In Table 4 there is a list of all the categories established for the purpose of collecting data about users. What is noteworthy is that while most of aspect categories were pre-defined before collecting the data, the categories under the social group aspect were allowed to emerge during the data collection process.

Table 3. Activities observed in the three spaces within the Kamppi area

Passive uses	Active uses	Other activities
sitting	socialising	taking a break
standing	participating in events	meeting (or gathering)
watching people	shopping	saying “Bye”
passing by	using facilities and services	collecting bottles
eating	doing sports (or playing)	begging
using ICT	working	
spending time (or hanging out)		
waiting (or walking around)		

Table 4. Categories used to describe the public space users observed in the three spaces within the Kamppi area

Age	Gender	Company
children	female	individual users
adolescents	male	pairs
young adults	other	couples
the middle-aged		groups (families and other groups)
the elderly		

Social group			
ordinary people	travellers	disadvantaged groups	office people
school children	tourists	mothers/fathers with prams	workers
students	subcultures	lower-income people	other groups
elderly people	ramblers		

Using the data collection form offered by Project for Public Spaces (2005, p. 116) as a model, I developed a data collection form which I could use when collecting observational data about the variety of activities and user groups in each space. A example of my observational data collection form (which I also call observation form in this dissertation) can be found in Appendix 3.

Finally, observing how each of the three spaces within the Kamppi area are used, I also collected data about the context in which the observations were made. This included recording information about time and duration of the visits, weather conditions during the observations, special occasions, planned special events and unplanned happenings on the days of the visits and the exact spot of each instance

of use observed. For brief remarks, I used the same observational data collection form, whereas more detailed accounts on contextual conditions were recorded in a field diary that I kept during the data collection process. The field diary also served for recording more detailed notes on what was going on in and around the spaces and for noting down anything else that was deemed informative but that could not be recorded in the ready-made data collection forms. To record field notes, I used a notebook (either paper-based or electronic) with pages divided into three sections, namely (1) people and activities, (2) contextual conditions, and (3) my experience and interpretations.

To summarise the process of making non-participant observations, each time I visited any of the three spaces within the Kamppi area for the purpose of collecting observational data, I (1) carefully observed what was going on in the public space, (2) took notes on the contextual conditions, (3) filled in an observational data collection form (see Appendix 3) and (4) put down any relevant remarks in the field diary. I made 77 visits to each of the three spaces and 231 visits in total. The number of visits is as large as this because I visited each space a few times per day on twenty-one days randomly selected from the period of four weeks. On seven of those days, I visited each space five times a day (from early morning until late evening). On the other fourteen days, I visited each space three times a day, i.e., either three times before the noon or three times after the noon. Thereby, within the period of four weeks, extensive observational data about the use of all the spaces selected as cases on each full day of the week (Monday-Sunday) and on two full weeks were obtained. In Table 5, I demonstrate how I distributed my visits to one of the spaces within one of the four weeks.

Table 5. Distribution of visits to one of the three spaces studied within one of the four weeks

Week number	Day of the week	Early morning (7–9 am)	Late morning (9–11 am)	Mid-day (11:30am–2pm)	Afternoon (2–4:30 pm)	Evening (5-7:30 pm)	Late evening (7:30-9:30pm)
Week 3	**Monday**	√	√	√	√	√	
	Tuesday				√	√	√
	Wednesday	√	√	√			
	Thursday	√	√	√	√	√	
	Friday				√	√	√
	Saturday				√	√	√
	Sunday						

As regards the time span within which each day I visited the spaces and collected observational data, it was governed by the length of the daytime, or daylight hours,

and the opening hours of Kamppi Shopping Centre. While on working days (from Monday to Friday) the opening times of the shopping mall roughly coincided with the duration of the daytime, on Saturdays and Sundays the upper floors of the shopping mall were closed a few hours before the night fell, and on Sundays the upper floors opened a few hours later as compared to the other days of the week or the rising of the sun outside. To obtain comparable data, in both outdoor and indoor spaces and on both working days and weekends, each day's observations were made within the same time span, which was between 7 am and 9:30 pm.

The duration of each of my visits to any of the spaces for the purpose of collecting observational data varied between 15 and 75 minutes depending on the number and diversity of users, the kind and variety of activities, and the characteristics of the space visited. Consequently, to gather observational data about the use of Narinkka Square I spent nearly 35 hours, non-participant observations in Tennispalatsi Square lasted for almost 25 hours in total, and observational data about the actual use of Kamppi Shopping Centre were gathered in about 65 hours. In total I spent up to 125 hours observing how the three spaces within the Kamppi area are used. As I made 231 visits in total, on average a single visit lasted around half an hour. Having spent this amount of time observing activities and users in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, I obtained a considerable body of data about the actual use of the spaces. The mixed approach adopted to collecting observational data gave rise to two forms of data: qualitative data in the form of field notes and primary quantitative data in the form of numbers and ticks in observation forms. Before the data sets were analysed and interpreted, they were processed and used (to a limited extent) to inform the last phase in the data collection process, which involved gathering interview data.

Finally, it feels right to give a brief account of my own experience, including the pleasures enjoyed and the difficulties faced, when observing the spaces within the Kamppi area. As the data collection process involved spending long hours meticulously inspecting what was going on and required staying alert yet acting quickly when recording what is being seen, it turned out to be a tedious job, hardly manageable for a single researcher as I was. The times when the weather was sunny and pleasantly warm and when most people tended to have time off work and studies were especially challenging, leaving me exhausted and secretly hoping for the next day to be cloudy.

Even so, the process of gathering observational data went exceptionally smoothly. There were no other major difficulties and no serious obstacles that could aggravate the data collection. Besides this, it felt a rewarding job to do: on the first working day in the field, I came to an understanding what works well and what should be improved for the remaining twenty days; in the first few days, I confirmed and disconfirmed most of my initial propositions and developed most of the new

ones; I reached data saturation a few days before my observations were over; and each time I went to the field, I went there with confidence - I knew what I had to do, how to do that and why that was necessary to be done. On top of that, whenever I was in whichever of the three spaces, I felt I was in a public space: welcome to come, safe to be there, free to choose and willing to stay. Even if my activity was peaceful, my repeated visits and long stays with a pen and a paper could have appeared awkward, to say the least. Yet, the spaces welcomed me, as I was, and tempted me to do more than research and to stay longer, which I unfortunately could not allow myself to do. Within those four weeks, they became my public spaces, and the people there became people from my neighbourhood, even if I was not a local and did not come into closer contact with the people. A year later, when I returned to the spaces as a visitor, some of the people I had observed were still there going about their deeds, which made me feel like home and has ever since tempted me to come back.

3.2.3 Interview data

The last of the research methods applied to collect empirical data was the semi-structured interview. The people who I intended to interview were expect to act as informants or experts and share their professional knowledge and insights. Before questioning and conversing with them, I compiled a list of topics to be considered. Some level of pre-structuring was deemed to be advantageous from two perspectives: the researcher's and the research participant's. In this way, I secured the opportunity to have a better targeted and easier to manage interview, while my informants could familiarise themselves with the points to be focused on during the interview, think about their answers beforehand and gain get some control over the content of the interview and the process of interviewing.

Four main criteria were adopted when searching for and selecting the people to be interviewed as informants. First, the informant was expected to be familiar with at least one of the three spaces I had chosen to study within the Kamppi area and know how that particular public space(s) was(were) expected to be used and how this corresponded to the real-life situation. Second, the informant's educational background or professional duties and responsibilities had to enable them to discuss the topics that this research is concerned with. Third, the informant had to be willing to give their consent to take part in the research by giving an interview and to allow me to use the interview data for the purposes related to this research. Fourth, the informant was expected to be ready to dedicate at least thirty minutes for the interview and to communicate in English during the interview and before/after the interview on various matters related to their participation in my study.

The selection of informants was guided by the kind of conversation that I sought to have and the kind of data that I intended to collect through communicative means.

As my research focused on the use of the three spaces selected as cases, I felt the need to talk to people who were well-familiar with all the possibilities of use that one or some of the spaces studied could offer, who had factual information about the actual practices of using the space(s), and who were able to distinguish between what the spaces are intended for and what they actually work for. Thus, the informant was expected to speak as an expert and in the name of the organisation they worked for or as a representative of their specialisation. Personal insights and experience were welcomed and appreciated, but they did not serve as the selection criteria.

The search for informants was a slow process, and it took more than half a year to establish contacts and plan and conduct interviews. In total, five people were interviewed, three working for the City of Helsinki and two having their professional duties in some way related to Kamppi Shopping Centre as well as Tennispalatsi Square. Table 6 provides basic information about each research participant who was interviewed as an informant: the informant's position, duties and responsibilities, and connection with the spaces studied. The table contains only the names of those research participants who gave their consent to disclosing them in this publication. If the consent to disclose the name was not obtained, a dash is used as a substitute.

Table 6. Informants, their positions and the organisations they represent

NAME	POSITION	ORGANISATION/WORKPLACE
Maria Jaakkola	Head of Urban Space and Networks Unit	Urban Environment Division, City of Helsinki
Janne Prokkola	Head of Southern Area Unit in Detailed Planning Section	Urban Environment Division, City of Helsinki
Jouni Heinänen	Head of Western Area Planning Unit	Urban Environment Division, City of Helsinki
Tiina Fågel	Director	Kamppi Shopping Centre
-	Security employee	Kamppi Shopping Centre and Tennispalatsi Square

Before conducting interviews, I prepared an interview guide, which included basic information about the research and research ethics, an interview plan, a list of topics to be covered during the interview and some preliminary interview questions. The questions were framed so that they would allow for answers comprising data about different dimensions of publicness, but that would not suggest an expected reply or disclose my own viewpoint. The interview guide was expected to assist me in holding the interview. For the informants taking part in the interview, I prepared a special information sheet regarding the collection, processing, use, publishing and storing of the interview and personal data (see Appendix 4). The information sheet

was emailed to each informant well in advance, and each one was requested to familiarise themselves well with it before taking part in the interview.

All the interviews were conducted face-to-face and in private, and they all went exceptionally smoothly. It also deserves to be mentioned that all the informants did their best to provide as detailed answers to my questions as possible. Constructing their answers, the informants also made an effort to distinguish between facts and their own opinions and between their insights as professionals and their experience as users. What I appreciated most is that the informants felt responsible for the answers they were offering: in case their work responsibilities turned out to be but loosely related to what I wanted to know, the informants told me they had limited knowledge about that or said they could share no more than their opinions or experience. In any case, for most of my questions I received very detailed answers, sometimes more informative than I could predict. Since the informants were treated as experts, it was the content of the answers that was given most attention.

Each interview was regarded as completed when the informant had no further remarks to make and after the consent obtained before the interview was confirmed to be valid. The duration of the interviews varied between half an hour and 50 minutes. In total, the interviews rendered almost 215 minutes of valuable interview data available as audio recordings. Before performing an analysis of the interview data, they were first secured, archived and transcribed. Issues regarding how I ensured responsible conduct of research are covered in more detail in Chapter 3.4. As for now, it will be noted that all necessary measures were taken to make sure the interviews were carried out following high ethical standards.

3.3 Data analysis and presentation

3.3.1 Analysis of data from spatial observations

The process of data analysis and interpretation began with the analysis of the data collected applying the method of spatial observation. These observational data comprised three large datasets, one from each public space, and each set consisted of paper-based data collection forms, paper-based unstructured field notes and digital pictures. Before the raw data collected from each of the three spaces studied as cases could be analysed and compared among each other, they were combined into aggregate data for each space observed.

I performed qualitative content analysis and systematically analysed the contents of all the data that I managed to obtain from spatial observations. Having the intention to validate and extend my conceptual framework (see Chapter 2.2), I took a *directed* approach to content analysis of data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). To do this, I used my conceptual framework to identify themes or codes and to develop an initial

coding scheme that I could use to analyse my visual and text data collected from the spatial observations. This coding scheme was expected to be refined as the analysis of the data proceeded. Although Hsiu-Fang Hsieh and Sarah Shannon (2005), who I followed in developing my approach to qualitative content analysis, defined the method as "the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns." (p. 1278), I applied it to analyse both text data contained in data collection forms and field notes and visual data that appeared as digital photos.

My analysis involved examining the data by identifying all examples of several selected themes, putting them into categories and determining relationships among them. The technique that I used was not completely new: a similar technique for scrutinising and coding observational data (field notes in particular) collected when working in the field had been used before, and one can find it carefully presented in scientific literature (e.g., Bernard, 2006; Saldana, 2016). Having introduced some changes to make it better applicable to my research approach and intentions, I developed my own data coding technique. In the paragraphs below, I offer an account of my technique to analyse the data from spatial observations.

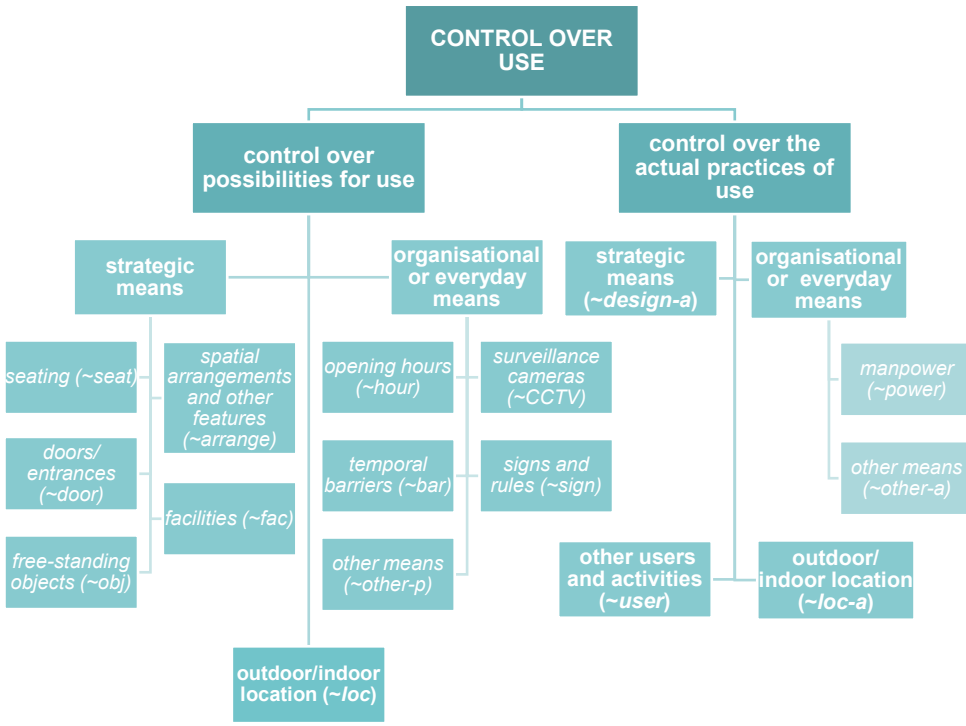


Figure 7. Coding frame used to analyse the data about control over the use of public space (abbreviated names of codes are given in brackets)

I performed the analysis of observational data in stages, and the process involved a few steps. As my approach was *directed,* I started with a deductive application of categories before I examined the data and formulated categories out of my data, i.e., before I developed them inductively (Mayring, 2000). The first step involved going back to the conceptual framework that had guided my research (see Figure 6 and Chapter 2.2), singling out key aspects in relation to control over the use of public space and looking for illustration of those aspects in my text and visual data from spatial observations. Referring to Margrit Schreier's (2012) guidelines for carrying out a qualitative content analysis, I developed a special scheme or a *coding frame* (see Figure 7). In addition to the *topic* and the *categories* for naming and grouping data items, my coding frame included *subcategories*, or specifications about the categories, as Schreier (2012) describes them. The topic and the categories were all concept-driven: the topic "control over use" corresponded to one of my three dimensions of publicness, whereas the categories "control over possibilities for use" and "control over the actual use" were derived from the two components of this dimension (as specified in the conceptual framework). As for the subcategories, which appeared in two levels, only some of them, such as "seating", "surveillance cameras" and "other users and activities" could be identified using the theoretical framework. The remaining subcategories were developed inductively, i.e., they emerged in the latter stages of data analysis and out of the data analysed.

After the initial coding frame was ready, I performed the next step of my analysis. This involved reading my notes, contained in data collection forms and field diary, and scrutinising the photos that I had taken in the spaces. My intention was to detect those items of data that represented one or some of the established categories or subcategories and to code them. In addition to this, I also made an attempt to evaluate how relevant and pervasive various codes were and to figure out any interdependencies among them. This second step in the process of content analysis was considered complete after all the data from spatial observations were examined and after relevant items of data were identified and coded with the codes developed inductively.

Although I allowed my conceptual framework to guide me at the beginning of my data analysis, my overall approach to qualitative content analysis was mixed and combined a *concept-drive* (or deductive) approach and a *data-driven* (or inductive) approach (Gibbs, 2007; Schreier, 2012). In the initial stage of the analysis (i.e., the first two steps described above), I worked deductively, whereas in the latter stages, the analysis was performed inductively. This means that having coded the data with the codes derived from my conceptual framework, I went through my data again looking for any items of text data and visual data that could be treated as relevant but that were left uncoded because they could not be assigned to any concept-driven category or subcategory. Working inductively, I developed some of the first-level

subcategories, most of the second-level subcategories and all third-level subcategories (if applicable) that could not be developed earlier (when working deductively) since in the literature these aspects were not (or not sufficiently) considered. For example, reading through the data that had been left uncoded, I developed the following second-level subcategories: “seating”, “temporal barriers” and “free-standing objects”. Allowing my empirical data to guide me in this latter stage of analysis was highly advantageous not only because I could identify items of data that illustrated control over the use of public space in various previously unidentified ways, but also because I could redefine the established codes and refine the coding frame, making it most suitable for interpreting the observational data that I had collected.

Refining the coding frame that had been developed when working inductively was the fourth step in the process of analysing the data from spatial observations. This step involved adding new subcategories that emerged from the observational data themselves and introducing any rearrangements in the existing categories. Upon the addition of new subcategories, I made sure that they fell under the right category and that neither categories nor subcategories overlap. What Figure 7 represents is the already refined version of the coding frame, the one that was used to analyse the data about control over the use of each space studied as a case. In the figure, there are all the categories and first- and second-level subcategories, while the third-level subcategories – because they are applicable only to some of the second-level subcategories and some of the spaces – are not included. I used this refined coding frame to re-examine all the data (data collection forms, field notes and digital photos) that I had obtained when observing the physical characteristics of each space studied as a case. This marked the fifth and one but the last step of the analysis of all the data from the spatial observations. What is also noteworthy is that the same coding frame was used to analyse the data about the dimension of control over use that were obtained from the semi-structured interviews.

The final step that marked the completion of the content analysis of observational data involved grouping together all the items of data carrying the same code. Figure 8 illustrates how different items of observational data that were assigned to the same subcategory when coding the data and, as a matter of fact, given the same code, were later grouped together. Putting together all items of data with the same code was deemed necessary for at least three reasons. First, it made it easier to work with and to handle the massive amount of data; second, it allowed me to quickly find the data about one or another component of publicness; and third, it facilitated the process of interpretating the data about each space and when making comparisons across the three spaces studied as cases.

<table>
<tr><td>NARINKKA SQUARE</td><td>Vegetation includes and is limited to:
6 trees (crab apple trees) along Simonkatu Street. They are in bloom in May and can provide leafy shade.
2 pots of coniferous tress at the main entrance to the shopping centre. There are 8 plants in each pot. Pots can provide some shade.
17 small pots of coniferous trees and flowers around a restaurant terrace.
2 climbing plants at the stairs facing Salomonkatu Street.
(Data collection form, June 9 and 11, 2019)</td></tr>
<tr><td>CONTROL OVER USE
Control over possibilities for use
Strategic means
Free-standing objects
Code: ~obj</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">The trees are still in bloom, but their blossoms are shedding petals, adding to the litter that is on the ground on the square. (Field notes, late evening, May 30, 2019)
More than half of the square was in shade and the smaller half (closer to the Turku barracks) and three trees were in sun. (Field notes, evening, June 13, 2019)
The square was in sun while the trees, expect for one I think, were in shade. (Field notes, morning, June 18, 2019)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">    
(Spatial observation, June 9 and 15, 2019)</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 8. A sample of various items of observational data placed under the same subcategory and given the same code

Finally, it is important to make notice of the fact that despite that the data about Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre were analysed individually, the same refined coding frame was used to code items of observational

data from each space studied. This was deemed important as the results of the analysis of each case were to be compared and interpreted among themselves.

3.3.2 Analysis of data from non-participant observations

Non-participant observations rendered almost equally extensive empirical data about activities and user groups in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre. These observational data from each space in question appeared in two sets, namely observation forms and field notes. The data in the observation forms were mostly quantitative and appeared as ticks and numbers, while the data in the field notes were qualitative and textual. Due to these differences in form, the two sets of data from non-participant observations were processed and analysed separately. It was only after the analysis of each set of data was finished that the findings from each could be combined, corroborated and interpreted.

Analysis of quantitative observational data

Three to five visits per day on twenty-one days rendered 77 observation forms with quantitative observational data about the actual use of each of the three spaces and 231 forms with data in total. The data contained in the observation forms mostly included quantitative data about the number of users from all the different user groups present and the number of instances (or examples) of various activities undertaken in different spots within each of the spaces at specific times. As the unit of analysis was a public space, I aggregated the data, which appeared in the form of ticks and numbers, about each space separately. In each case, this implied putting the data from all 77 observation forms together and then counting the totals of each user group and each activity observed. Figure 9 represents what total numbers I counted when aggregating quantitative data about various instances of use in each space studied.

It is noteworthy that the various totals calculated were counted in order to obtain a general picture about the range and intensity of activities that occurred during the day, the week and the whole observation period, as well as among the diversity of user groups and the distribution of activities among different user groups in each space. To specify, I paid attention to the *timing* of each activity, the overall *intensity* of all activities and each activity, the *daily and weekly distribution* of different user groups, the *overall interest* of each user group in each space studied as a case and the *attractiveness* of each activity to each user group. As my research approach was primarily qualitative, for the quantitative data, I focused on the positioning of the values of the totals calculated on the same scale among similar data rather than on the absolute values of the totals calculated. My intention was twofold: first, I wanted

to compare the total numbers of various examples observed in one space among themselves and next, I sought a comparison of the total numbers of corresponding examples across the three spaces. To discover how various totals calculated compare across the spaces within the Kamppi area, I calculated their percentage share among other totals in the same case and then compared the percentage values across the cases. Figure 10, illustrates the strategy that I used to analyse qualitative data about one aspect of interest separately in each case (notice different colouring) and across the three cases (notice percentage value).

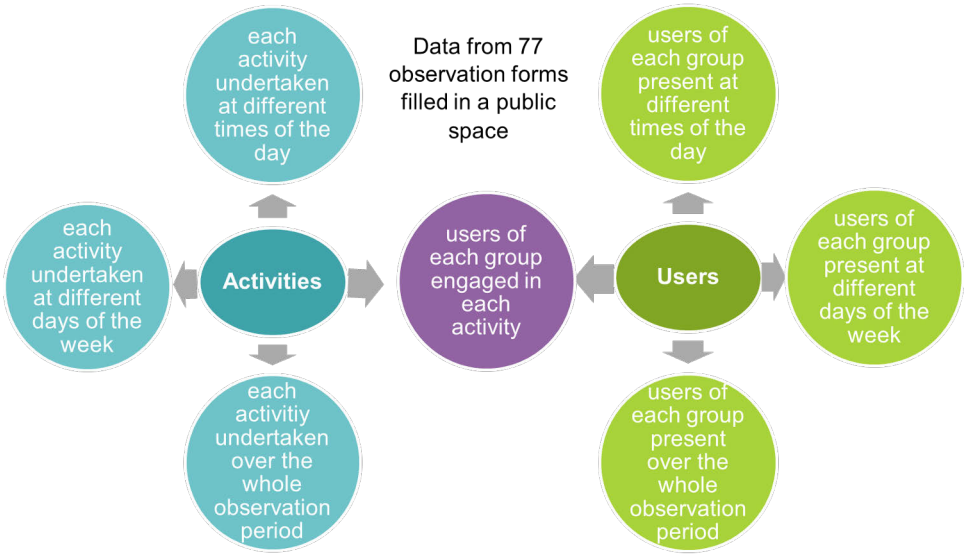


Figure 9. Totals that were counted (separately for each space studied) when aggregating the data about the activities and users from observational data collection forms

	Children (0-12)	Adolescents (13-18)	Young adults (19-39)	Middle-aged (40-60)	Elderly (over 60)
Narinkka Square	65 (2,5%)	283 (11%)	1348 (53%)	679 (26,5%)	188 (7%)
Tennispalatsi Square	103 (8%)	169 (14%)	596 (48%)	267 (22%)	99 (8%)
Kamppi Shopping Centre	280 (10%)	404 (14%)	1425 (49%)	593 (21%)	181 (6%)

Note! In Kamppi Shopping Centre, in addition to the people that the number represents, there was a crowd of people (around 30-50) present. This made it not possible to count the exact number of people in the crowd and identify their age.

Figure 10. Total numbers (and their percentage share) of different age groups observed over the whole observation period in the three spaces within the Kamppi area

Comparing the totals calculated of various examples of use observed in three different spaces, I did not only attempt to find out how well they compare among each other but also to trace any interdependencies and regular patterns and to identify irregularities. The results obtained were interpreted under the conceptual framework (see Chapter 2.2) that I developed for this research by reading literature, selecting recurrent ideas about what makes public space a special category of urban space (or what makes it public) and synthesising my own approach to the publicness of public space. What I did was to compare my empirical findings against theoretical propositions in order to evaluate how they correspond to one another. In doing this, instead of making statistical generalisations, I focused on tracing any reasons behind the findings and working out some explanations.

Analysis of qualitative observational data

Results obtained from the analysis of quantitative observational data served as the starting point for analysing qualitative observational data, which were contained in field notes and appeared in text form. In addition, I used the conceptual framework that had been established for the purpose of this research (see Chapter 2.2). What this means is that in developing the first version of the coding frames to analyse the observational data gathered from the field notes, I consulted both the conceptual framework and my own empirical findings. Even so, my approach to the content analysis shall be considered as a directed approach, since at the beginning of the analysis I developed the codes deductively rather than from the data that were being analysed (see Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Most of the concept-driven codes included categories and first-level subcategories such as “age groups”, “gender groups”, “variety of activities” and “level of activity”. The majority of the second-level subcategories, on the other hand, were developed with reference to the findings from my quantitative observational data that had been analysed by the time I performed the analysis of the data from the field notes. Among the codes developed at that point, there are codes for activities such as “sheltering”, “doing nothing in particular”, “having coffee” and “participating in events” and codes for user groups such as “ramblers”, “students” and “travellers”. Many of the codes making up the initial coding frames were retained in the revised coding frames, which differ from their prototypes mostly in the number of second- and third-level sub-categories.

The process of analysing qualitative observational data about activities and users very much resembled the content analysis of the data obtained from the spatial observations, which was also qualitative and appeared for the most part in text form. The analysis of these data was performed in the same five steps as the analysis of the data from the spatial observations (see Chapter 3.3.1). To specify, what I did first was to establish initial categories and subcategories to code relevant items of

observational data and next to carefully read through the field notes searching for any data items that represented any of the (sub)categories. Figure 11 illustrates the process of coding. It includes an excerpt from my field notes with some relevant items of data about activities identified, highlighted and coded.

KAMPPI SHOPPING CENTRE		**Monday morning**
People and activities	**Contextual conditions**	**My experience and interpretation**
The **passers-by were walking** in quite well-organised manner. On Level 1, which usually gets very busy, it was quiet, although at the exists to Salomonkatu Street and Annankatu Street it was busy. pass	Outside it was sunny and warm, even if it was a bit windy.	It **was possible to take notes** on what people were doing on the hallways going along U. Kekkosenkatu Street (both Level 1 and Level 2). LLA
At the main entrance there was an elderly couple **spending their time.** They were **walking around**, the woman was **having coffee**. They were **looking around** and **stopping** here and there. spend coffee watch parallel	A new advertisement started coming out from the loudspeakers. It replaced one of the annoying advertisements that had been on before.	At the exists to Annankatu Street and Salomonkatu Street it was **crowded – I could not even count the number of people entering or leaving** the shopping mall, not to speak about taking notes on the groups they represented! HLA
At the main entrance two people **checked the bins looking for bottles:** [a person] that I often see do that in the mall and a middle-age man, whom I had not seen before. bottle	While Narinkka Square was being cleaned after heavy littering the night before, Kamppi was being polished. Namely this would be the word to describe what was being done, as it had already been clean, but there were still cleaners at work. There was a cleaner on Level 1, a cleaning machine on Level 3 and a cleaner on Level 5.	It was only **now, not earlier, that the activity of collecting bottles started to be undertaken as some people had already passed by,** and it could be expected that some bottles had been put into bins. bottle out of
In the centre (Level E), a group of adolescents **started gathering.** Together with them there were also two middle-aged females, probably teachers or guides. meet		The shopping mall **is chosen as a place for groups to meet and gather** before they continue somewhere else. meet
There was a young male who **skated out of metre.** He skated quite fast. skat		Is it allowed to skate inside?
On Level 3, around the circle, there was a young family with two prams and a granny **shopping** and **spending time**. shop spend		I am not sure if I have ever seen extended families spending their time in Narinkka Square.

Figure 11. An excerpt from the field notes where items of data about activities are coded with labels from a relevant coding frame

The third step in the analysis of the field notes was to read through the notes again while focusing on the items of data that remained uncoded. In doing so, I intended to find those items of data that were of relevance even if they did not carry any (sub)category established based on the conceptual framework and the results of the analysis of quantitative observational data. This third step marked a shift in the analysis, as I started working inductively and allowed the data that were being

analysed to speak for itself. After I established new subcategories, I added them to the initially developed coding frames, thereby refining them and completing their development. Since the data from non-participant observations were expected to inform me about two dimensions of publicness, namely activities and users, I established two coding frames: one for analysing data about activities (see Figure 12) and one for analysing data about users (see Figure 13). In the analysis of the data from spatial observations, this fourth step required a lot of effort, as it involved making many changes in the coding frame. This time only a few changes were introduced since many of the codes had already been established in the first step from the results of the analysis of quantitative observational data.

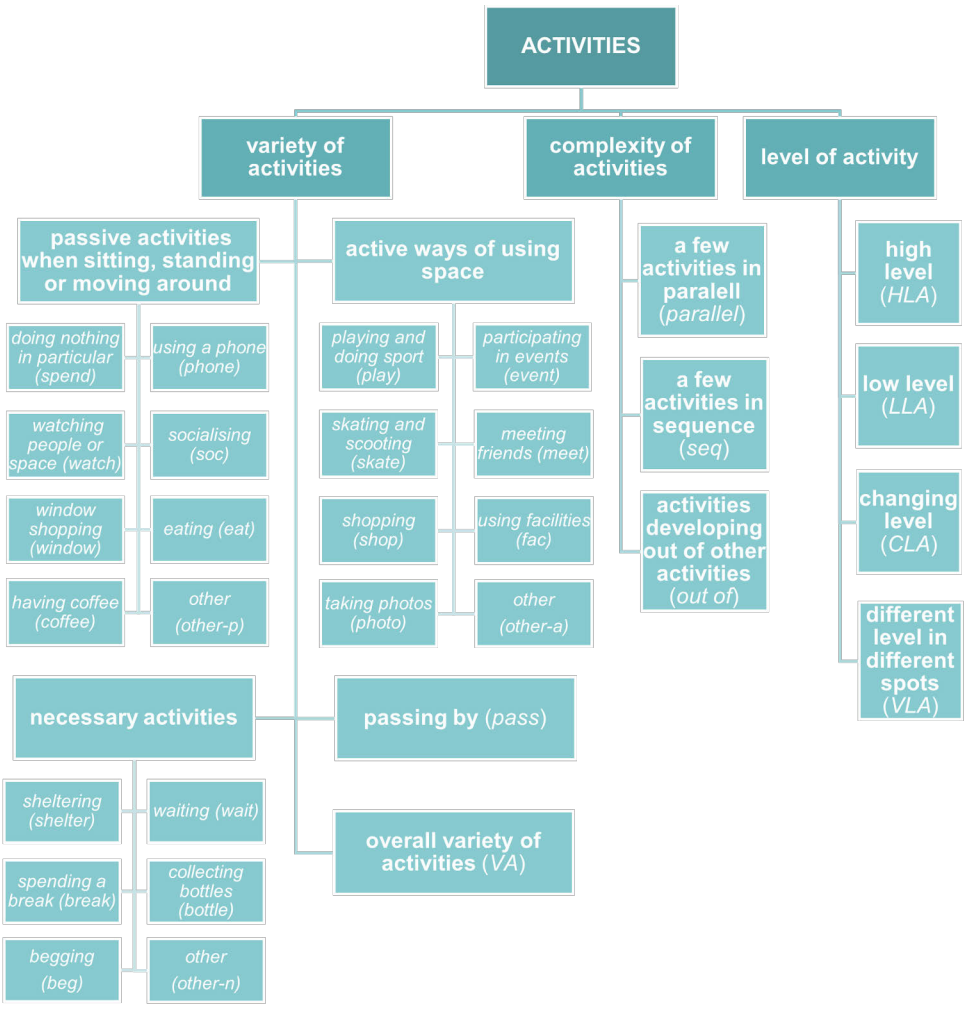


Figure 12. Coding frame used to analyse observational data about activities (abbreviated names of codes are given in brackets)

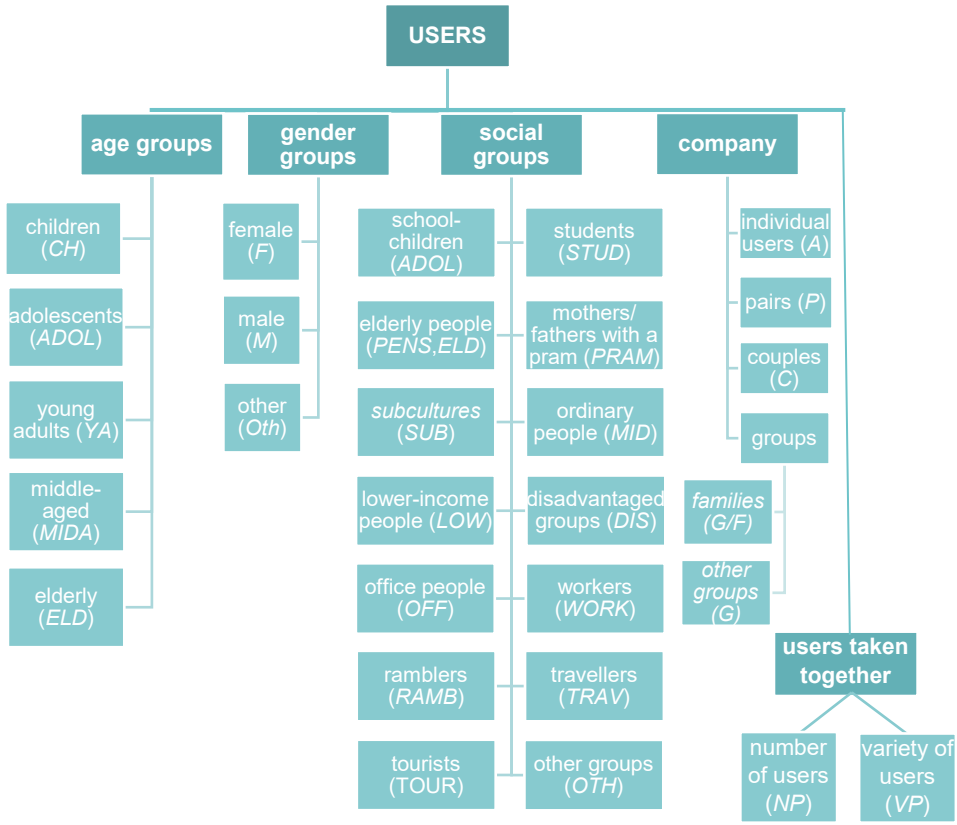


Figure 13. Coding frame used to analyse observational data about users (abbreviated names of codes are given in brackets)

Both coding frames that were to be used for analysing the data about the actual use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre were designed with all three spaces in mind. The value of this was that examining the qualitative observational data obtained for each of the three spaces separately, with the help of the same coding frames, allowed me to focus on the same aspects of use for each space studied as a case and to compare the publicness of those spaces on the same terms. In order to allow the peculiarities regarding the use of any of the three spaces not to remain uncoded and, therefore, unconsidered when interpreting the results of the analysis, I kept the coding frames relatively broad so that they would include not only codes for recurrent topics but also for those about case-specific features. For example, the codes “shopping” and “window shopping” were applicable only to items of data about activities in Kamppi Shopping Centre. Yet,

they were included in the coding frame which I used to explore the observational data about activities in the shopping mall, but also in the squares.

Having refined the coding frames, I read through the field notes again (in the analysis of data from spatial observations this was the fifth step). While doing so I paid attention not only to what was uncoded, but also to the items of data that had been coded in the initial stage of data analysis. This was deemed necessary to ensure that all the relevant items of data were coded and the coding was done appropriately. The last of the six steps involved finding items of data carrying the same code and grouping them together to make the comparison across cases and the interpretation of research results smoother and more manageable. Figure 14 illustrates an example of how entries from my field notes were grouped together because they all carried the same code.

TENNISPALATSI SQUARE	There was also a group of five tourists (three female and two male) spending time around the chairs facing Fredrikinkatu Street. Four of them were socialising and using their phones while sitting and, I suppose, waiting for their trip, and one woman was trying to reorganise her belongings. (Sunday evening, August 2020) There was a middle-aged female obviously staying in the square while waiting for her trip. She was sitting on the chairs facing the fountain and drinking coffee. She was regularly checking her watch so that she would be on time for her departure. (Monday morning, August 2020)
ACTIVITIES • Variety of activities ▪ Necessary activities – *Waiting* Code: *wait*	
There were people waiting. Among them, on a bench facing one of the restaurant terraces, there was an elderly traveller with a backpack. He was sitting, looking at his watch and watching people. He must have been sheltering in the square while waiting for his trip. (Monday mid-day, August 2020) There was an elderly traveller, who was probably waiting for his trip. He had a big backpack and a shopping trolley bag, similar to the one that elderly people tend to have. Standing around the fountain, he checked his watch and then walked around the fountain. (Tuesday morning, August 2020) The elderly couple of tourists who left Kamppi shopping went to take a seat in the square. They headed to the chairs facing Fredrikinkatu Street and sat down. I believe they were waiting for their trip. While sitting, they were doing nothing in particular and mostly watching people. (Thursday evening, August 2020) There were people spending time alone, maybe waiting or just enjoying the sun before it went down. One of them was a middle-aged man, a traveller, who was sitting under the pine tree drinking coffee, watching people and waiting for his trip. (Thursday evening, August 2020)	

Figure 14. An excerpt from the analysis of field notes illustrating how items of data were grouped together because they all carried the same code

Finally, it needs to be pointed out that each space I studied served as a unit of analysis, and I examined the qualitative observational data collected separately in

each space within the Kamppi area. Having completed the analysis of each case, I compared the results obtained about one case with those about the other two cases and attempted to detect similarities and differences among the spaces as far as the themes selected, coded and studied are concerned. As the set of qualitative observational data was the most extensive one, performing the analysis of the data was the longest and most tedious of all the stages of data analysis. Yet, it was also the most fruitful, since by performing the analysis of these observational data, I obtained the most valuable insights.

3.3.3 Analysis of interview data

The last set of empirical data analysed was the interview data. These data comprised supplementary data about all three dimensions of publicness, namely activities, users and control over use. Before the analysis of the interview data could be performed, the data had to be processed by changing its format. To do this, I first transcribed the recordings of all the five interviews and converted the audio data into text data. The transcripts were made verbatim, which means that all the questions and replies were written down as they could be heard on the recordings, including complete sentences, sentence fragments, phrases, full and truncated words, self-interruptions, repetitions of words, overlaps, non-lexical sounds and pauses and audible expressions of emotions. No attempt to make any corrections in the grammar, vocabulary or order of ideas was made for the purpose of making as a correct interpretation of the answers as possible. Yet, the transcripts were carefully and systematically examined to ensure that they contained no attributes on the bases of which any third parties that were to remain anonymous could be identified, and that there was no sensitive information irrelevant to the research topic. In case any item of that kind appeared, it was either removed or categorised, ensuring that no significant data were lost and that the remaining data did not become obscure.

Having transcribed the interviews, I performed qualitative content analysis of the text data. This time my approach was almost purely deductive: I carefully read and examined each interview, searching for any words, phrases and sentences that could be considered as communicating relevant pieces of information and coding them using the coding frames developed when working with the data obtained from spatial observations (see Figure 7) and non-participant observations (see Figure 12 and Figure 13). As no new codes were developed when working with the interview data, and the coding frames established earlier were kept intact, the analysis of the interview data was limited to two basic steps, namely reading the data for the purpose of coding and re-reading to ensure all the relevant items of data were coded and assigned to the right (sub)categories. Figure 15 offers an example of how extracts from interviews about the use Narinkka Square were grouped together because they

had been found to contain relevant items of data about control over use and given the same code. Please note that in the figure the language has been edited by removing transcription signs and repetitions.

NARINKKA SQUARE	It's not a very inviting space as such, I think. (Jaakkola, personal communication, September 27, 2019)
CONTROL OVER USE • Control over possibilities for use ▪ Strategic means – *Spatial arrangements and other features* Code: ~*arrange*	it's a platform for different kinds of things, like people performing, or commercial activity (Jaakkola, personal communication, September 27, 2019) Well, it's inviting visually in a sense that it invites you to go to the buildings next to it, but it doesn't attract you to sit there and spend time. (Jaakkola, personal communication, September 27, 2019)
it's not the space that's very well suited for like hanging around, sitting around – cause there's not a lot of room for rows of benches and vegetation (Heinänen, personal communication, December 10, 2019) it's clear, it's flat, it's open, it's unrestricted, and, as such, it's suited for many kinds of events, and event organisers can provide their own constructions and tents. (Heinänen, personal communication, December 10, 2019) it's unrestricted in terms of people's directions and the flows of pedestrians. (Heinänen, personal communication, December 10, 2019)	

Figure 15. An excerpt from the analysis of interview data illustrating how items of data given the same label were grouped under the same sub-category

Such a simplified approach to the analysis of interview data (as compared to the mixed approach to the analysis of other data sets) was guided by the following four reasons: (1) a research design and decision (made earlier) to use the semi-structured interview as a supplementary method to the observational methods, (2) a significantly small set of interview data as compared to observational data, (3) readily available coding frames developed when analysing observational data and (4) the intention to use the interview data as corroborating evidence. Using the same coding frames to analyse both observational and interview data about each space was deemed advantageous. It made it possible to put the results of the analyses together and, going through the items grouped under each subcategory (or having the same code), detect any correspondences or, vice versa, to detect their absence. Results obtained from the analysis of each data set, as well as results obtained having corroborated evidence from different sources, are presented and discussed in detail in Chapter 4. The following sub-chapter, in its turn, offers basic information about how this is achieved.

3.3.4 Presentation of findings

This dissertation, which is written as a monograph, is the principal medium through which the results of the multiple-case study are communicated to the public. Research results obtained analysing different sets of data are presented in Chapter 4 by themes, which correspond to the three dimensions of publicness. When presenting the findings, the focus is paid on the analysis across cases, leaving the presentation of the findings about each case (or each public space) to the background. Although the unit of analysis is a single case, the discussion of research results offered in Chapter 5 is organised around *cross-case issues*, to use Yin's (2003) terminology, rather than the cases themselves. In this way, each of the three spaces studied is only briefly overviewed, and the findings about one or another aspect of publicness are discussed by comparing the findings across the three spaces. Theoretical propositions and concluding remarks are also grounded in the cross-case analysis and they are provided in Chapter 6.

This dissertation includes a considerable number of extracts from the field notes made when observing the spaces. To make the notes reproduced here understandable to anyone reading the text, the original language of the notes was slightly edited. Editing was also done to remove some items of data to ensure that those users who are referred to in the extracts from the notes cannot be identified with reasonable effort. A note about removed items of data is left in square brackets i.e., [identifier removed]. In case an item of data is generalised, the more general word or phrase than in the original note is also typed in square brackets e.g., [woman] instead of "a middle-aged woman who I often see at this time". In case a note describes a particular group of users or an individual user rather than the public space users as a whole, the exact time when an entry into the field note was made is not given, indicating instead the day of the week and the time of the day when the story from the field notes was observed.

The photos included in this dissertation as illustrations of the design and physical characteristics of the three spaces studied were made when conducting spatial observations. Thus, they are some of the items of observational data that were analysed alongside other empirical data when exploring the dimension of control over use. The photos that represent activities, on the other hand, do not belong to the observational data as I had not taken any photos when making non-participant observations to ensure the anonymity of the people observed. Any photos illustrating activities in the public spaces observed were taken intentionally as illustrations and only after I had collected my observational data. In is noteworthy, that the photos are intended to illustrate activities, whereby the people that can be seen engaged in the activities are either not focused and their appearances are unrecognisable or their appearances are blurred. Ethical considerations are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.4. At this point it feels enough to remark that the public space users that

can be seen in the photos cannot be identified with reasonable effort and they are not the same users referred to in the extracts from the field notes.

Although this dissertation is primarily targeted at academics, research results are also expected to be accessible to the general public, especially those professionals whose duties, responsibilities and/or interests are related to urban space in general and public spaces in particular. Consequently, an attempt is made to present research results using as comprehensible of a language and structure of argument as possible. To ensure that the dissertation is freely and easily accessible and to act in a more sustainable way, the dissertation is published in electronic form in the Turku University Repository, which for the time being is UTUPub.

3.4 Ethical considerations

From the formation of the research idea to the publication of research results, I took all measures to make sure that I carried out the research responsibly and maintained high ethical standards. The principles of research integrity, responsible conduct of research and research ethics were applied as the key guidelines for all the actions taken throughout the entire research process. To be more specific, the research was guided by the rules of The European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity (ALLEA – All European Academies, 2017); guidelines provided by Finnish National Board on Research Integrity TENK; Regulation (EU) 2016/679 of the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union enacted on May 25, 2018 and commonly referred to as General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR); and the Finnish Data Protection Act (1050/2018) (referred later as DPA) enacted on January 1, 2019 by decision of the Parliament of Finland on December 5, 2018. My goal was to produce new and reliable knowledge while adhering to high ethical, moral and scientific standards.

Since I planned to collect different forms of data, numerous ethical issues, which turned out to be significantly different from one another, had to be addressed. I start by discussing ethical questions related to the rights of collecting data in the selected spaces, which involved negotiating access to the spaces for conducting research and ensuring that the spaces and the people using them were not affected by the research process or by the use of the data that I intended to gather. To conduct research in two privately-owned yet publicly usable spaces, namely Kamppi Shopping Centre and Tennispalatsi Square, I sought formal permission from the company that manages the spaces. As regards the gathering of empirical data in the city-owned Narinkka Square, I contacted the Urban Environment Division of the City of Helsinki by email and included information about my research intentions and a request for them to make any comments they felt necessary on my research intentions. It was only after I obtained permissions to collect data in Kamppi Shopping Centre and Tennispalatsi

Square and after I received a response from the public authorities that I felt I had the right to start my fieldwork, which included visiting the spaces and gathering observational data.

While carrying out spatial observations, I took all measures to avoid involving, disturbing or in any other way affecting the users of the spaces and to make sure that the activities being carried out were not influenced by my actions. Thus, for the purpose of collecting data about the physical dimension of each public space, I visited them on early mornings, which is the time when the turnout is significantly lower than at many other times of the day. When collecting data about the spaces and the objects located in the spaces, I refrained from taking any actions whenever and wherever there were people who could have been distracted from their undertakings. It must also be pointed out that no data about activities or users of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square or Kamppi Shopping Centre were gathered when making spatial observations.

Non-participant observations, on the other hand, were conducted namely for the purpose of collecting data about the activities carried out in the three spaces studied as cases and the diversity of user groups engaged in the activities. To respect the anonymity of the people observed, I gathered only categorical data and no more than the minimal amount of data required to answer the research questions. The role of a non-participant observer that I had adopted implied remaining passive and relying on personal insights and common sense for identifying the values of the variables. For recording my observations, I used paper-based observation forms and a field diary (either paper-based or electronic) and abstained from making any audio or video recordings. No research assistants or fellow researchers that would help collecting observational data were relied upon either.

Nevertheless, it must be recognised that non-participant observations in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre were conducted without informing the users of the spaces about the research that they took part in merely by using the spaces that I studied. There are at least four arguments to give to explain such a decision in relation to obtaining no informed consent. First, and as mentioned in the paragraph above, the amount of the data collected was limited and categorical, and it did not contain any direct identifiers, making it impossible to identify who the people observed were. Second, the users observed could in no foreseeable way be personally affected either by the research process or the use of the data collected. To specify, acting as a non-participant observer, I stayed at a distance from them and their undertakings, while the data was collected about them as public space users rather than as private individuals. Third, since public spaces are visited by many people, informing each person entering a public space about the research and asking for informed consent would have required so much time and resources that the research would have hardly been possible to carry out.

Following Tim Rapley (2007), the large number of people using public spaces poses a different perspective to seeking informed consent. Fourth and finally, obtaining informed consent from all who were willing and ready to use any of the spaces observed would have meant addressing them in private, which could have not only disturbed them but also allowed their identification and recording of excessive personal data, which were not necessary to answer the research questions.

As my research did not intrude anyone's privacy or cause any foreseeable harm to anyone, it can be considered to have been one of the activities to which public space is open to by nature. Besides, the National Advisory Board on Research Ethics (2009) recognises that "Observing subjects in a public place does not require their consent or an ethical review from the ethics committee." (p. 8). Despite this, I wanted to make sure that I take all the measures necessary to collect observational data in a responsible way. Therefore, before I visited the spaces for the purpose of observing how they are used, I had informal discussions about my research plans with my research supervisors and University of Turku staff who are either members of The Ethics Committee at the university or whose field of expertise is in research ethics. We concluded that no informed consent was necessary to be obtained in my particular case.

As regards the analysis and presentation of the data collected from non-participant observations, the data about each user observed were combined with the data about other users and were mostly treated and presented as aggregate data. Any reference to an individual user or a group of users that can be found in this dissertation was made for the purpose of exemplifying a certain way of using a public space rather than as a point of interest in itself. Besides, in case a particular instance of use is mentioned, some of the data about the users are not disclosed, contextual information is presented in a generalised form, and/or the exact spots where the users were observed are not specified.

Although all the research data were collected and treated carefully, none of them were found to be as sensitive and requiring as much attention when handling them as the interview data. Besides addressing the issues of confidentiality and informed consent, it was necessary to take into consideration the consequences that the interview may have on the people interviewed (see Brinkmann, 2008). To ensure responsible handling of interview data, I took a few steps. To begin with, each person whose participation in this research I requested, was contacted by an email, containing brief information about the research and a request to participate in it by giving an interview. Besides explaining the purpose of the interview, my email communication provided some basic information regarding the interview and the personal data that I expected to gather and use for my research. Every prospective informant received an information sheet (see Appendix 4) that I prepared beforehand, and that contained information about the collection, processing, use,

publishing and storage of the data (including personal data) to be collected during the interview, as well as information regarding the publication of research results, the informant's rights and potential harm that their participation in the research could cause. In addition to this information, I offered a list of topics that were expected to be covered during the interview. Each person addressed via email was asked to consider the information before giving their consent. It was only after I received their agreement to give an interview that I knew I had obtained their consent to take part in the research.

As the informants were expected to speak about their professional roles and to act as experts, it was regarded as necessary to disclose some information about their persons. For this reason, the research participants who acted as informants were asked to allow their personal data, such as their name, their job position held and the length of service in the organisation, to be collected and used when processing the interview data and when discussing research results or making references to the interview. In case the informants disapproved of my use of certain items of their personal data when presenting research results, they were granted their right to decide which items to allow me to disclose in this dissertation and related publications. At the same time, however, the informants were warned that speaking as representatives of their organisation and in their professional roles, they could not be guaranteed complete confidentiality even if some items of personal data remain undisclosed. The informants assured me that they recognised that, and that it was only certain pieces of personal information that they did not want to get *published* (or printed) in the dissertation. Finally, it must be pointed out that as regards the publishing of the raw interview data, the informants were asked for permission to quote up to 500 words from the interview in the published dissertation, which all of them gave their consent to, although some asked to allow them to know in advance which sentences would be included in this publication as direct quotations.

When I met the informants and before I started interviewing them, I reminded them of the topic and the aim of my research, information about the management of the research and personal data and other relevant information that the informants had been offered earlier. Next, I asked them to confirm (orally) that they upheld their informed decision to take part in my research, and that the informed consent they had given me was still valid. Alongside this, the permission to record all the data using an audio recorder was obtained. It was only then that I started asking interview questions. To make sure that after the interview the research participants who acted as my informants were still willing to participate in the research, and that they did not foresee any possible harm their responses to the interview questions might cause them or someone else, I asked them to confirm the validity of their informed consent right after the recording stopped. The informants were also reminded about the possibility to withdraw from the research, informed about the next steps in the

research process, and offered a possibility to look at and comment on the transcript of their interview before it was used as a source of raw data. Those who were willing to see the transcript were provided with a copy of it in the requested form. Alongside the transcript of the interview, I provided an information sheet with details about how the recording was transcribed and the meanings of transcription signs used. All the comments I received from the informants who read their interview transcripts were taken well into consideration before the raw interview data were analysed.

As regards research data management after this dissertation is published and degree awarded, the terms of storage and reuse of the data that I gathered for this study vary across different data sets depending on a number of criteria. Among the criteria, there are the agreements made in relation to the use of the data, the value of raw data, availability of comparable data sets elsewhere, replicability of the data and the costs and benefits of storing and opening the data. It shall also be noted that in addition to these more formal criteria, the terms of storage have also been largely affected by the difficulties faced when negotiating the terms with a few research data archives. Having given due consideration to the matter, I made the following decisions regarding the storage and reuse of my research data: 1) all the paper-based data are planned to be kept in my personal archives for a limited period of time, after which they are to be disposed; 2) the sets of electronic data that cannot be opened and/or reused are planned to be stored for five years in a trustworthy data repository and disposed after the time expires; and 3) the sets of electronic data that can be opened upon a request for reuse are intended to be stored for a period of ten years in a trustworthy data repository and, after the time expires, either they are to be disposed or the terms of storage are to be reconsidered. Appendix 5 contains a detailed data management plan.

Before completing the sub-chapter on ethical considerations, it is important to point out that conducting the research in a responsible way, treating all research participants with respect and carefully handling research data at all the stages of their life cycle were seen as a cornerstone of the validity of research results. I consider the quality of scientific research to be measurable not only by the depth of investigation and the validity of research results, but also by the sensitivity to ethical considerations. I am convinced that if research is to be of high quality, the researcher should seek for it in all aspects and throughout the whole research process.

4 Research results

4.1 Activities in public space

In this dissertation, activities that public space users undertake in a public space is conceived as one of the three dimensions of the publicness of that public space (see Chapter 2.2.2). This chapter presents my own findings about activities in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre that primarily emerged from non-participant observations, which gave the most extensive set of data. These are supplemented by the findings from a few expert interviews that I did for the purpose of extending my empirical data. Findings about each activity (or a set of related activities) of interest in each space are presented by themselves and by comparing them with findings about other activities in the same space and across the spaces. To specify, besides giving details, such as attractiveness (popularity), timing, intensity and duration (when applicable), about various activities producing Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre as public spaces, I overview each activity and its relation to other activities undertaken in each space studied and highlight similarities and differences across the spaces.

4.1.1 Passing through as a starting point for other activities

At the very beginning of the fieldwork, it became obvious that passing through is the principal activity in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre (see also Tamasauskaite, 2020). The data from non-participant observations show that the people passing through Narinkka Square usually move between the main attraction in the heart of the city (eastwards from Narinkka Square) and Kamppi Shopping Centre, thereby traversing the square from/to the north-east or south-east and the west. As for Tennispalatsi Square, it is most likely to be traversed by moving along Salomonkatu Street or along the wall of Kamppi Shopping Centre, which borders the square on the east and the south. These established routes take people from/to the shopping mall and to/from the main attractions of Helsinki city centre or the commuter bus terminal located to the south-west from Tennispalatsi Square. Finally, inside Kamppi Shopping Centre, halls and hallways on the ground floor (E level), the first floor and, to some extent, the second floor, are used as passageways.

Those are the three levels that have a direct access from the outside, i.e., from the streets and squares surrounding the shopping mall (see Figure 16).

Figure 16. Passing through and other activities in Narinkka Square (top), Tennispalatsi Square (middle) and Kamppi Shopping Centre (bottom)

Intensity and timing of passing through

To begin with, it is worthwhile to note that it was only early in the morning that counting the numbers of passers-by walking through any of the spaces in the Kamppi

area was manageable for a single researcher as I was. At any other time of the day, there were so many people passing through the spaces that I had to change my original intention, which was to count their number throughout each of my visits, and instead count the number of people passing through in 200 seconds. During most of my visits this was also destined to failure, though. The field notes that I made when observing Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre do not only contain remarks on my desperate attempts to count the number of passers-by, but also comprise the data confirming my initial assumption of the dominance of the activity of passing through over other activities. To be more specific, in my field notes made in each of the three spaces and on each day when observational data were collected, there are recurrent notes about large numbers of passers-by, the great flow of people to and from the spaces and public space users' chaotic movement. Below there are a few excerpts from my field notes.

> I did not expect to see that many people at this hour. The great flow made it impossible to note down who the users were and what each of them was doing. I noted only whether some activity or user group was present or not. (Narinkka Square, evening, June 8, 2019)

> It feels really nice to see people having good time. The mood, however, is usually very difficult to observe due to the great flow of people and the quickly changing picture of who is where and does what. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, evening, June 5, 2019)

> At the main entrance, the flow of people was very intensive, making it extremely difficult to note down who is present and what is being done (Kamppi Shopping Centre, mid-day, June 10, 2019)

Tennispalatsi Square turned out to be the only of the three spaces where the number of passers-by was possible to count, provided that the counting lasted up to 200 seconds. This was so largely because of the scale of the square, which is smaller than that of the other two spaces studied. What the counting showed is that in Tennispalatsi Square each day there is on average between two and three times more people passing through than undertaking any other activity. As for Narinkka Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, where large numbers of passers-by did not even allow me to do the counting, the ratio between the number of users passing through and the number of users undertaking stationary activities can be predicted to have been higher.

Based on the field notes made on different days of the week, it can be claimed that the weekly patterns of passers-by differ only slightly, since everyday people

walk through each space studied in comparable numbers. In Narinkka Square, passing through appears to be a more dominant activity on weekdays as compared to the days of the weekend; in Tennispalatsi Square, Friday is the day when there are more passers-by than on other days of the week; whereas in Kamppi Shopping Centre, namely Friday is the day when the users of the mall are the least willing to pass through the space without doing anything else on their way. As for the time of the day, in all three of the spaces within the Kamppi area, passers-by are the least likely to show up in early mornings. Morning, early and late, is also the time when the dominance of the activity of passing through over the other activities is the most visible. Although between the midday and evening the number of people passing through is significantly higher than at other times of the day, with the increase in the range of activities and the overall number of users, the difference between the numbers of passers-by and users engaged in other activities becomes less striking.

Passers-by and their patterns of behaviour

Many of those who pass through Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre represent all user groups present in the spaces, and many of them seem to be their regular users. The field notes made for all of the three spaces afford the same insight: passers-by can most often be seen moving in an average or even faster than the average speed, and they look like they know well where they are going and what is the best way to reach their destination (cf. Whyte, 2009). Occasionally, they may cycle, skateboard or scoot, and they do that not only outside in the squares, but also inside the shopping mall. For instance, in Kamppi Shopping Centre, one afternoon there was a young to middle-aged man who used his skateboard to travel through the hallway on the E level; another day, also in the afternoon, a young man left the shopping mall on his skateboard and in the evening of the same day a middle-aged woman passed through the same hallway on a scooter. Anyone who travels by other means than by foot, such as the passers-by mentioned, usually moves slower than they would on a bike trail – the great numbers of people moving on foot and the doors between the squares and the shopping mall force them to slow down. Some, like the young man who once unsuccessfully tried cycling inside Kamppi Shopping Centre (the signs on the doors forbid that) one afternoon, change their mind and get off their bikes before entering the shopping mall, and some do so as early as before entering the squares.

Yet, it must be pointed out that usually passers-by are not easily distracted by the people and the activities that happen to be around them or even in their way, and they dedicate all of their attention, energy and time to accomplish the desired purpose and to reach their destination point. Based on the observational evidence, it can be argued that it is only their smartphones, the people who they are with or the

belongings they carry with them that can divert some of the passers-by attention, while restaurants, vegetation, special events or flash mobs usually are not. Even unexpected physical obstacles or activities, such as maintenance works, are easily bypassed as if they had been there before. On the one hand, these findings from the spaces within the Kamppi area compare well to Whyte's (2009) insights about the defensive mechanisms that passers-by work out when making their way in public spaces. On the other hand, they speak about passers-by indifference to the environment they use to reach their destination. For a case in point, it is worthwhile to turn back to the few early summer days when a local design and handicraft market was held in Narinkka Square, and I happened to be there for the purpose of making non-participant observations. Below is what I wrote in my field diary.

> A small market made up of a dozen or so light-coloured tents, from which local craftsmen were selling colourful handcrafted clothes, bags, accessories, jewellery and cutlery, was held along the busiest route in the square, the one between the Kamppi Chapel and Kamppi Shopping Centre. The majority of the people ready to traverse the square in the direction bypassed the market, and a handful passed through as if nothing extra was happening along their way and the route had always been surrounded by market tents. The craftsmen must have recognised the difficulty of capturing the passers'-by attention: a stand informing about the market was placed nearly in the middle of the route, just in front of the tents. A few people did stop to take a look at the goods on display, some went to see what every single tent had to offer, and there were those who purchased some handicrafts. Even so, people intending to do no more than traverse the square mostly kept walking. (Narinkka Square, afternoon, June 11, 2019)

Although it cannot be denied that in the two outdoor squares, as compared to the indoor shopping mall, passers-by are more focused on reaching their destination point and less likely to get distracted, lower floors of the mall are also traversed by considerable numbers of people who pass through the space without casting their eye on what is around them. Most passers-by are likely to react to any outside stimulus by paying no regard to it or by doing no more than casting their eye while moving.

> One morning a group of [men], one of which was dressed in vintage clothes, were having a bachelor party. Gathered in the central space of the E level, they were not only showing their cheerful mood and eagerness to celebrate, but also making effort to attract the attention of the people who were bypassing them. A few of the passers-by were looking at them in order to figure out what they

> wanted to offer or ask, but the greatest majority continued walking, paying no regard to the flashmob. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, Saturday morning, May 2019)

As the field notes suggest, and two entries above demonstrate, a few people passing by or through Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre occasionally look around or glance over at other people and at activities that come in their view, and a handful of passers-by look more attentively or stare at something extraordinary while on their way. Some stop for a while to properly inspect what has managed to attract their interest and stimulate their curiosity or to have a few words with someone they happen to know by name. Some others combine passing-by with other activities, such as using their smartphone or facilities provided in the space, socialising with the people they are with or eating the food purchased on the way. Even though it is significantly less common, one more scenario unfolds when passers-by get engaged in the activities they witness happening and modify their plans for the purpose of spending some time in the space they intended to pass through. This kind of a situation, when passing through develops into other activities, is well-depicted by a case observed one Thursday morning in Tennispalatsi Square.

> Having exited Kamppi Shopping Centre, a young woman and a middle-aged man headed along the wall of the building. The woman was walking in a straight line, moving quite fast and minding her steps only, while the man who accompanied her was relatively slow, stopping here and there, making detours, looking around and up and inspecting the space. Although that day Tennispalatsi Square looked like any other day, the man found everything interesting there. Carrying a big backpack, he could easily be suspected to have been a traveller or a tourist visiting the area for the first time, while the woman must have been a local who happened to be in the square for the purpose of helping the man find his way. (Tennispalatsi Square, Thursday morning, August 2020)

The numerous hours that I spent in the spaces within the Kamppi area allowed me to see that such patterns of passing through as the ones described above are usually evoked by some outside stimulus, which include a special event, a flash mob, an advertising campaign, an accident, an unexpected change in weather conditions and an unplanned meeting with someone that passers-by happen to know in person. Such patterns are much more likely to develop among those passers-by who traverse the spaces out of interest rather than out of a pressing need, and this equally holds true for all three of the spaces. Passing through, even if it is the dominant activity, is but one among many activities not only in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre but also for the various user groups who use the spaces.

Passing through and other activities

In the field notes made when observing Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, there are a lot of remarks on the more intensive use of each space for the purpose of passing through than for undertaking any other type of activity. This indeed allows deducing that the activity in motion dominates all the other activities in the spaces within the Kamppi area and is the least sensitive of all of the activities to time and contextual conditions, such as the weather and the presence of other activities. What is more, this is the activity that is undertaken by users of all the age, gender and social groups and by the individual users as much as by pairs, couples and groups. Such a composition of users highly corresponds to that of the general public, suggesting passing through to be the most public of all the activities observed.

Despite the intensity of the activity of passing through, observational data collected from Narinkka Square, as well as from the other two spaces, have also uncovered that alongside passing through there is a rich variety of both activities involving a motion and stationary activities that should not go unnoticed regardless of the heavy use of the squares and of the shopping mall as passageways. What is important to highlight at this point is that intensive passing through does not compromise the level of other activities. In fact, the days when I made most complaints about the difficulty of counting the number of people passing through were also the days when I, in general, spotted the most diverse and intensive use of all of the three spaces that I observed.

The informants interviewed also recognise that passing by or through is but one of the most popular uses of the spaces of the Kamppi area, and that many other activities are also undertaken there. For example, according to Maria Jaakkola (personal communication, September 27, 2019) who heads Urban Space and Networks Unit in the Urban Environment Division of the City of Helsinki, Narinkka Square is “essentially used for passing though”, while also serving as “a platform for different kinds of things”. Results obtained having corroborated evidence from different sources confirm that while passing through is the most intensive of the activities, it is but one of the many that Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre are used for every day, at all times of the day and by different user groups. What this suggests, in addition, is that even if some social scientists are highly worried about public space being in crisis (see e.g., Sennett, 1993; Mitchell, 2003), public space does matter to people today (see Low, 2022). If residents and visitors of Helsinki are interested in using the spaces within the Kamppi area for many other purposes than passing through, they must find them attractive and meaningful.

Concluding, it is worth to point out that within, or behind, the great flow of people, which is a characteristic of the use of the three spaces within the Kamppi

area, there is a range of other activities. The activity of passing through, as intensive as it is, sometimes overshadow other activities, making it not clearly visible at first sight, but it does not compromise their presence. In fact, the presence of the activity of passing through brings life to the spaces studied and creates a condition for something else, for the unpredictable, to develop. Referring to the observational data it can be summarised that passing through is the activity that opens and closes each day of the public life of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, and the activity that keeps that life up throughout the day. Yet, it is only one activity in the broad and colourful spectrum of activities.

4.1.2 Passive being among other people as the main activity

Non-participant observations conducted in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre have shown that most of the activities that the spaces attract, as a magnet because of their heavy use for passing through, are various activities that allow the public space users to be among other people without the need to come into direct contact with them. Those who visit any of the three spaces within the Kamppi area, looking for an opportunity to be among others, do not seem to be very picky when it comes to choosing a spot to stay. This is especially easy to notice at those times when the spaces are in heavy use. Yet, some of the informants name certain spots that are preferred over others for the purpose of spending time in a passive way. For instance, the users of Narinkka Square are said to prefer to stay at the stairs along Salomonkatu Street (Prokkola, personal communication, October 22, 2019; Heinänen, personal communication, December 10, 2019). In Kamppi Shopping Centre, those users who stay longer are believed to be more likely to do so on the ground floor and the first floor (security employee, personal communication, n.d., 2019).

What my observations have shown is that in Narinkka Square, people spend time not only at the stairs but also under the six trees, at the main entrance to the shopping mall, beside the wall of the Turku barracks and, once in a while, around the artwork and even in the very centre of the square. In Tennispalatsi Square, the benches close to the fountain, the fountain itself, the chairs around the landforms, the stairs and the benches facing Salomonkatu Street, the area under the trees along Fredrikinkatu Street and the pathways along the wall of the shopping mall seem more or less equally attractive for passively being among others. Finally, in Kamppi Shopping Centre, I saw people spending their time on hallways and around the central void on all six floors. All of the spots, no matter how different they may be in many of their characteristics, easily yield for comparison on two terms: first, they offer views to passers-by, and second, they do not predefine any particular activity and allow those who desire passive being among other people to freely choose the activity to be

carried out (see Figure 17). Although scientific literature lists various requirements that public space users expect public space to fulfil (e.g., Whyte, 1980, 2009; Gehl, 2010, 2011), based on my observations, these two seem to be the only requirements that the users of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre lay down on the spaces when they look for an opportunity to be among other people in a passive way.

Figure 17. Spending time among other people in Narinkka Square (top left), Tennispalatsi Square (top right) and Kamppi Shopping Centre (bottom)

Forms of passive being in the three spaces

Notes in the field diary disclose that the forms of passive being among other people are very much comparable among the three spaces studied as cases (see Figure 18). Some of the public space users sit or stand doing nothing in particular; some users sit or stand using their smartphones; some others sit or stand watching other users or waiting to be watched by them; a handful of users visit the spaces in question to spend some time with a cup of coffee, a refreshing smoothie or a snack; and there are also those who choose to spend their time in motion and slowly walk through the

space while watching around. In addition, a handful of users were also spotted reading something, taking a sun, window shopping and lying down.

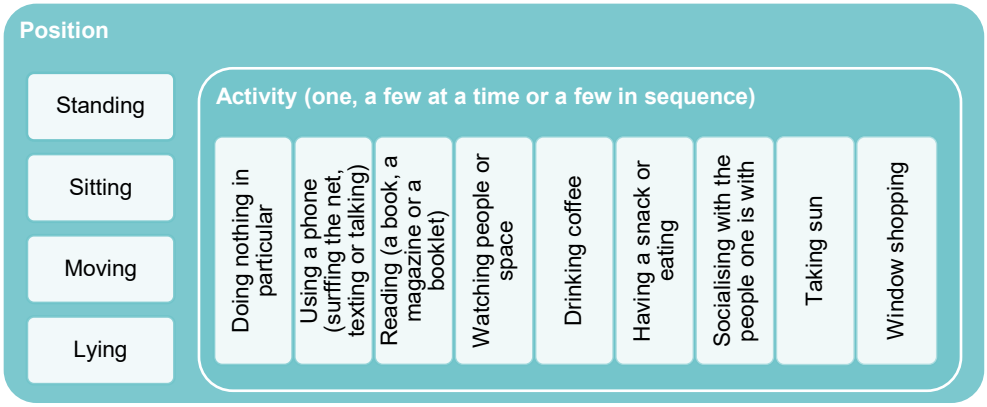


Figure 18. Activities that public space users carry out when they spend time among other people in three spaces within the Kamppi area

When taken all together, notes (or stories) describing various instances of passive being among other people can be said to prevail over other notes made when making observations. Below there are a few stories that I wrote up when observing public life in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre.

> It seems that when there is activity, people are more willing to do something close by, let it be stand. Indeed, why would you stand where nothing is going on? (Narinkka Square, afternoon, May 29, 2019)

> There was a young couple walking slowly around the square. They did not take a short-cut, nor did they walk in a straight line. On their way they were looking around and watching other people. (Narinkka Square, late Thursday evening, May 2019)

> There were very many people, both passing through and staying. Some were passing though out of a need, and some were spending time in motion. There were also people sitting. <…> One was a young adult, probably a student, spending his time in the square looking at his smartphone. (Tennispalatsi Square, Wednesday afternoon, August 2020)

> Some people seemed to be spending their time (or coming to do so) in the shopping centre as they were being quite slow. Others were passing through

> much faster; they were probably on their way to somewhere. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, mid-day, May 27, 2019)
>
> At the entrance, there was a couple spending their time. They were walking around, the woman was having coffee. They were looking around and stopping here and there. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, Monday morning, June 2019)

None of the activities mentioned in the stories above involve any particular need, nor do they require a public space to be undertaken. In fact, all the activities could easily be carried out elsewhere in public or in private; yet, they were spotted in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre. On the face of it, all the activities might seem to be performed with a special courtesy, respect towards others, or "civil inattention" as the famous sociologist Ervig Goffmann (1963, p. 84) calls it. What this suggests, I argue, is that it is the spaces and the possibilities that they offer, rather than the need to undertake those activities, that attract people to the spaces. Behind the screen of a smartphone or a cup of coffee, there is the experience of being among other people, the feeling of belonging to them, the action of seeing them without looking at them and the satisfaction of being seen by them. It is more than likely that those people would rather change the activity than the space they are using it for.

Indeed, as compared to passers-by, who tend not to be easily distracted and unlikely to do anything but walking, those who use the spaces within the Kamppi area for the purpose of passive being among others are more responsive and flexible. When encouraged by changing conditions or an extraordinary happening, passive users of the spaces may modify their chosen form of participation and even get engaged in activities that require some level of active engagement with the space and the objects there or, alternatively, the people they initially wanted to stay among avoiding any direct contact. This is exactly what some users of Kamppi Shopping Centre did when one Friday afternoon they heard someone singing and playing the piano on the E level.

> The performance was a part of the event that was held throughout the day in the shopping mall. Yet, it was only the musical sounds that managed to capture many people's attention and encourage them to postpone what they were doing in order to listen to a verse or a chorus or to hear both. People came and went, and very few stayed longer than a minute or two, but by watching and listening to the performance passive users of the space assumed an active role, and for a while they were for and together with other people, rather than on their own among other people. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, afternoon, June 7, 2019)

My numerous observations have encouraged me to believe that many people come to the Kamppi area without a predetermined idea how to use the spaces there, and they are ready to undertake more or less anything to find a motif to stay in a lively and inviting public space. This seems to be equally true for Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre.

Differences among the spaces in the forms of passive being

Despite the obvious similarities, there are some observable differences among the spaces within the Kamppi area in the activities carried out for the purpose of being among other people. These differences are mostly explainable by the physical characteristics of the three spaces. To begin with, as in the hallways of Kamppi Shopping Centre there are almost no seating options, spending time among other people can be most practiced either when moving, standing or leaning and hardly in a sitting position. Below there is a story which I wrote one Monday, and which illustrates two typical ways of using the shopping mall in a passive way.

> Two women, one of which was young and another one middle-aged, were walking through the halls of the shopping mall. They did not visit any shops and kept moving, enjoying their time and each others' company. Later the same day there was an adolescent girl spending her time in motion and paying little attention to what was going around her. Having walked until the end of a hallway, she turned around and, in a good mood, walked it again only to disappear on another floor. The adolescent girl, like the pair of women, was satisfied enough with an opportunity to be among other people, to see them without watching them and to be seen by them. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, Monday evening, June 2019)

Just like for the users of Kamppi Shopping Centre mentioned in the story, for a great many more mall users observed, the opportunity to be among others and the presence of other people seem satisfying enough, and it does not require watching attentively to see them and be seen by them. The data gathered in observation forms can be used in support of the insights made on the bases of the data in the field notes: using a smartphone or socialising with the people who one is with is about three times more popular than watching strangers, which in its turn is as rare as sitting in the space where there are but few seating options available (see Figure 19). As regards shopping, it is not among the principal forms of satisfying the desire to spend time among other people either. Both qualitative and quantitative data collected through observation showed, and the data collected through interviews with my informants

confirmed that a considerable number of people who spend time in the shopping mall do so without buying any goods or services.

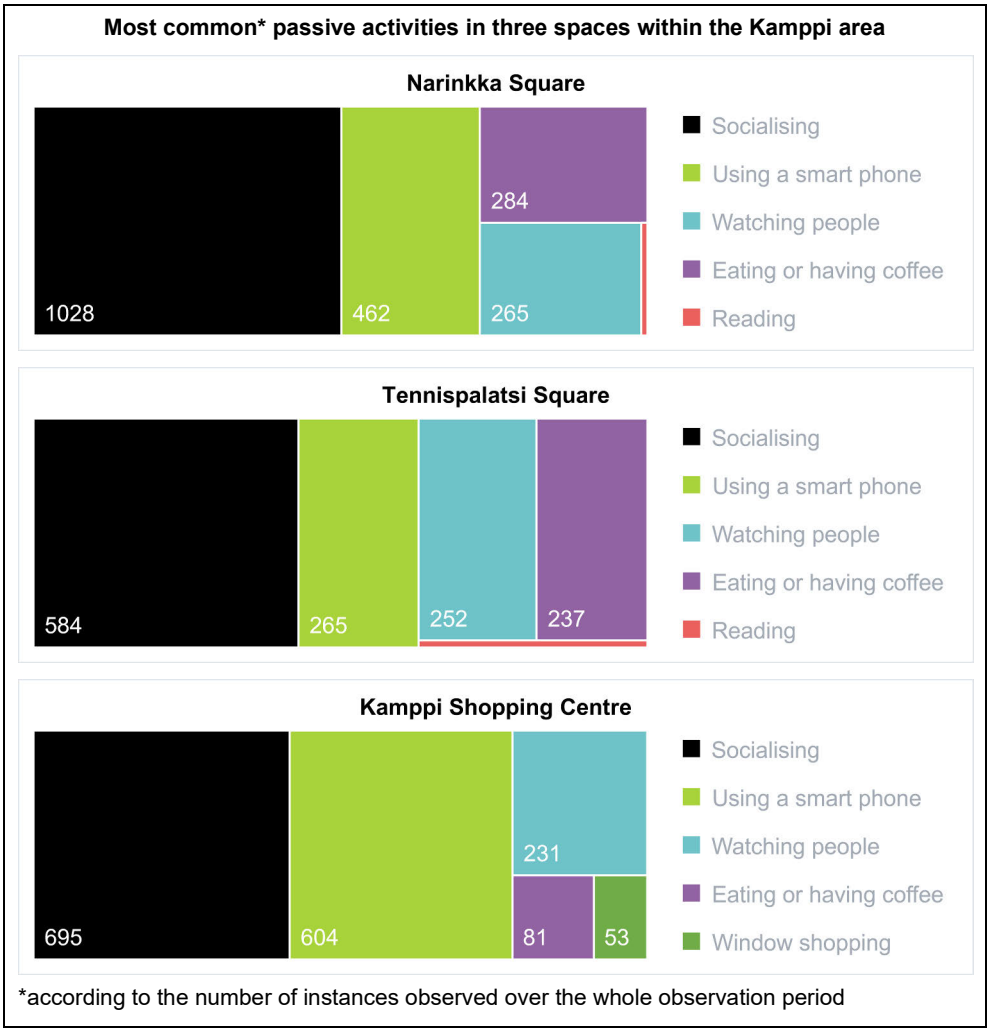


Figure 19. Passive activities most often undertaken by the users of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre while staying there in various spots

In Tennispalatsi Square, where unlike in the other two spaces within the Kamppi area one may find ample seating options, those who wish to passively spend some time among others usually sit. Based on numeric data gathered in observation forms, more than half of the users who sit with someone tend to socialise, and much fewer of them (less than a quarter) watch other people, look at the screens of their smartphones, enjoy a cup of coffee or have a snack. The ones that spend their time

among other people on their own are much more likely to watch others and have something to eat than the users who are not alone in doing that. A handful was also observed sitting and reading a book or a newspaper or searching for opportunities to get more actively engaged in the public life of the square and to initiate a conversation with the people sitting close by. Yet, most of the notes, like those offered below, suggest the presence among other people to most likely be enjoyed in a passive way.

> Although it was mid-day already, [one man] was still drinking his late-morning coffee, watching people and enjoying his time among others. He was sitting on one of the chairs facing Fredrikinkatu Street. (Tennispalatsi Square, Sunday mid-day, August 2020)

> On the chairs facing Fredrikinkatu Street, there was a pair of young men sitting. One of them was using a smartphone and the other one (with his eyes closed) was enjoying the sun. They were socialising, but doing so occasionally and exchanging few words. (Tennispalatsi Square, Sunday afternoon, August 2020)

> There was a middle-aged woman who came to take a seat at the bench close to the fountain. She was enjoying the sunny weather and her time spent in it and among others. (Tennispalatsi Square, Friday evening, August 2020)

Narinkka Square, although it provides but some seating options, which according to the informants is insufficient and has a negative effect on how the square appeals to people as a place to spend time (e.g., Jaakkola, personal communication, September 27, 2019; Heinänen, personal communication, December 10, 2019), is nevertheless extensively used for spending time among other people. Furthermore, this use takes many forms, including watching other people and the surroundings, engaging in a conversation with the people who one is spending time together with, talking on the phone, having something to eat (from a cup of coffee to a full meal), participating in public life and doing nothing in particular. While in the activities and their range, Narinkka Square does not seem to differ from Kamppi Shopping Centre or Tennispalatsi Square, what distinguishes this particular public square from the other two spaces in the Kamppi area is that all of those passive activities are almost equally often undertaken while sitting, standing and moving. Below, there is an excerpt from the field notes illustrating two different, yet equally common, approaches to spending time among other people in Narinkka Square. To compare this with the other two spaces, the users of Kamppi Shopping Centre mostly carry out such activities while standing or moving, and in Tennispalatsi Square, they usually undertake them while sitting.

> One Wednesday evening there were two young couples, each taking its own approach to a satisfactory passive being among other people: one couple was sitting here and there in the square, socialising once in a while, but mostly doing nothing in particular and enjoying their time. The other couple was walking back and forth and around the square, socialising while moving (Narinkka Square, Wednesday evening, May 2019)

Comparing the findings from the three spaces in the Kamppi area, it appears that it is in Tennispalatsi Square where there is the most equal distribution of various activities that are likely to be undertaken while being among other people in a passive way. In Kamppi Shopping Centre, on the other hand, the least equal distribution of the same activities is attestable, as some of the activities are more difficult to carry out in the space given its design. These insights from the Kamppi area are interesting to compare to Makagon's (2003) findings from the Times Square (New York, US). While in the Times Square, collective shopping is revealed to be a dominant form of social interaction among the users of the square (Makagon, 2003), in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre there is no one dominant form of passive being among other people. Yet, there are two characteristics that the preferred forms of passive being among others share: one is that they do not demand much either from the space or the users, and the other one is that they are flexible and can easily be modified or substituted by another form of passive being.

Intensity and timing of various activities carried out for the purpose of passive being

Daily distribution of the various activities through which passive being among other people is practiced has been found to vary among the three spaces within the Kamppi area. As quantitative observational data show, although they are used for various such activities throughout the day, it is in the afternoon that both outdoor spaces start to be more intensively visited by people who come there looking for opportunities to spend some time among others (see Figure 20). Peaking in the afternoon and/or evening, various activities undertaken for the purpose of passive being remain the dominant activities until late evening, almost as late as the sun starts going down. In Kamppi Shopping Centre, which is an indoor space, those activities become prominent a little earlier - already before the noon – and the users' interest in undertaking them is usually maintained no later than until the evening. Yet, according to the security employee (personal communication, n.d., 2019) I interviewed, it is in the evening, especially on Fridays and Saturdays, when the number of users interested in spending their time in the shopping mall is at its highest.

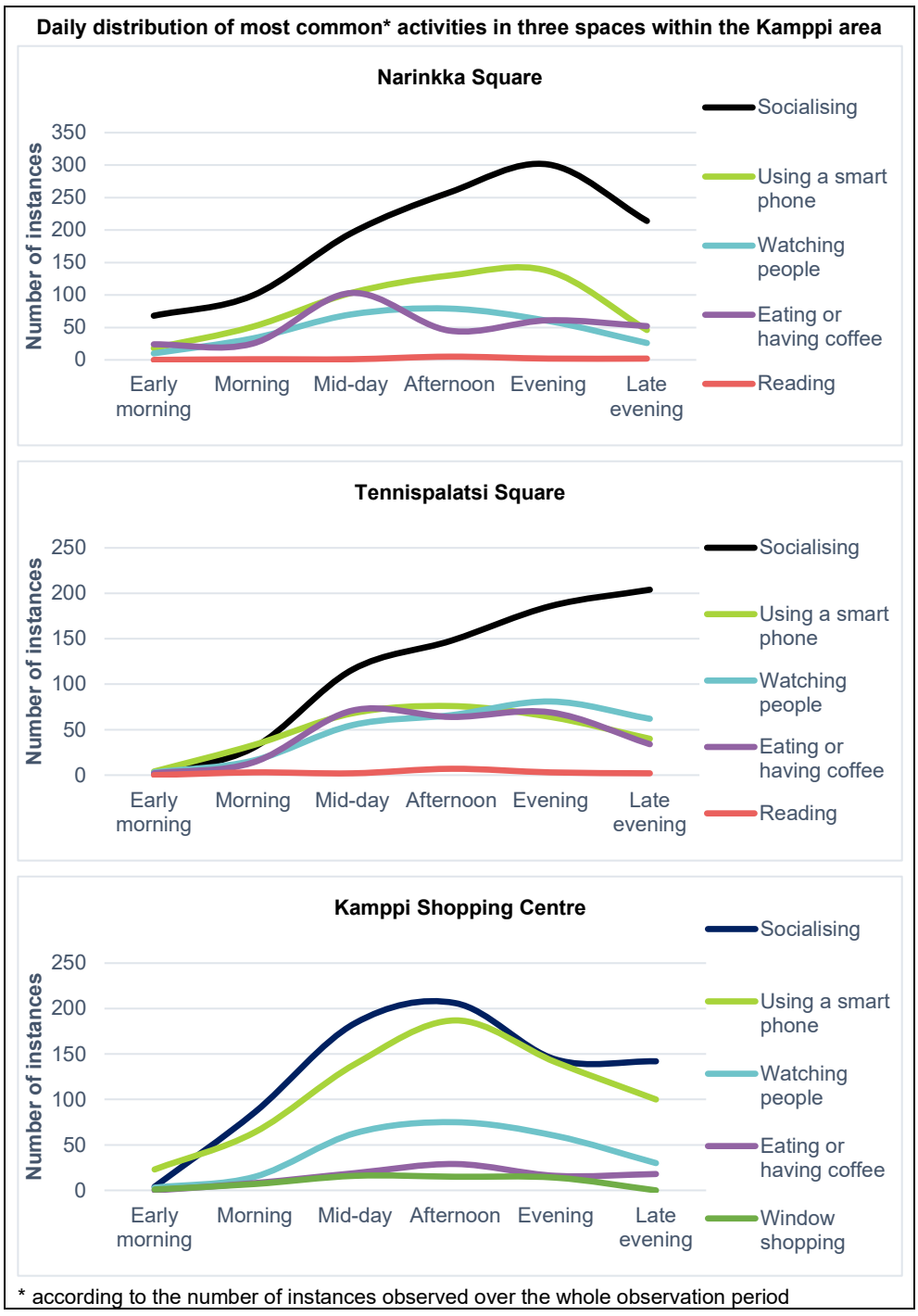


Figure 20. Daily distribution of activities most often undertaken by the users of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre while staying there in different spots

Regardless of some differences across the spaces within the Kampp area, in the shopping mall, just like in both squares, most socialising takes place in the afternoon and evening. In late evening, the number of people engaged in conversations with other people decreases in number, but increases in proportion, which means that the later the time, the more sociable the users of the Kamppi area become. As regards people watchers, they usually visit Narinkka Square in the middle of the day and in the afternoon; and they usually visit Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre also in the evening. These two spaces also show similarity in the time of the day at which sitting, standing or moving and using a smartphone is at its most intense. To specify, while it is in the afternoon and evening that the users of Narinkka Square are more likely to choose using a smartphone as a form of spending their time among other people, the users of Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre are more likely to be fond of doing that somewhat earlier, between the middle of the day and the late afternoon. As regards the activity of watching people, the users of both squares are much more likely to watch the people they share the space with than the users of the shopping mall do.

On the grounds of observational evidence, it can be argued that the intensity and timing of the activities undertaken while passively spending time among other people largely depend on the overall number of users and the level of activity in that public space. With the opening of shops and service points and intensified flow of people to Kamppi Shopping Centre, the number of users who come there for no other reason than to be among others increases. The closure of shops inside the shopping mall and the subsequent disappearance of life from the upper floors, in turn, takes the users of the space to the floors that continue to be used as passageways (see below for an entry from the field notes that speaks about the case). What this implies in relation to the use of the shopping mall (as well as the other two spaces within the Kamppi area) is that the timing (or dynamics) of the activities which implicate the purpose of passive being among others largely depends on the overall use of the space, primarily on passing through, rather than on the time of the day or the day of the week. Albeit in a different language, this just restates what has been known for quite many scholars, including Jacobs (1961), Whyte (1980) and Gehl (2010), and this is that the presence of other people is the best reason to come and stay in a public space.

> In the shopping mall, although it did manage to attract users even if most of the shops were closed, the areas around the central void were free from people who had been standing there earlier, whereas those spending their time among other people in motion could be seen on the lower floors only. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, late evening, May 30, 2019)

Finally, as regards the duration of the various activities undertaken to fulfil the need for passive being among others, in more cases than not, they last up to a quarter of an hour. This means that passive activities tend to take up much more time than many other activities, such as passing though, which the users of the spaces carry out because of need rather than due to a wish to be in a public space among other people. A case in point can be found in a story that I wrote up one morning observing activities in Tennispalatsi Square.

> In the square, among other people, there was a young man with a little boy. Having slowly walked along the perimeter of the square, they stopped at the fountain, stayed there for a few minutes and left. In total, the father and the son (apparently) spent about fifteen minutes in the square – they left by the end of my observation, which that morning lasted for twenty minutes. (Tennispalatsi Square, Saturday morning, August 2020)

Stays that take longer than half an hour are very rare cases in any of the three spaces, and they are more likely to be related to fulfilling other purposes than simply passively spending some time among other people. Yet, the carrying out of a few activities within one stay and a desperate search for a reason to stay longer, can be considered as signs showing that the users of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre desire for more varied opportunities to fulfil the need for passive being among others, or they wish to be able to do so longer. Among other signs, I include the feedback that the officials of the City of Helsinki tend to receive from the residents of the city who ask for more benches and more vegetation in Narinkka Square (Heinänen, personal communication, December 10, 2019; Jaakkola, personal communication, September 27, 2019), the visits to Kamppi Shopping Centre before and after all the shops and/or upper levels are closed, and, in relation to Tennispalatsi Square, the use of restaurant terraces at those times when they do not serve customers.

4.1.3 Special events and an intricate mixture of activities

Although the spaces studied are generally easily comparable in many aspects related to activities, there is one aspect that two of the spaces differ quite sharply from another one space. In particular, from time to time, Narinkka Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre are used for staging special events, alongside which there comes a number of activities that are not otherwise carried out in any of the spaces within the Kamppi area. Throughout the four-week period that I spent collecting observational data, in Narinkka Square there were publicity and advertising campaigns, an election campaign, sports events, music and dance performances, a food festival and a

handicraft market (see Figure 21). Kamppi Shopping Centre, in turn, hosted several publicity and advertising campaigns, a sport-related event, and some spontaneous music and dance performances (or flash mobs). Thereby, in addition to the more and less typical daily uses, on fourteen days in Narinkka Square and on eight days in Kamppi Shopping Centre, there were some special events.

Figure 21. Special events in Narinkka Square

Unlike in the other two spaces studied, no public or another special event was observed in Tennispalatsi Square over the whole observation period. As a matter of fact, the activities carried out in the square were very much the same from day to day. This can be explained by the design of Tennispalatsi Square: in the space there are all kinds of objects (such as benches, trees and landforms) that cannot be moved to give way for people to gather safety and comfortably.

Interview data have been found to corroborate the observational evidence about the regular use of Narinkka Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre for various events. According to city officials, Narinkka Square was intentionally designed as a space for events which appear there in great variety and number (Jaakkola, personal communication, September 27, 2019; Prokkola, personal communication, October 22, 2019). In fact, it was namely events which Janne Prokkola (personal communication, October 22, 2019) mentioned first when describing the uses of the public square in question, and Jouni Heinänen (personal communication, December 10, 2019) named as one of the two main purposes - the other one being informal gathering - for which the square is used. In Kamppi Shopping Centre, staging events is also a common practice: according to the director of the shopping mall Tiina Fågel (personal communication, September 25, 2019), Kamppi Shopping Centre does not only hold events, but also organises them to offer its visitors an enjoyable experience free of charge. Although it was only the square that was intentionally designed for events, and the shopping mall seems to stage events to withstand various challenges

that shopping malls tend to face these days (see Burayidi & Yoo, 2021), the end result of having those special events in the spaces is highly comparable. In particular, the events manage to enliven the spaces and diversity their use, to mention but the easiest observable benefits.

Timing and duration of special events and related activities

Half of all the days when I could observe a special event held in Narinkka Square were Fridays and Saturdays, while the other days when something special and unusual was taking place in the square were various other days of the week. In Kamppi Shopping Centre, all the events observed were either on Fridays or Saturdays, and it was only flash mobs that I could witness on other days of the week. Therefore, based on the data from non-participant observations, in the shopping mall, opportunities for taking part in public events were more limited and concentrated in time as compared to the square.

When it comes to the duration of special events, these were found to depend on the kind of the event, rather than the space the event was staged in. Flash mobs were the shortest of all – they typically did not last longer than a quarter of an hour. Music and dance performances, whether they were independent events or given as a part of a publicity campaign, took up to an hour and were put on in the middle of the day or in the afternoon. Advertising and publicity campaigns, including various events that usually make up the campaigns, took around a few hours in the middle of the day, a full working day or, like the rest of the events, were held from morning until evening on a few days in a row.

The timing and duration of special events are especially important to account for because the field notes point towards significantly different uses of Narinkka Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre depending on the times when the events were staged when compared to the times when there was nothing extra going on. Simply because they were held in the spaces, the events created conditions for the users of the spaces to undertake a new activity, which is participating in events. As the possibility to carry out such an activity depends completely on the timing of the special events, participating in events was found to be quite an irregular activity in its occurrence and, as a matter of fact, not even coming close to the popularity of such activities as passing through, socialising or watching people; the number of users taking part in events was significantly smaller than the number of users carrying out many other activities. Regardless of this, observational data allow spotting some tendencies. In Kamppi Shopping Centre, it was in the afternoon and evening that people were most likely to take part in events. In Narinkka Square, in turn, the activity was at least two times as popular in the middle of the day as it was in the afternoon, while the evening was much more rarely chosen as the right time for taking part in events. To conclude,

events can be said to have affected the use of the square slightly more positively than the use of the shopping mall, for in the mall, afternoons and evenings are the times when activities are most varied, even if no special events are held and no taking part in events can happen.

Range and intensity of activities and attractiveness of the spaces at the time of special events

In addition to bringing a new activity to public space and offering an alternative way of being among others, special events held in Narinkka Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre are able to contribute much more: they significantly enliven the spaces bringing attracting more users and more activities. For a case in point, it is worthwhile to consider an event that within a few minutes attracted more participants than any other event I could observe during my visits, and that was a live music performance held in Narinkka Square one Saturday, in the middle of the day.

> Having unpacked their instruments and made sure they were ready for the performance, the band started playing music, the sound of which immediately captured the attention of the users of Narinkka Square. Not only those who were there in the square to spend time, but also those who were doing no more than traversing it started gathering around the musicians…. As the performance was staged right beside the route between the Kamppi Chapel and the main entrance to the mall, a greater part of the passageway was soon blocked, and the passers-by who intended to take the most popular route in the square were forced to go around the crowd of people standing and listening to the band performing. Yet, the music was so much appreciated by many, that the passers-by did not seem to mind that. In fact, many of them also took part in the event by stopping for a song or a moment, if that was all they could afford. Those who could not afford any time and carried on walking tried to at least catch a glimpse of the live performance and enjoy the music while making their way through the square. Even [some people] who were walking in a quick pace and seemed to be deeply engaged in their smartphones took their eyes off the screens to see where the sounds of music were coming from. (Narinkka Square, mid-day, June 1, 2019)

What the performance did was to turn the square into an open-air concert venue and offer its users a desirable alternative to the established forms of passive being among other people. For instance, one lady, who had been spending her time among other people sitting on the stairs and watching them, was now concentrating on the performance. The magnetic power of music also managed to attract more users, to keep the ones present in the square for a little longer, and to make passers-by stop

for a minute or two and enjoy the music together with others; this intensified the overall use of the square (see also Tamasauskaite, 2020). Furthermore, as showed by the example of one man who I saw standing and listening to the performance while also keeping up a conversation with a person working in the square, the live music event encouraged other activities to develop. Finally, the performance gave an impetus for socialising among strangers and, thereby, spending time among other people in alternative and more active, rather than passive, ways.

Short live music performances staged in Kamppi Shopping Centre on a Friday evening managed to have exactly the same effect on the uses of the shopping mall as the band performing in Narinkka Square, on another day, had on the uses of the outdoor square. In the shopping mall, the performances were given as a part of a publicity campaign launched to present one of the regions in Finland. Below is an excerpt from the story about the event written up in my field diary right after it was over.

> Although the event was held in the most visited area of the shopping mall i.e., the central hall of E level, and it had a rich programme, that Friday most of the people in the shopping mall were going about their deeds without paying much regard to the event. It was only when they heard a woman playing the piano and another woman singing that made them change their plans, stop for a while and come closer to the stage on E level or, if they were on the upper floors, flock around the central void to look down and see the performance. In the crowd, there was [one] woman and [a child], who were in the shopping mall to spend some time; [a traveller], who was sheltering on the first floor while waiting for his trip; [one] couple, who must have had plans to do some shopping; and [a group of adolescents], who were riding their scooters. Some of the users who managed to come close enough to see well were also recording the performance with their smartphones. Some of those who happened to be a little further from the stage or the central void and could not see the performers well stood listening and socialising or, if they were alone, using their smartphones. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, evening, June 7, 2019)

Despite the facts that few people stayed until the end of the performance and many came and went in the middle of it, no other activity added so much value to the campaign as a public event and to the shopping mall as public space. With reference to Chiodelli & Moroni (2015), the event can be said to have revealed the potential of the shopping mall to be created as a "collective" space or, following Miller (2014) as "a mall without stores". To specify, live music made the users of the mall stop and take part in the event, encouraged them to socialise, boosted their interest in the

space and the people around them, and gave them a reason to stay and enjoy both passive and active being among others.

In my field notes, a number of stories that describe special events involving the serving of some food suggest that food is another magnet keeping users in the public space longer, encouraging them to become more active and motivating them to undertake more activities than they planned upon their arrival to the space. Within the four-week period that I spent visiting the spaces in the Kamppi area and collecting observational data about how they were used, I spotted one event that was focused namely on food. Below is an excerpt of the account that I wrote on the last day of this event.

> For three days in a row (Friday to Sunday) the food event, recognised as a festival by the organisers, not only kept a greater part of the square occupied with food vans, tents and eating places equipped with tables and chairs, but also considerably transformed the activities in the square. The major of the changes was, by all means, the very staging of the event, as this turned the public square commonly used in passive ways into a space for longer and more active stays. From Friday to Sunday, the part of the square that would otherwise have been used as a pathway and traversed in a minute or two, became an open-air restaurant where one could stay and spend time. Another transformation was related to the nature of the event. As this was a food event, and it involved the activities of selling and buying food and inspecting what is being offered, it can be said to have brought back market activities, which had abandoned the square some 100 years before. The opportunity to buy some food, in turn, encouraged people to eat, to socialise, to spend some time mixing among other people, to experience something unusual for the square and to record their experience by taking photos. Participating in the event on a Sunday noon, [one] woman had some food for lunch, [another] woman used the opportunity to have something to quench her thirst and recorded this rare case by taking a photo, two families sat eating and socialising at a table reserved for the purpose, [one] couple was queuing to buy some more food, and an elderly [person] enjoyed watching the people taking part in the event and mixing among each other. Finally, the event conditioned a change in the established patterns of using the space. Occupying the greater part of the square, it forced the passers-by to change their routes and go along the perimeter of the square. Thereby, it transformed the area beside the trees into a pathway, driving away anyone who could have had an intention to stay there. The use of the space changed completely: Narinkka Square became a place to sell, to buy, to eat and spend time and to engage in public life in an active way. (Narinkka Square, mid-day, June 16, 2019)

In Narinkka Square, unlike in Kamppi Shopping Centre, food was also available at many other events, including at an electoral campaign, publicity and advertising campaigns, sports events and handicraft markets. Like in the festival which centred around one particular dish, in the rest of the events, food made people stop and queue – regardless of whether food was offered for free or in exchange for money, there were always people willing to taste it. In some events, for example the sports events, where the tasting of food was not even intended to become the focal point, food still attracted much of the event participants' attention, including those users of the square who did not intend to take part in the events and who showed little interest in sports but still stopped to taste the food served. The excerpt taken from my notes about a hockey event held one Saturday in Narinkka Square serves to exemplify the magnetic power that the serving of food was observed to have on public space users.

> There were nearly as many people queuing for free ice-cream as there were people watching men playing hockey in the square. Besides, if one had casted an eye on the spectators, one would have seen that at least half of them were already having their free ice-cream. The tent serving hot food was a little less popular on a warm summer day as that was. Even so, it also attracted a great number of hockey fans, as well as other users of the square, who found the activity of tasting food and watching other people do the same more interesting than watching hockey games. (Narinkka Square, afternoon, June 8, 2019)

As the excerpt above shows (and many other entries in the field notes made at the time of the hockey event confirm), not only did the serving of food bring new activities, such as queueing for food and enjoying it, but it also encouraged the users of the square to take up the activities they might not necessarily have thought of, thus allowing the development of new and unusual activities such as socialising with strangers while eating beside them. The event opened opportunities for the unexpected, the spontaneous, which the scholarly literature recognises as an important value of public space (e.g., Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009; Korngold, 2017) and the users of Narinkka Square appear to highly appreciate. In her interview, talking about the events held in Narinkka Square, Maria Jaakkola (personal communication, September 27, 2019) noticed that anything extra that happens in the space encourages people to stay there and spend their time. Thereby, the interview data can be said to confirm my finding from the observations, and that is that special events positively affect the range and intensity of activities in the public space at the time when they are held.

Intricate mixture of activities at the time of special events

Although Mark Francis (2014), when he discusses the ecology of activities and the development of a mixed-life place, refers to the mixture of activities on a larger scale than my study, his concept can be useful when defining the case observed at Narinkka Square at the time of the hockey event. When the event in question was unfolding, all the activities present easily found their place among each other, even among sometimes completely different activities. What is particularly noteworthy is that they did not only coexist side by side, together with and as a part of other activities, but they also served as the starting point, a magnet, and a catalyst for one another. Such intricate relationships among activities as those observed can be best compared to what is witnessed in an ecosystem.

> The focus of attention of the hockey event was, by all means, men playing hockey in the very centre of the square, where two hockey rinks were separated from the rest of the square by inflatable walls. Facing each rink and turning their backs to Kamppi Shopping Centre and the Turku barracks, there stood a construction of eight rows of seats meant for the spectators. In addition, the users of the square were welcome to visit tents, which were lined up along the stairs facing the Kamppi Chapel. There people could play table hockey, try hitting the hockey ball into the gate, demonstrate their skills in manoeuvring the hockey stick and the hockey ball and taste something sweet and something savoury. All the activities that were a part of the event were offered free of charge, and anyone who was present in the square was welcome to engage in them, the only exception being the actual playing of hockey, which was reserved for hockey teams. (Narinkka Square, afternoon, June 8, 2019)

> A great number of people got interested in the event and took part in various activities that were offered. In the afternoon, for instance, at one of the tents, [two men] were trying to hit the hockey ball into a hole. Quite close to them, two [women] were standing and watching the match. A little further away, a young couple, spending time in motion, was looking around and observing what was going on. At the tent which invited people to play table hockey, there were two young travellers playing while waiting for a trip. Finally, in between the ice-cream van and the line of seats for the spectators of the hockey matches, there was [a person], who, as it had become usual, was sheltering, although this time [the person] was not rambling the square as [the person] normally would, but instead was watching the match and eating free ice-cream. (Narinkka Square, afternoon, June 8, 2019)

Non-participant observations conducted in Narinkka Square showed that what the hockey event did was to generate activities that would otherwise have little – if any – chances to develop and to significantly diversify the uses of the square, making the public space in question appealing to a greater number of users. More than that, although during the hockey event the established routes of movement were blocked and almost the whole square was occupied, this had a surprisingly positive effect on the use of Narinkka Square. To specify, both the regular everyday activities and the activities that were associated with the hockey event spilled over from the spots of concentration, producing an intricate mixture of activities not observed on any other occasion or elsewhere in the Kamppi area. Below there are a few entries from my field diary to showcase what I noticed when making observations in Narinkka Square at the time when the event was being held.

> At one point, in the area around the main entrance, there were over 30 people standing and intensively using their smartphones. It looked like they were taking part in some competition organised online but as a part of the hockey event held in the square. (Narinkka Square, afternoon, June 8, 2019)

> There were a group of four young people spending their time together. The woman and two men were sitting and watching one man, who was spending time together with them, demonstrating his skills in using a hockey stick. (Narinkka Square, afternoon, June 8, 2019)

> There were four young [persons] who were socialising and refreshing themselves while standing right in the centre of the area between the hockey rinks and the tents. The drinks, which one cannot get in the square, betrayed that [they] met outside of the square. Yet, they were there in the square, relaxed and deeply engaged in a conversation in the middle of all kinds of activities. (Narinkka Square, evening, June 8, 2019)

In most cases, publicity and advertising events also encouraged new activities to develop and various activities to intermix. Entries in the field diary suggest that like the hockey event, various campaigns usually consisted of a series of events, some of which took place in parallel to each other while the others unfolded one by one. The activities that made up a campaign commonly included distributing leaflets, serving food, making public speeches, holding discussions, staging live (music, dance or theatrical) performances, playing games and holding competitions. Therefore, regardless of the fact that they had a focus on a specific topic and might have had a defined target group, an attempt was made to offer activities for the public at large,

i.e., for everyone regardless of their age or interests. For a case in point, a publicity campaign held over a weekend in Kamppi Shopping Centre shall be considered.

> Held in the central hall of E level, the campaign was aimed at a public presentation of one city in Finland, in particular, the culture of the city and the opportunities it offers for living, working and studying. All the events making up the campaign were in some way related to that: a live music performance by a local duet was staged as a representation of the local culture; informal discussions with the representatives of the city were to give an opportunity to find out about study or employment opportunities in the city; while an interactive activity, which required putting on headphones and listening attentively, was aimed at presenting the city in a playful manner. Except for two walls which partly encircled the area reserved for the hosts and the performers and where all the activities were supposed to gather, the central hall on E level remained relatively open, allowing the activities carried out as a part of the campaign and those activities that belonged to the shopping mall to intermix. The design of the shopping mall only served to the advantage: as they were held in the central hall, above which there is a void that extends to all the upper levels, the events could be seen, heard and participated in regardless of where in the shopping mall one was. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, afternoon, June 7, 2019)

> Most of the people who showed an interest in the publicity campaign did so by watching over and listening to what was going on. When two people got on a small stage for a public discussion, a handful of people spending their time in the shopping mall came closer to the stage to see and hear better. On a platform placed beside one of the walls enclosing the central hall, there came [a couple of people], who having taken a seat, were watching the discussion and listening to what was being said. Right beside them, there were [a few people] who were listening to the discussion while keeping up their own conversation. A bit further away, outside of the area designated for the event, there were [some] couples passing by. They stopped walking and started listening to the discussion. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, evening, June 7, 2019)

The event served as an invitation for the people to get to know each other by joining in: listening to and watching performances, playing games and, of course, socialising. In addition, the campaign, since it was aimed at representing a city, its culture and its potential, made the shopping mall a place to learn, to extend one's knowledge and horizon, to contemplate about one's work or studies, to make future plans and to start building one's career – something that no other event, which I could observe, did or aimed at. These activities offered by a public body (a

municipality) and essentially for the benefits of the general public, coupled with the intricate mixture between the activities brought by the event and the activities typically undertaken in Kamppi Shopping Centre, modified the regular use of the shopping mall, reproducing it as a public space and redefining its potential and its publicness. Referring to Zukin (2022), one may say that given the event, the mall became "a "true" public space" (p. 908), like the Zukin's mentioned Times Square did on election day in late 2020.

Yet, it is important to recognise that not every special event is capable of having the same effect on the use of a public space. Certain events do no more than to add one or a few extra activities to the variety of activities undertaken but otherwise remain in the background. During the few weeks that I spent regularly visiting the Kamppi area for the purpose of collecting observational data, there was an electoral campaign held in Narinkka Square. Although this was a unique event in the sense that no comparable event or political activity was observed again in Narinkka Square, or elsewhere in the spaces within the area, the data in my field notes suggest that it did not change the life of the square much.

> The electoral campaign, which was held just before the elections to the European Parliament, focused on the public presentation of the major political parties in Finland and their candidates to the European Parliament. Each party (or individual candidates), which utilised the opportunity to present themselves in public, delegated a few of its members (or supporters) to Narinkka Square. There they were expected to meet their electorate, become familiar with their expectations and concerns and present them their values and intensions. Standing close to office containers decorated with their pictures and the logos of their parties, the politicians and their supporters were delivering leaflets, greeting people passing by and inviting them to join in a conversation or, alternatively, waiting silently for the electorate to approach them. This is how their activities were received by the users of the square one day just before the noon: [one] couple stopped by to have a few words with one politician, an elderly [person] was engaged in a discussion with another politician, [another] elderly [person] joined a conversation already taking place between a [man] and a representative of a political party, and a few more users of the square took a leaflet and exchanged a word or two with the people working. At any point of time that afternoon, the number of people who showed any interest in the electoral campaign stayed around ten, regardless of the fact that some of the politicians were quite active in getting people to talk to them. (Narinkka Square, afternoon, May 24, 2019)

Interview data are worthwhile to consider in order to understand why such an event as the one accounted for above was held in Narinkka Square, while in Kamppi Shopping Centre nothing comparable could be witnessed. As notified by Heinänen (personal communication, December 10, 2019), Narinkka Square is open and used for political activity. Kamppi Shopping Centre, as the director of the shopping mall (Fågel, personal communication, September 25, 2019) explains, does not allow for any political events even if the space is open for a wide range of activities. Therefore, it is only the public square that is open for organised political activity and, as a matter of fact, can create conditions for political debate and discussions by inviting the public to not only have their say but also to be heard. Yet, as the observational evidence shows, the opportunity that Narinkka Square is ready to offer – and sometimes does offer such as at the time of the electoral campaign – does not seem to be desired by the users of the square for it does not develop into anything more than some sporadic conversations.

This finding from my observations conducted in the public spaces within the Kamppi area stands in line with the recent findings from Wojciech Ewertowski's (2023) case study, where the public in Poznan (Poland) is said to show little interest in taking part in demonstrations and protests in the public space, even if these activities tend to be generally associated with public space. Thus, because of public space users' disinterest in it, political activity cannot make any significant impact on the use, and the publicness, of the square. What it can do is no more than to extend the range of activities carried out in the square by adding one more activity to the variety of activities present and to bring one more group of users, namely politicians.

To conclude, it is important to note that the greatest value of special events lies in their power to blend activities that are regularly undertaken in a public space with the activities available there only at the time of and due to a special event, thereby developing a highly intricate mixture of all kinds of activities – a kind of *ecosystem of activities*. In addition to being valuable in itself, this intricate system of activities encourages new activities, neither regular for that space nor planned as a part of the event, to develop. When the event is not able to achieve this and does no more than to add an extra activity or two to the range of activities, it still contributes to the life of a public space but only to the extent that any other extra activity that some user group occasionally brings to a public space.

4.1.4 Sheltering and other activities necessary to survive

At the same time, when the scholarly literature suggests public space is equally available for all groups making up the public, recent tendencies in relation to the regulations over the use of public space have been said to work to discourage undesirable user groups and their activities away from public space (see Chapter

2.4). Yet, observational data collected about the use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre suggest that the three spaces are not only open for sheltering and many other activities necessary for people to survive, but they also host quite many such activities. What is more, those activities are hardly in any conflict with other activities carried out in the spaces in question.

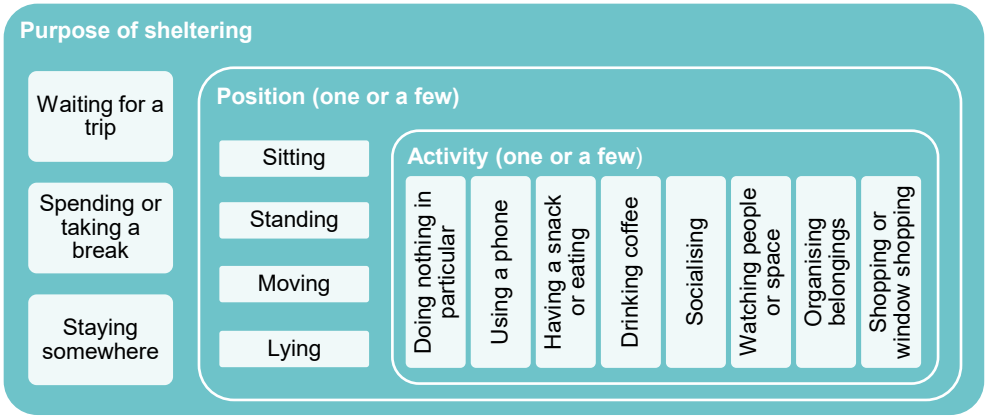


Figure 22. Forms of sheltering in three spaces within the Kamppi area

In my field diary, most of the entries about the activities undertaken out of a pressing need describe instances of sheltering. The use of the spaces within the Kamppi area for such a purpose can be found to take several forms, which vary across the three spaces over the day and the week and with their users' needs. Besides the wide variety of forms that I found that sheltering takes, I also observed that the need for a shelter is fulfilled by many different user groups. In Figure 22 there is a list of different forms of sheltering observed in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre.

Sheltering while waiting for a trip

From all the different groups using Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre for sheltering, I found that travellers are the most in need of the spaces for the purpose in question and that waiting for a trip is the commonest form of sheltering in all of the three spaces when considering them all together. Based on the observational data that I managed to collect, it can be stated that those travellers who try to find some shelter in the outdoor squares before their time to travel arrives usually sit or stand and do nothing in particular while waiting (see Figure 23). Many of them stay for a few minutes only, although there are also travellers who can be observed waiting for their trip for much longer.

Figure 23. Waiting for a trip and other forms of sheltering in Narinkka Square (top left), Tennispalatsi Square (top right) and Kamppi Shopping Centre (bottom)

Those who need to wait longer than a few minutes may also be seen using their smartphones, watching people, checking time, having a cup of coffee or a snack, organising their belongings and, provided that they are not alone while waiting, socialising with the people they are travelling with or the people who are seeing them off. Carrying smaller or larger bags, travellers usually do not move around, but sit on the stairs facing the Kamppi Chapel or under the trees planted in Narinkka Square, sit on the chairs surrounding the landforms or the benches around the fountain in Tennispalatsi Square, sit or stand under the trees separating Tennispalatsi Square from the Fredrikinkatu Street, or stand close to the main entrance to Kamppi Shopping Centre or near to the night bus terminal in Narinkka Square.

> When Narinkka Square was waking up and getting ready to accommodate masses of users that would start coming later in the morning, there already were three people looking for a shelter to stay before their trips. One of them was a middle-aged woman who was sitting on the stairs facing the Kamppi Chapel and

> looking from time to time at the screen of her smartphone. At the main entrance to Kamppi Shopping Centre, there was a middle-aged man standing, also rambling around, with his backpack and drinking soda. In the nearby, there was a middle-aged woman finishing her cigarette before the time to get on the bus or metro came. (Narinkka Square, early Tuesday morning, June 2019)

In Kamppi Shopping Centre, where waiting for a trip strongly dominates any other forms of sheltering, travellers behave quite differently than they do outside, in Narinkka Square (as the entry from the field notes above describes) or Tennispalatsi Square. Below there are two stories from the field notes aimed at illustrating the commonest form of sheltering inside the shopping mall.

> While the shops were still closed, there was a middle-aged couple of travellers who walking with their bags encircled the central void and headed to the hallway, only to walk it through. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, Sunday morning, June 2019)

> Two young women drinking their smoothies and chatting were slowly walking along the hallways on level E. They must have been spending time in the shopping mall before the trip: taking their time and enjoying their food they were actually heading towards the bus terminal. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, Sunday mid-day, June 2019)

When travellers who use the shopping mall as a shelter before a trip do not want or cannot keep on moving along the hallways, they stand around the central void on the first, second or third floor or stay somewhere around the main entrance. Some of them use their smartphones, a few watch people or the surroundings, and a group of others shop or window shop. From time to time, one may also see a traveller or two sitting on the windowsill that is on the first floor close to the only wooden stairs in the shopping mall or on their bags around the main entrance to E level. Still, in most cases travellers move, and by moving they add some extra tones to the light music that can be heard played in Kamppi Shopping Centre.

Sheltering while eating and taking a break

Another pressing need that people paying a visit to one or a few spaces in the Kamppi area aim at satisfying is that of eating and doing so in peace. Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square are especially desired by those who come searching for a safe, pleasant and free from traffic and charges shelter to have a snack, to drink a cup of coffee or a can of soda, or to have their own meal, be it breakfast, lunch or dinner.

As regards the spots where people sit while eating, it must also be said that those who come looking for a place to eat are not picky – most of them can easily take any chair or bench that is free, sit on the stairs or under the tree, use another sittable surface or, if that is not possible or not desirable, stand. What is especially noteworthy is that among the users who look for a shelter where to eat or to have a cup of coffee, there are representatives of every single user group visiting the Kamppi area. The stories below are aimed at illustrating some typical cases of using Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square for the purpose of sheltering while eating.

> As it has turned out to be common for morning hours, there was a man dressed in an overall sitting on the stairs close to the entrance to the night bus terminal and having his morning coffee. (Narinkka Square, early Thursday morning, June 2019)

> A young man approached a bench, took a seat and had a snack. The man was quite quick to eat and leave, showing that the reason he stayed in the square was to find some shelter where he could alleviate his hunger. (Tennispalatsi Square, Saturday morning, August 2020)

Both squares observed must meet the need for a shelter quite well, as some of the people come there to spend their breaks regularly. Spending a good deal of time in Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square, I noticed that there are regular visitors, those who come almost every day to spend their breaks in one or the other square. In Narinkka Square, there are some users who tend to stand for a cup of coffee at the main entrance of the shopping centre, for a cigarette at the corner of Urho Kekkosen Street, for lunch at the stairs facing the square or for any of those mentioned at the entrance to the night bus terminal. Those who choose Tennispalatsi Square, typically spend their breaks sitting on the fountain, the benches and chairs by its side or under the trees planted along Fredrikinkatu Street. In that particular public space, several times, I also saw a middle-aged woman coming for a short break to the square and taking a seat on the ledge that faces one of the entrances to the shopping centre, an elderly office man sitting with a cup of coffee on a chair around a landform and a middle-aged woman having her lunch under the pine tree.

Even if most of the breaks are spent in the squares because they offer most of the sitting options in the area, Kamppi Shopping Centre deserves no less credit since it creates conditions for satisfying the need for a shelter outside. To be more specific, many people who wish to quench their thirst and/or to alleviate their hunger, but who do not have any food with them, are highly likely to get some food from the shops (and restaurants) that operate in the shopping mall and to take their meal outside to one or the other square. A case in point is apparent in the story given below.

> On the bench close to the fountain, I saw a [man] sitting. A minute or two later two [adolescents] carrying food exited Kamppi Shopping Centre and approached the man who had been waiting for them. In a little while they could all be seen enjoying their meals and socialising. (Tennispalatsi Square, Sunday afternoon, August 2020)

Sheltering when having nowhere else to stay

In addition to those who are in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre before their trip or during a break, there is one more group of users who are interested in spending their excessive free time in the Kamppi area. This group comprises various public space users who have no occupation and nowhere else to stay during the daytime. Despite their motives of sheltering in the three spaces being different from those users who shelter there before their trip or while eating their lunch, their activities carried out are very much comparable. Thus, similar to many other users of the spaces in the Kamppi area, those in need of a shelter for a longer time than a lunch break can usually be seen sitting and socialising, watching other people or doing nothing in particular. Occasionally some also ramble the spaces, others search for someone else doing the same to engage in a conversation, and a few take a nap. Among the people that I saw sheltering more or less regularly: there was a young person spending long hours either sitting somewhere in Narinkka Square or in Kamppi Shopping Centre; a man rambling all three of the spaces each time he visited the area or sitting on the stairs in Narinkka Square; an elderly person sitting for long hours in Tennispalatsi Square and watching people or, alternatively, staying in Narinkka Square and socialising with other users of the space; and a woman each time sheltering in a different spot and each time engaged in different activities, including socialising, sitting, eating and sleeping.

> It was getting late, but the [lady] was still reading the book and the [man] was still sitting and watching people. I am not sure when the man arrived, but the woman had been there since the afternoon, so for a few hours already. Next to them there was [a man] who I often see in the morning and afternoon socialising with other men [identifier removed]. This time he was staying on his own, sitting and watching people. Can it be so that he had also been sheltering since the daytime, like the lady? (Tennispalatsi Square, late Friday evening, August 2020)

What distinguishes the forms of sheltering in the story above is the duration of a single stay. Not confined by time, those users, who shelter in the spaces within the Kamppi area because they have nowhere else to spend their time, may stay for as long as the whole day, or they come and leave a few times throughout the day. The

location chosen also deserves special attention: although sheltering for the purpose of staying somewhere is present in all of the three spaces that I studied, my observations suggest that the people who have few options where to spend their excessive time tend to prefer the squares over the shopping mall or, alternatively, they pay a visit to each space within the Kamppi area.

Before presenting findings about other necessary activities, one more remark feels necessary to be made in relation to the use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre for the activity of sheltering. The public space literature generally tends to highlight the importance of public space for various sensitive and disadvantaged groups of people and for activities they especially need public space for (see e.g., Mitchell, 2003; Madanipour, 2004; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009). However, the observational evidence that I managed to collect show that the public spaces within the Kamppi area are highly demanded by various and essentially different user groups and for satisfying various needs that have to be fulfilled without delay. What is noteworthy in addition, is that the spaces respond positively to every user group.

Other activities necessary to survive

Besides sheltering and a range of necessary activities it involves, disadvantaged groups of users use Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre to carry out a few activities that help them make a living or survive. Quantitative observational data disclose that collecting refundable plastic bottles and cans from waste containers is the commonest of such activities. This evidence is only corroborated by the qualitative evidence from my field notes, where there are a lot of stories about disadvantaged groups of people searching the spaces in the Kamppi area for empty bottles. Following the stories, the majority of the users who visit one or another public space for the purpose named do so regularly, and during their visit they check all the waste containers that they can find in the space. Many of them are likely to visit all three of the spaces each time they come to the Kamppi area. An entry taken from my field notes and offered below illustrates a case in point.

> [One woman] left Kamppi Shopping Centre to Narinkka Square with a few bags, some of which contained empty cans. Upon her leave, the woman checked a waste container at the main entrance and carried on walking, leaving some other waste containers uninspected. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, early Sunday morning, June 2019)

Despite the fact that Kamppi Shopping Centre is less favoured as a space to shelter before a trip or during a break, it is where most instances of collecting refundable

beverage containers can be observed. While many case studies have found shopping malls to discriminate between more and less desirable users and to make the space of the mall uninviting to the undesirable (see Chapter 2.3.1), my observation evidence offers different insights about the situation in Kamppi Shopping Centre. In fact, this is hardly surprising: the shopping mall in question is equally open to all user groups and, being the largest of the three spaces in the Kamppi area, probably offers more opportunities for better search finds than the adjacent open spaces.

Begging for money and/or food, which the observations showed to be another activity public space users undertake to survive, is almost exclusively carried out in Narinkka Square, though. In most cases, those who beg move around the square, approach passers-by and ask them for some money or for some food. Occasionally the users who beg may be seen sitting and holding a sheet of cardboard that speaks about their unfavourable condition and that asks for money and/or food in their name. Besides these forms of begging, in my field notes there are stories telling about disadvantaged people who follow passers-by and ask them for money while they are making their way through the square. Some other notes I made talk about disadvantaged people who take a seat next to other public space users and, having initiated a conversation with them, ask for some money. It is important to note that public space users who beg do not try to select who to approach, and they tend ask for money from anyone who happens to be around them.

> A man coming to the square from behind the Kamppi Chapel was approached by a begging woman. As the man did not stop to listen to what the woman had to say and continued walking, she started walking along him. Making her request while walking, the woman followed the man even after he entered Kamppi Shopping Centre. She stopped her unsuccessful attempt only at the escalator leading down to metro. (Narinkka Square, Wednesday morning, June 2019)

> When Narinkka Square was full of people engaged in all kinds of activities, there was also a woman begging. Moving around the square, she saw another woman sitting and reading and approached her to asked for money or food. The woman sitting did not react and carried on reading as if no one was there standing beside her. Seeing no response, the begging woman stepped away and turned to another woman sitting and using her smartphone. After one more unsuccessful attempt, she approached a man, who was leaning on a ledge and watching people. This, again, was done only to realise that the person was unwilling to respond. Yet, the beggar did not surrender and went on approaching people and crying for help. (Narinkka Square, Monday afternoon, June 2019)

The examples above show that few users of Narinkka Square who come to the square to beg succeed in receiving any money. It is probably due to this that I encountered people begging at all times of the day and on all days of the week and noticed that they had to put a lot of effort in attracting other users' attention and persuading them to give out some money. Many attempts ending in a failure in Narinkka Square might be one reason why instances of begging are very sporadic in the other two spaces within the Kamppi area. Other reasons might be associated with the numbers of passers-by in Kamppi Shopping Centre and Tennispalatsi Square. In the shopping mall, the great number and intensive flow of people in the clearly defined halls and hallways is likely to make it difficult to encourage passers-by to stop and to search for coins. As regards Tennispalatsi Square, because it is not as intensively used as Narinkka Square, it probably offers even poorer chances to meet people who would be willing to help. Yet, begging does occasionally take place in the two spaces in question, and below is a story from each space.

> I saw [a person] walking on E level and asking people for money. I did not see anyone give [the person] any money (Kamppi Shopping Centre, Saturday mid-day, May 2019)

> There was [a person] asking for money from the people having their lunch in the square. [The person] was quite persistent, but I am not sure if [one] was successful in getting what [one] was asking for. (Tennispalatsi Square, Saturday mid-day, August 2020)

These two and a few other instances, the total number of which stays below number ten, were the only instances of the activity of begging that I observed in Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre over the whole observation period. Nonetheless, they suggest that the two spaces are not used for begging primarily because undertaking the activity there does not seem to give the desired outcome.

Timing, duration and intensity of various necessary activities

The activities undertaken while sheltering are highly comparable even if public space users have different motives to shelter in a public space. To specify, sheltering generally involves no more than sitting or moving around and socialising with the people one is with, watching other users of the square or doing nothing in particular. Despite the similarity in the forms of sheltering, the timing, as well as duration, of the activities may be significantly different. This is so because the amount of excessive time and the time of the day when it is available vary with the purpose of sheltering and between user groups. Those public space users who are there in the

Kamppi area looking for opportunities to spend their breaks or to wait for a trip usually stay between a few minutes and half an hour, regardless of the part of the day. Coffee breaks, which tend to be spent either in Narinkka Square or Tennispalatsi Square, usually last no more than a few minutes, and the users who take them in the squares are most likely to be seen in the late morning. Finally, lunch breaks, which involve eating a meal around the noon, are typically longer.

As regards the time of the day, quantitative observational data that I managed to collect show that in Tennispalatsi Square, taking a break was at its most intense in the middle of the day, while in Narinkka Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, the most intensive break-taking was an hour or so later (see Figure 24). Qualitative data gathered from the field notes only corroborate this quantitative data from observation forms: in certain spots within the squares, taking a lunch break is revealed to be such an intensive activity that it is able to overshadow other activities undertaken right beside them.

> The area around the stairs and close to the entrance into the night bus terminal seems to be very much favoured by those users of Narinkka Square who come there to spend their breaks. Today, in the middle of the day, there were three young men in their working clothes sitting and socialising. Two of them were also eating. Quite close to them there was another young man sitting and drinking soda. The clothes that he was in indicated that he was taking a break from his work [identifier removed]. A little further away there was a young man sitting and having his lunch. In addition to the men sitting, there was a [bus driver] who was spending a break while standing. (Narinkka Square, Tuesday mid-day, June 2019)

The data aggregated from observation forms (see Figure 24) suggest that sheltering while waiting for a trip is somewhat more evenly distributed throughout the day as compared to the sheltering while taking a break, especially in Tennispalatsi Square. In this square, almost as many people were observed waiting for a bus or metro at different times between late morning and evening. In Narinkka Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, which demonstrate a striking similarity, it was around the middle of the day when most cases of waiting for a trip were recorded. In the afternoon, the number of public space users waiting severely dropped by half and stayed so almost until late in the evening. As for the duration of the activity of waiting for a trip, it did not seem to vary with time, or at least there is no evidence of variation in the observational data gathered in the field notes. The idea that qualitative observational data do seem to put forward is that waiting could be prolonged given pleasant weather or an interesting public event.

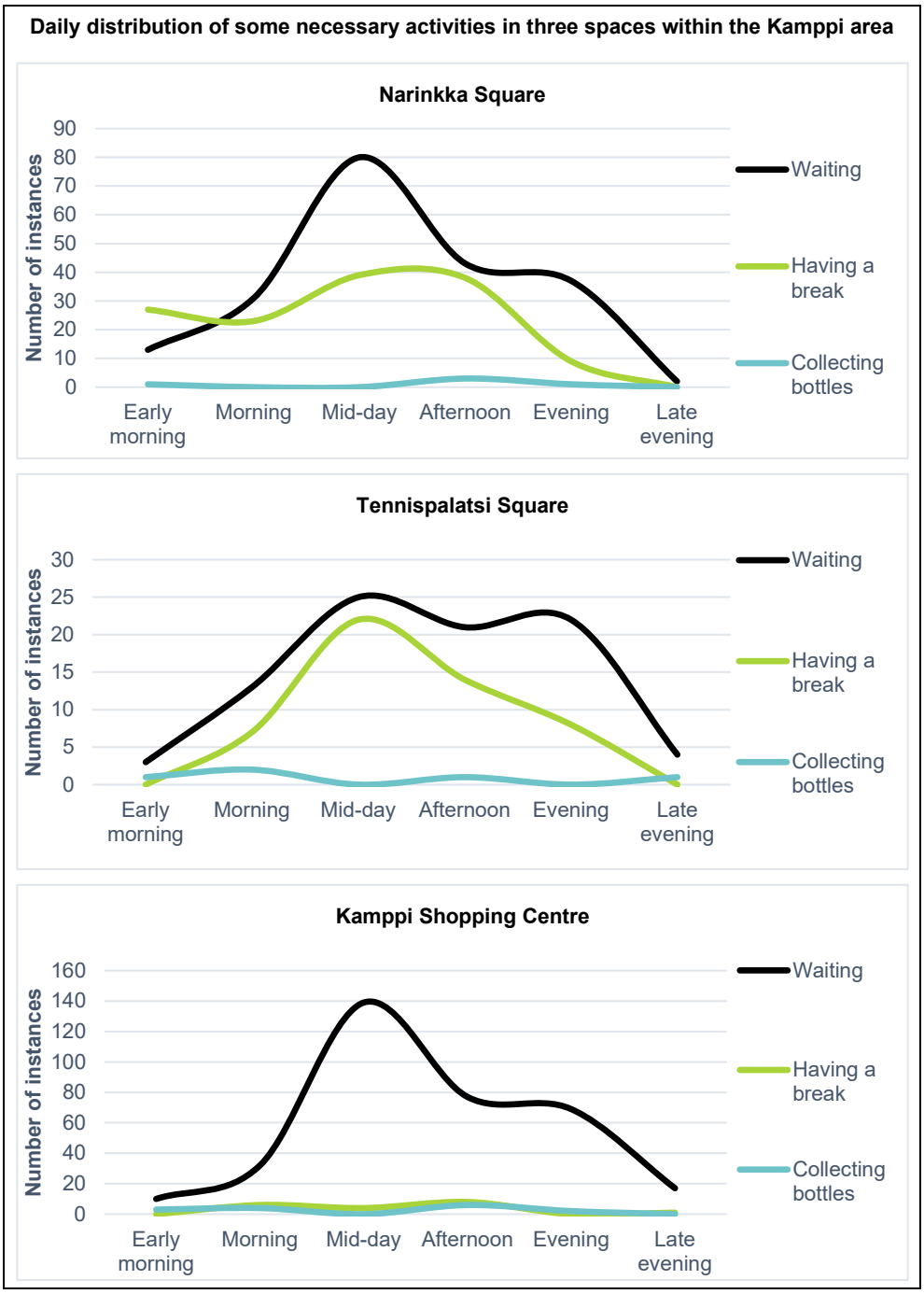


Figure 24. Daily distribution of some of the necessary activities undertaken in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre in different spots

Finally, public space users sheltering in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre because they have nowhere else to be, as well as disadvantaged groups of users visiting the spaces for the purpose of collecting bottles, were relatively equally distributed throughout the day (see Figure 24). As the data from the observational forms disclose, there were almost as many people collecting bottles in the morning or evening as there were around the middle of the day, when many other user groups were most numerous, and other activities were at their most intense. In addition, in my field notes, there are stories about people sheltering out of a pressing need in all of the three spaces studied at all times of the day, and some of the stories tell about public space users spending a greater part of their day in one or some of the spaces within the Kamppi area. On more fact is important to acknowledge, and this is that on some days and at some certain times, the activity of sheltering was observed to be more intensive than at other times. Yet, the qualitative data collected are not sufficient to distinguish any pattern or to single out some certain time as more favourable than other times for sheltering Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square or Kamppi Shopping Centre. What this data can be seen to suggest, is that instead of clashes of interests over the use of public space or a conflict among different activities, which a number of case studies have pointed towards (e.g., Malone, 2002; Kohn, 2013; Miller, 2014), in the three spaces within the Kamppi area, essentially different activities tend to peacefully coexist and, sometimes, even work in support of each other.

4.2 Users of public space

This sub-chapter begins with an overview of different user groups' profiles and goes on to discuss and compare their distribution across time and the three spaces in the Kamppi area. In doing so, I focus on tracing similarities and differences in how different user groups use the spaces and how the variety of users and the activities they choose relate to the overall use of those spaces. To find out what groups of people use Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, I observed what gender, age and social groups visit each of the three spaces, what activities representatives of each user group undertake there, and whether they act alone or in company with others. Besides counting the number of representatives of each group at different times of the day, I took notes on how they used the space. Having completed my observations, I talked to a few informants and asked them to share their knowledge and insight about the groups using the three spaces and the activities they tend to use the spaces for. This allowed me to find out about different user groups' contribution in defining and (re)producing Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre as public spaces. The results that I obtained are presented in the sub-chapters that follow.

4.2.1 Profiles of user groups

Qualitative observational data collected when making non-participant observations and gathered in field notes suggest fourteen different groups to be distinguishable among the users of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre. The principal criteria on the bases of which the classification of users into different groups is made include their apparent age, behaviour in public, style of dress or type of clothes worn, and any belongings and special attributes carried with them upon the time when they were observed using the spaces in question. Supplementary criteria include contextual clues, such as the company of people that the users were in, the time of the day and the day of the week when they were seen in a public space, the duration of a single stay and the regularity of visits over the four-week observation period, the pace in carrying out activities, and the willingness or readiness to respond to any stimuli (such as other users of the same space, shop windows, weather, a special event and an unexpected happening). What is noteworthy is that none of the fourteen categories of users is absolute; instead, they are relative to one another and used to describe public space users on the bases of how they presented themselves or who they appeared to be at the time when I observed the three spaces. In the paragraphs below, there are brief descriptions, which I call profiles, of each of the fourteen user groups. The profiles are presented in alphabetical order.

Disadvantaged groups. This is one of the most varied of all of the fourteen user groups. As any unfavourable condition that certain users are in is neither always possible nor ethical to judge from observation alone, all adult users who had apparently untidy look, whose conduct in public allowed me to predict them to have been under the influence of alcohol or other substances of abuse, and/or who were seen carrying out an activity necessary for people to survive (such as begging for money or collecting empty bottles or cans) are seen here as representing some disadvantaged user group. Thus, disadvantage user groups include people who, when I saw them, appeared to be bag people, bottle collectors, beggars, the homeless, people suffering from alcohol or drug addiction, and any people who as Heinänen described, “are all the time struggling to find their place in the city” (personal communication, December 10, 2019). Among the attributes that serve as hints about public space users’ apparent affiliation with some disadvantaged group there are plastic bags full of empty bottles and cans, a paper cup with a few jingling coins, shabby clothes and untidy look, and all kinds of worn-out bags filled with personal belongings, to mention a few.

Elderly people. All three of the spaces that I observed were regularly visited by people who were seemingly in their late sixties or older. As compared to other public space users, they tended to be a little slower in whatever they were doing in the spaces studied, more willing to respond to any outside stimuli, more likely to carry

no bag or to have a shopping trolley with them, and more often in need of a walking aid. In case they were using the spaces with someone, which was significantly less common, they were as likely to be accompanied by people of their age group as by anyone else. Established mainly on the bases of users' age and physical condition, this category can be said to have been one of the easiest to define and assign public space users to.

Lower-income people. This group comprises all the adult users of the spaces within the Kamppi area whose behaviour (such as spending long hours without doing anything in particular) or the condition of the clothes they wore and the belongings they were observed with were seen to suggest that the users were unemployed or short of money for some reason. Although somewhat similar in their appearance to the disadvantaged groups, lower-income people are distinguishable from them as they demonstrated different patterns of using the spaces in question.

Mothers/fathers with prams. This group of people can be described as formed from mostly young adults, both men and women, who were observed using a public space together with and while taking care of their babies. What distinguishes them as a special user group is their being in close contact with and dependent to a large extent for their activities on their babies in prams. In most of the cases, mothers and fathers with prams used the spaces observed together with their babies only, although occasionally they were seen accompanied by another parent with a baby pram or another adult person, apparently a friend or a relative.

Office people. To this group of people there belong all working-age users who appeared in any of the three spaces wearing business or business casual attire. Beside the formal or semi-formal clothes, these users positioned themselves as office people by holding a briefcase, a laptop bag or a folder and/or keeping a lanyard with their identify card, or office keys hang on their neck. In case they were not alone, they were observed in a company of other office people, and it was only occasionally that they used the Kamppi area with someone affiliated with another user group. Unlike many other user groups, office people were seen on working days only and almost never later than an hour or two after standard office working hours.

Ordinary people. The largest group of users is the group of ordinary people. All the users of the three spaces who were not seen to have the attributes associated with any particular user group are seen as belonging to this group. This does not mean that ordinary people do not share any similarities among themselves. In fact, the users identified as representatives of the group of ordinary people mostly include working-age people whose behaviour, clothes and belongings were not seen to differ in any distinguishable way from the mainstream of the city. In addition to adult users, any under-aged users accompanied by adults affiliated with the group of ordinary people are also seen as belonging to the group by the line of their parents or caretakers.

Other users. Among public space users there were people who could not be assigned to any of the thirteen groups by observing their look and behaviour. There were also people who used the spaces in the Kamppi area only occasionally, making it unnecessary to distinguish them as a separate group of users. For example, there were a few upper-class people and a few politicians. Due to their low number, they are all considered to belong to the group of other users. In Narinkka Square, mothers and fathers with prams and office people were occasional visitors and, therefore, they are treated as belonging to the group of other users of the square in question. In Tennispalatsi Square, other users also include mothers and fathers with prams and workers, since in the square, representatives of both groups were seen exceptionally rarely. Finally, among other users of Kamppi Shopping Centre there are not only users that could not be assigned to any of the thirteen categories, but also workers.

Ramblers. To this group of users there belong young and middle-aged men (mostly speaking other languages than Finnish or Swedish among themselves) who I often saw in pairs or groups spending time socialising, watching other people and using their smartphones. Always dressed neatly in stylish high-quality clothes and having no other belongings with them except for their brand-new smartphones, they were the ones who started coming to the spaces within the Kamppi area just before noon and stayed there for quite some time, sometimes until quite late. Although they tended to spend time socialising among themselves, they looked to exchange fewer words rather than holding a conversation, and they almost never got loud. In fact, they were observed using the spaces in quite a passive way, acting peacefully and quietly throughout their prolonged stays.

School children. The group of school children is comprised of those public space users who apparently were of a school age, which in Finland is typically between the ages of six and nineteen, and who were seen using the three spaces studied alone or with their peers. To this group there also belongs school-age public space users who were observed in any of the three spaces within the Kamppi area in the company of an adult, but the adult user could not qualify as a parent: he or she was most likely to be a teacher, an older sibling or a grandparent. More active and playful than many other user groups, school children are also distinguishable from them by their preference for spending time in smaller and larger groups over staying in pairs or on their own.

Students. Recognisable by their age and outfit mostly, the group of students is one of the most numerous user groups in all three of the spaces studied. Looking like they were around or in their early twenties, which in Finland is the age when people typically study at a vocational school or at an institution of higher education, these young adults were often informally dressed and carrying school bags. Some of them were in boilersuits, the colour of which can be associated with the students' field of

study. Although they could be seen using the spaces within the Kamppi area on their own, students were more often seen spending time together with their peers.

Subcultures. A relatively small, yet distinctive, user group is that which comprises adolescent and adult users of the spaces who try to disclose their distinctive understanding of the world around them through their behaviour and style of dress. Although those users who are assigned to this group are not uniform in their look, what they were all seen to share was a style that in one way or another significantly diverges from the mainstream of the city (and, thus, the group of ordinary people). Thereby, to this group there belong public space users who were seen to position themselves as emos, rockers or metalheads, skaters and hippies, as well as those whose affiliation with one or another subculture would require a specialist in the field to be identified. In addition to a distinctive look, what distinguishes this group of users from the other groups is that, when using a public space, they were almost always seen in company of their peers.

Travellers. To this group there belongs any adolescent or adult user of the spaces with a smaller or larger suitcase, a duffel bag, a large backpack or another type of a bag indicating that the person is away from home for a full day or so. As many of the travellers are commuters to whom the Kamppi area is no more than a space in between their home and workplace, they were the users who were usually seen in motion and acting quite fast in whatever they were doing. Provided that they travelled longer distances or had plenty of time before a trip, they could be seen taking their time and instead being very slow in their actions. In any case, travellers looked like they knew very well where they had to or wanted to go, how to reach that spot, and how much time they could afford to spend before their trip.

Tourists. Public space users of any age and gender group who happened to visit the Kamppi area while visiting the city of Helsinki for pleasure are qualified here as tourists. Except for a few rare instances when they were seen on their own, tourists tended to come in pairs, families and smaller and larger groups. What distinguished them from other user groups most was their behaviour: they were likely to hold a map or a travelling guide in their hands, attentively observe the space they were in, pay attention to what would go unnoticed to the locals, take photos of the space or objects located in the space, and do all of that with great curiosity and excitement. Some of the tourists who I observed in the spaces within the Kamppi area were doing that upon their arrival to or departure from the city. In that case, they could be seen moving around with suitcases in search of a bus terminal, the right bus stop, departure information, ticket office or some exact address.

Workers. Like office people, workers are mostly distinguished by the clothes they were observed in and by the attributes that they had with them. Thus, as understood here, workers are adult users of the spaces within Kamppi area who were seen in the area either wearing working clothes, such as overalls or another garment,

which betray their working duties. In addition to their outfit, certain belongings possessed and the badges on their clothes worn served as criteria for assigning public space users to this particular user group. As regards their characteristic behaviour, in more cases than not, workers were observed to be quite passive users of the spaces, and they usually did not stay for more than a few minutes.

Before discussing the distribution of different user groups and their preferred activities in the spaces within the Kamppi area, it must be remarked that all of the users who I had a chance to observe were assigned to a certain user group relying on my personal insight and senses. Therefore, the boundaries between the groups are sometimes vague, and treating one or another user as a representative of a particular user group is open to a question. As a matter of fact, the fourteen groups of users shall not be seen as social constructs, but instead are recognised as distinguished for the purposes of this dissertation.

4.2.2 Distribution of user groups among total users and across time

My observations conducted in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre disclosed that in these three spaces, the groups of users represent the same variety even if the spaces differ in many of their characteristics. This observational evidence about the wide variety of user groups can be corroborated by interview data. In their interviews, both city officials and informants whose working duties are related to Kamppi Shopping Centre and Tennispalatsi Square stressed that the spaces are meant for all people who live and work in or visit the city of Helsinki. According to Prokkola (personal communication, October 22, 2019), Narinkka Square and other spaces in the centre of Helsinki are designed without any particular group(s) in mind. The director of Kamppi Shopping Centre, in turn, said that the shopping mall is for people of different ages and cultures, and that the aim of the management is to offer something for everyone who happens to visit the space, to make the shopping mall "a living room for all our visitors and all our customers" (Fågel, personal communication, September 25, 2019). In addition to this, in their interviews, informants pointed out to what had become clear to me already when observing the spaces, and this is that the vision and the reality match well: the users of the three spaces within the Kamppi area represent a wide variety of social groups.

Distribution of different user groups among total users

Despite the fact that Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre are attractive to the same groups of users, their distribution among total users varies from space to space. To begin with, comparing the numeric data about the size

of each of the fourteen user groups in each of the three spaces studied, it becomes obvious that the spaces are very much comparable when it comes to the groups that are larger in size and tend to dominate the other, less numerous, user groups. Yet, in the distribution of less dominant (i.e., smaller in the number of people) user groups among total users, the spaces diverge from one another and demonstrate some uniqueness (see Figure 25).

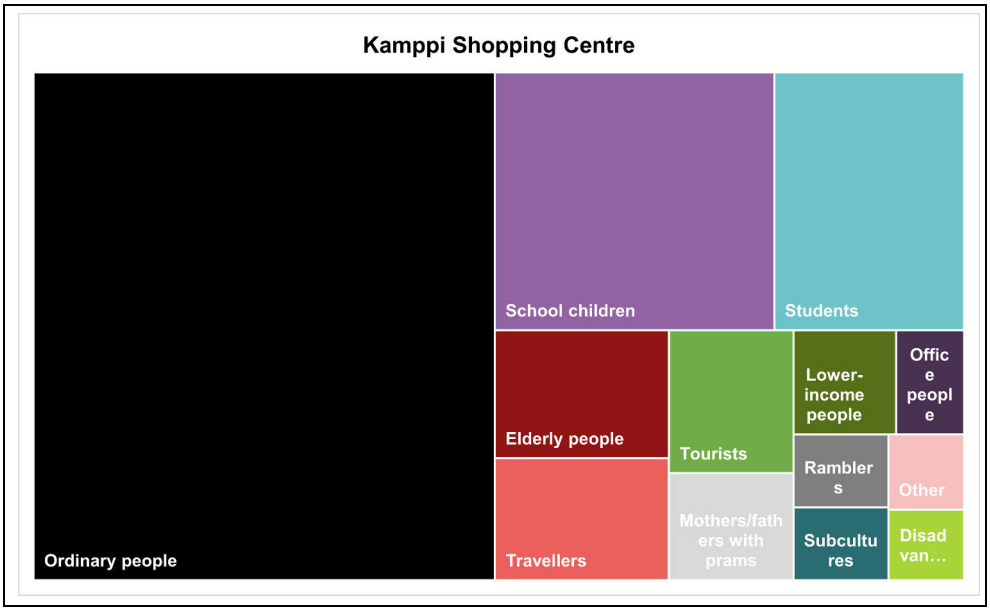


Figure 25. Distribution of user groups among all the users observed in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre

The data collected by means of counting the number of users representing each user group at different times of the day show that during my visits to Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, ordinary people were the best represented user group in each space. To specify, in Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, almost a half of all the users could be assigned to the group of ordinary people, while the representatives of the other thirteen groups taken together made the other half of the total number of users. In Narinkka Square, even if ordinary people were also the most numerous user group, they made up only about a quarter of all of the users of the square. One more quarter, a slightly larger one, was made up of disadvantaged groups, students and school children, each group of which was around one third of the size of the ordinary people group. In Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, only students and school children were significantly more numerous groups than many other groups, while disadvantaged groups made up but a small part of the total users. In fact, the share of students among total users was the same in each of the three spaces, while the share of school children was the largest in Tennispalatsi Square.

In Narinkka Square, five different groups, namely travellers, tourists, ramblers, lower-income people and subcultures, were slightly less numerous than school children and students. The group of elderly people, in turn, was relatively small, two or more times smaller than any of the five smaller groups mentioned, and so small that even workers outnumbered them. This is where Narinkka Square stood in sharp

contrast to Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre: in both privately-owned but publicly usable spaces there was no user group that would be at least half the size of either the group of students or the group of school children, and the group of elderly people was similar in size when compared to the other less numerous groups of users (e.g., travellers or lower-income people), while the group of workers was very small.

Despite the similarities identified in the distribution of the more numerous user groups in Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, the two spaces demonstrate quite many differences in other aspects. One is that in the square, ramblers and lower-income people were observed higher in numbers than tourists or travellers, whereas in the shopping mall a reverse case scenario unfolded. The shopping mall also diverged from Tennispalatsi Square, as well as from Narinkka Square, in that office people and mothers or fathers with prams were significantly more numerous there as compared to their numbers in both squares. In the field diary, there are many stories that illustrate the findings from the analysis of quantitative observational data, namely that the distribution of user groups varies from space to space even if the overall variety of users is very much comparable among the three spaces within the Kamppi area. Below there are a few excerpts from those stories.

> Sub-culture people, be they young adults or adolescents, are present in the shopping mall as much as they are present outside. Yet, they choose to be in Narinkka Square when they are in larger groups. (Narinkka Square, evening, June 2, 2019)

> There were moms with babies in prams and also fathers and mothers with small children. This is the usual time when they start coming to the area to spend their time. However, it is more common to see them moving through or taking some activities in the shopping mall than here in the square. (Narinkka Square, morning, June 6, 2019)

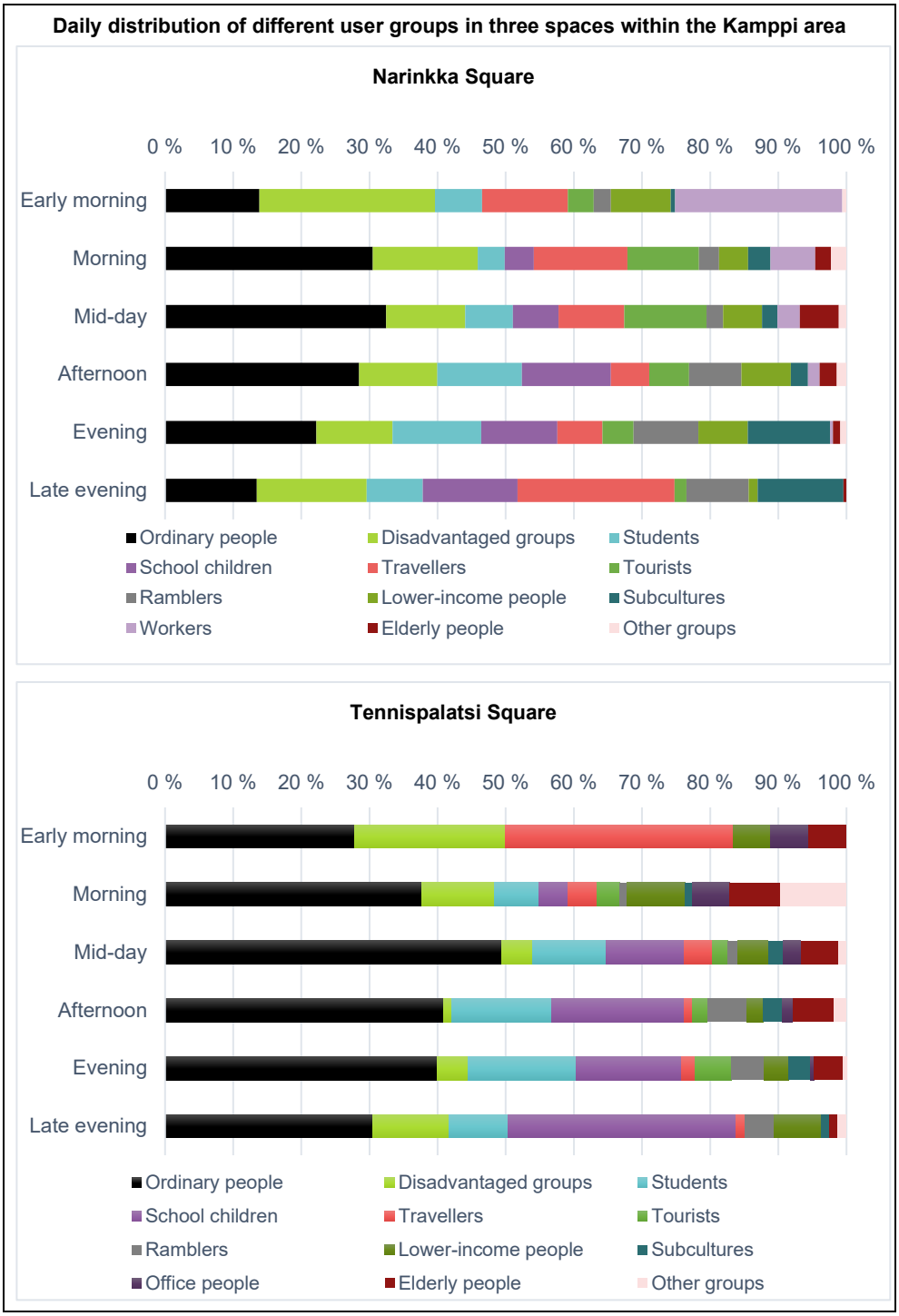
> The proportion of adolescents outside in Narinkka Square and inside in the mall looks similar, but the proportion of other groups who are there to spend their time seems different. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, mid-day, May 28, 2019)

> There were two middle-aged ramblers sitting on the stairs under the apple tree. They were socialising and watching people. It was not the first time I saw them there in the square. I think, I also saw them once in Narinkka Square. (Tennispalatsi Square, Sunday afternoon, August 2020)

Besides they corroborate the observational data about the wide variety of user groups, interview data have also been found to comprise some evidence that stand in contrast to the data collected by observational means. To specify, while my quantitative observational data can be seen to show that Kamppi Shopping Centre tends to favour (and be favoured by) those user groups who could act as its customers, and, by doing so, correlate with findings from previous studies (e.g., Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006; Voyce, 2006), my interview data suggest the case to be quite the opposite. In fact, in his interview, the security employee (personal communication, n.d., 2019) pointed out, and did so a few times, that the users of the shopping mall represent a wide variety of social groups, and that school children and disadvantaged groups are a part of that variety. Furthermore, when asked about differences between Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, the informant referred to activities, rather than user groups. It is also noteworthy that besides recognizing that business people and families are considered as some of the target groups of Kamppi Shopping Centre, the director of the shopping mall stressed that the management of the mall puts an effort in making the space attractive to everyone visiting it (Fågel, personal communication, September 25, 2019). The mismatch between numeric observational data and the interview data can be explained with reference to Fågel (personal communication, September 25, 2019), who sees a relation between the distribution of user groups in Kamppi Shopping Centre and the time of the year. Accordingly, school children and disadvantaged groups of users tend to increase in numbers during the cold season, while the warm season is said to keep them outside. At this point it feels necessary to remind the reader that my observations were conducted during the warm season.

Distribution of different user groups throughout the day

As regards the daily distribution of different user groups, the quantitative data from 231 observational data collection forms suggest that Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square yield quite well for comparison, whereas Kamppi Shopping Centre stands out from the two squares (see Figure 26). To specify, the variation between the daily patterns of use followed by different user groups was greater in both squares as compared to that attested in the shopping mall, where many of the user groups were more and less numerous almost at the same times of the day. Yet, as regards the best preferred times of the day for visiting a public space, some groups using the squares were more comparable in their preferences to the same groups using Kamppi Shopping Centre rather than to some other user groups using the same space.


Daily distribution of different user groups in three spaces within the Kamppi area
Narinkka Square
0 %
10 %
20 %
30 %
40 %
50 %
60 %
70 %
80 %
90 %
100 %
Early morning
Morning
Mid-day
Afternoon
Evening
Late evening
Ordinary people
Disadvantaged groups
Students
School children
Travellers
Tourists
Ramblers
Lower-income people
Subcultures
Workers
Elderly people
Other groups
Tennispalatsi Square
0 %
10 %
20 %
30 %
40 %
50 %
60 %
70 %
80 %
90 %
100 %
Early morning
Morning
Mid-day
Afternoon
Evening
Late evening
Ordinary people
Disadvantaged groups
Students
School children
Travellers
Tourists
Ramblers
Lower-income people
Subcultures
Office people
Elderly people
Other groups

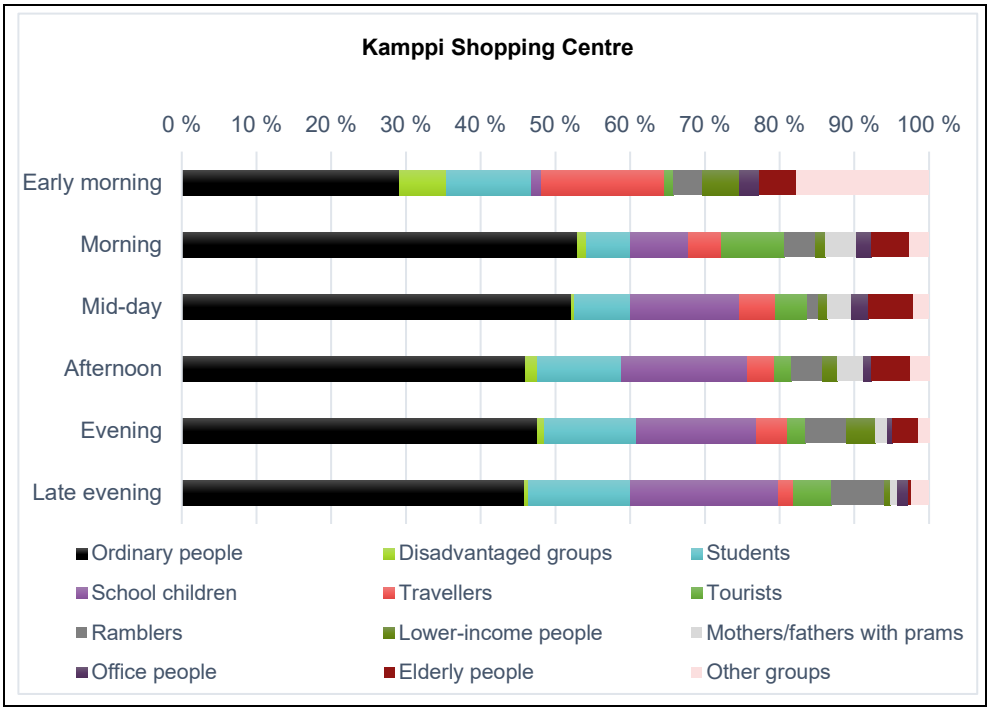


Figure 26. Distribution of the user groups (percentage share) observed in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre at different times of the day

The largest user group, which in all of the three spaces was that of ordinary people, was one of the few groups that followed a similar daily pattern in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre. The time around the noon was the time when the group of ordinary people spending their time in any of the three spaces within the Kamppi area more than doubled its size, which remained little changed until the evening. In the evening, the number of ordinary people started declining, and within a few hours the group in question reached the size comparable to that attested in the morning. There were, nevertheless, some small differences among the spaces: while in Narinkka Square, the size of the group of ordinary people was almost as small in the evening as it was in the morning, in the other two spaces, ordinary people were obviously more numerous in the evening than they were in the morning.

A few other user groups, as different as they may be, were found to follow a similar daily pattern when using Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre. Based on the data aggregated from observation forms, elderly people, mothers/fathers with prams and office people started increasing in their numbers already before the noon, doubled in their numbers in an hour or two and started decreasing to their morning numbers in the evening. Despite the obvious

similarities to the group of ordinary people, these three user groups were distributed less evenly throughout the day as compared to the largest user groups or total users spending their time in any of the three spaces. In particular, the numbers of elderly people, mothers/fathers with prams and office people were at their peak for fewer hours, and it did not take late evening for their numbers to drop significantly. Elderly people spending time in Narinkka Square were the quickest to not only rise, but also drop in numbers (in the middle of the day, they were five times more numerous than in the morning or evening), due to which their daily distribution in the space was very uneven. In the shopping mall, on the other hand, the group of elderly people was found to be both more numerous and more evenly distributed throughout the day.

In all three spaces within the Kamppi area, school children, students, ramblers and subcultures started rising in numbers much later than ordinary people, elderly people or office people – around the middle of the day – and they peaked later in the afternoon or even in the evening. As a matter of fact, late in the evening, the groups in question were still spending time in numbers almost as high as those recorded in the middle of the day. Their numbers started going down significantly later than the numbers of any other user group. For example, in the late evening, there were more than two times more ramblers than in the middle of the day, while the number of students was almost the same in the middle of the day and in the late evening. The only exception was school children spending time in Tennispalatsi Square: unlike the groups of students, ramblers, or subcultures using the same square or their peer groups visiting the other two spaces within the Kamppi area, in Tennispalatsi Square, school children peaked in their numbers namely in the late evening. The group in question diverged from other user groups also in that their daily distribution was much more uneven compared to that of other groups. Considering the differences among Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre as far as the daily distribution of school children, students, ramblers and subcultures is concerned, the shopping mall can be said to have been used throughout the day more consistently than either of the squares.

Travellers, who were most often witnessed using the spaces within the Kamppi area as a shelter before a trip, were more likely to do so in the middle of the day or evening, early or late, while their numbers in the afternoon compared better to their numbers recorded in the morning. This pattern can be easily explained by the fact that a great many of the travellers were commuters, staying in the spaces regularly after their working hours and before their time to travel to/from work. As for the group of tourists, Tennispalatsi Square attracted them in low numbers, and they were there in higher numbers only in the evening. To the group of tourists, Kamppi Shopping Centre and Narinkka Square, on the other hand, seems to have been equally well attractive at different times of the day, although in the middle of the day

tourists preferred the square over the shopping mall; in the late evening, they were more likely to choose the shopping mall.

As regards other and more sensitive groups of users, quantitative observational data disclose that although lower-income and disadvantaged groups were also much more numerous in the afternoon and evening than in the first part of the day, both groups were relatively well-represented in the morning and around the noon. Thereby, lower-income people and disadvantaged groups of people not only stood out from many other user groups, but they appeared to be more evenly distributed throughout the day. In many other respects, however, the patterns followed by lower-income and disadvantaged groups of users varied across the three spaces studied. In Narinkka Square, between the middle of the day and late evening, users representing disadvantaged groups visited the square in similar numbers, whereas lower-income people were more numerous only during the daytime, and their numbers dropped significantly later in the evening. In Tennispalatsi Square, both groups in question followed the same daily patterns: in the late evening, they were about twice their numbers than those recorded in the noon or evening. Finally, in Kamppi Shopping Centre, where lower-income people made up but a small share among the total users, they were most numerous in the evening. As regards users from various disadvantaged groups, in the shopping mall, they were almost as few in the evening as they were at other times of the day. In summary, what this observational data show is that lower-income and disadvantaged groups of users are more likely to turn to the squares within the Kamppi area at different times of the day and to the shopping mall at certain times only.

Overall variety of user groups at different times of the day

The quantitative data that I gathered when carrying out non-participant observations suggest that the times of the day when Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre were most heavily used were also the times when different user groups were distributed across the spaces most evenly. Even though it was between noon and evening when the larger groups of users, such as ordinary people and students, were most numerous in all three of the spaces within the Kamppi area, those were also the times when the smaller or more sensitive groups were best represented and could offset the dominance of the larger groups.

As for the distribution of different user groups during the less popular times, Narinkka Square performed much better than the other two spaces in the morning, as the widest variety of user groups visited namely that square. Moreover, in the morning, the square was observed to be popular among disadvantaged groups, workers and travellers looking for a shelter. For late evening performance, it is Tennispalatsi Square which shall receive credit. To be more specific, during the

hours later in the evening, not only did the square attract ordinary people and students, but it was also preferred by school children, disadvantaged groups and lower-income people more than it was at any other time of the day. Furthermore, in Tennispalatsi Square, as compared to the other two spaces within the Kamppi area, there were proportionally more users representing those three user groups.

What my findings from observations seem to show is that instead of limiting each other's possibilities to use public space, competing over the use of public space (Malone, 2002) or distributing themselves across time to enjoy public space (Tyndall, 2010), different groups appreciate each other's presence in the spaces within the Kamppi area. As I see it, the facts that the most equal distribution of user groups was observed during the busiest times and that at certain times the spaces studied were intensively used by essentially different user groups suggest that public space users are not intimidated by differences or the variety and might even find it attractive.

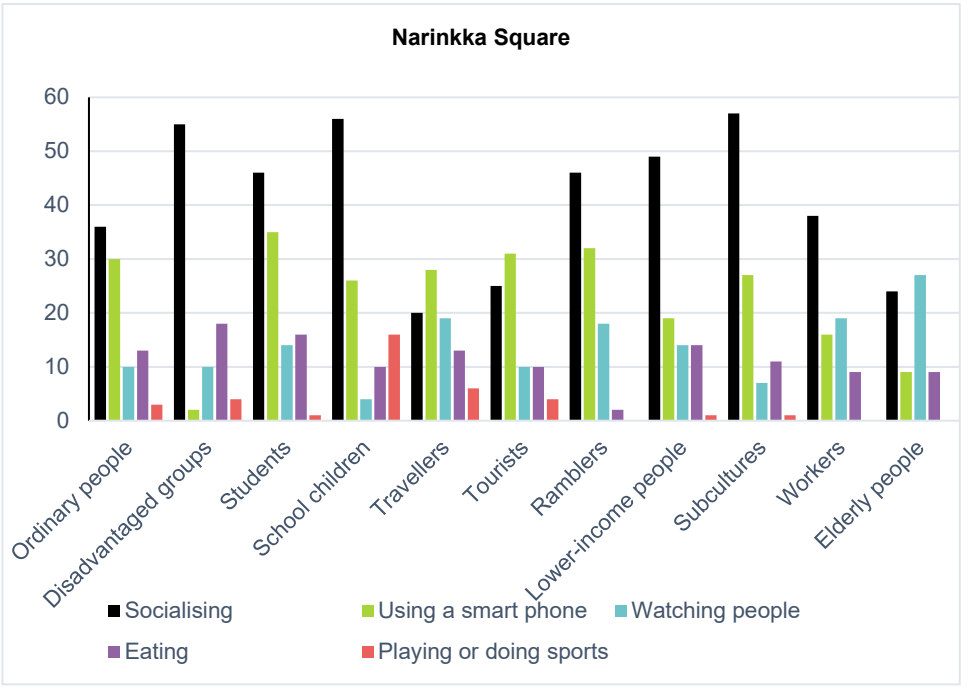
4.2.3 Activities of different user groups

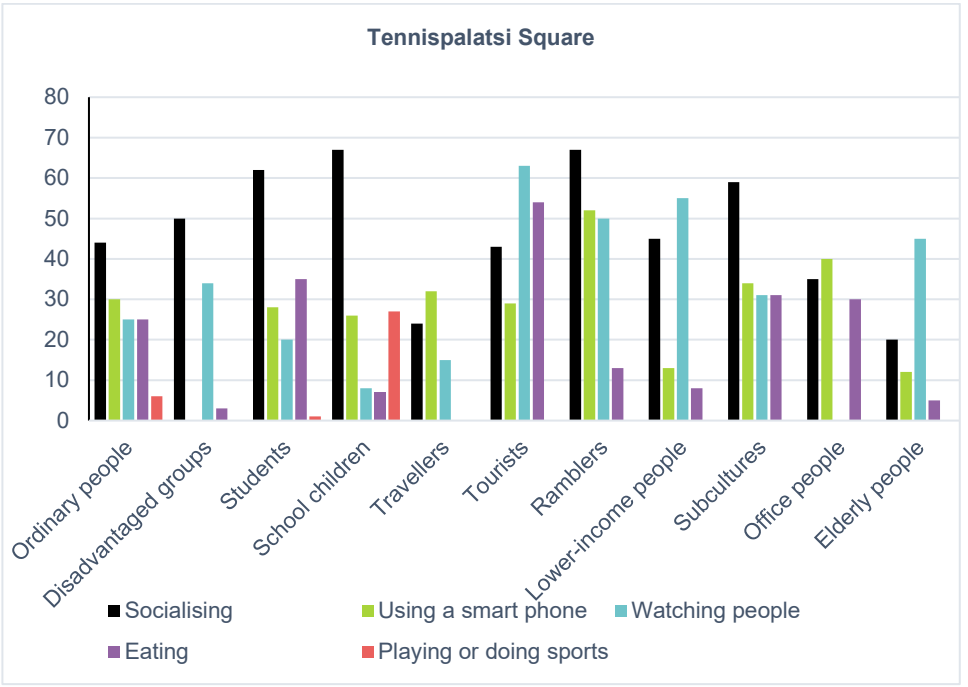
When evaluating the publicness of a public space with reference to use, it is crucial to scrutinise the distribution of activities undertaken in the public space by each different user group. Generally speaking, quantitative observational data gathered when making non-participant observations suggest that most of the user groups tend to recognise one or another space within the Kamppi area as more suitable for some certain activities, while some other activities are considered to be equally well fit or appropriate to be carried out in any of the three spaces. Each user groups' activities, focusing on their similarities and differences among Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, are presented in the paragraphs that follow, while Figure 27 is added to represent what share of the total number of each user group were observed undertaking the most common activities.

Ordinary people and students

To begin with, both sets of observational data, i.e., quantitative data from 231 observation forms and qualitative data gathered in the form of field notes, disclose that ordinary people and students are highly comparable in terms of the activities that they choose to undertake in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre. Representatives of both user groups were most often witnessed sitting, standing or moving around and socialising, using a smartphone, eating or watching people. Some of them were seen carrying on more than one of the activities named. If that was the case, they could either undertake a few activities at once (i.e., in parallel with one another) or do one activity after another (i.e., in sequence).

Most common activities (active and passive) undertaken by different user groups in three spaces within the Kamppi area





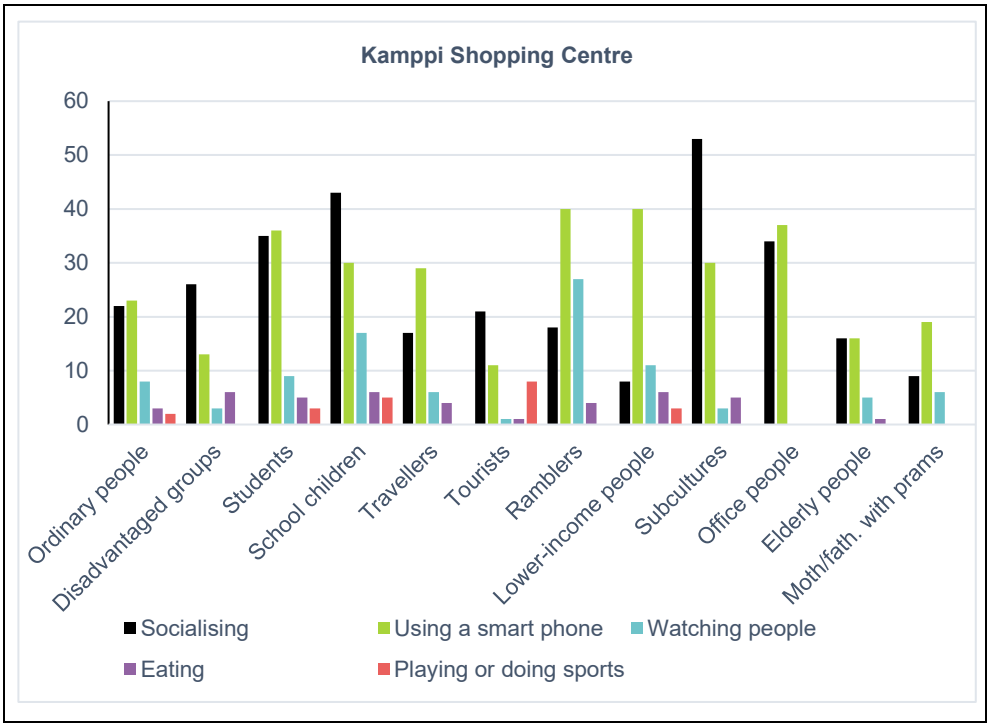


Figure 27. Major activities undertaken by different user groups in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre (percentage share of total number of each user group)

In both squares, ordinary people and students were both more likely to socialise than to carry out any other activity when passively spending time or sheltering, although in Tennispalatsi Square they were also quite likely to watch other people or to eat. In Kamppi Shopping Centre, in turn, there were as many instances of ordinary people and students socialising as there were instances of their use of a smartphone. More often than many other user groups, both ordinary people and students showed their interest in using the spaces for working purposes; they were some of the most active participants of special events and some of the most curious users of facilities; they were the ones who most often were seen taking care of themselves or other people they were together with; and they made up a greater part of the customers shopping or using services in the shopping mall.

Many of these statements also hold true for mothers and fathers with prams, although it was only in Kamppi Shopping Centre that they were seen in larger numbers. Despite the obvious similarities in ordinary people's and students' patterns of using the three spaces, many occasional activities, including reading, dancing, taking sun, or socialising with strangers were mostly undertaken by those users of the spaces who appeared to represent the group of ordinary people. For this reason,

the range of activities undertaken by ordinary people was somewhat wider than that undertaken by students. This, it is noteworthy, was the case in all three of the spaces investigated within the Kamppi area.

Quantitative observational evidence about ordinary people's and students' activities in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre shows that both user groups in question were highly interested in using the spaces, and that they found the spaces suitable or attractive for a wide range of activities. On the one hand, this can be related to the findings from the earlier case studies, conducted in different cities and their public spaces, that argue that in the contemporary city public space has increasingly been produced for some certain groups only, namely the middle-class and those who are able and willing to consume (see e.g., Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006; Davis 2013). On the other hand, to sustain public life, a critical mass of people is needed (Whyte, 1980; Gehl, 2011), and these groups are some of the most numerous groups who represent a significant part of the public. What is more, the activities they tend to take include all the the activities that people typically undertake in the city regardless of the group they represent.

School children

When it comes to school children's use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, the data from non-participant observations suggest that the group in question prefers the shopping mall over the squares for a variety of activities. In the mall, as compared to the squares, there were two times more school children meeting their peers and lingering with them among the people who they did not know, but whose presence is suspected to have made it pleasant to be in the space. The younger ones (under the age of twelve) were mostly rambling the hallways, socialising, playing tricks, touching surfaces, watching other people, riding scooters, or having fun in some other way. The older ones (around or over the age of twelve) were as much moving around as they were standing and as much socialising with their peers as peeping to make sure the people around them noticed their presence. Although school children did shop or use facilities no less often than some other user groups, such as travellers, students or elderly people, to be with their peers and to be seen by other users was what they primarily came looking for. The stories offered below are aimed at illustrating some of the activities that I noticed school children carrying out in Kamppi Shopping Centre.

> There was a big group of adolescents gathering in the hallway on the first floor. They were by no means shopping or using any commercial services – they were spending their time among their peers. Actually, I often see some of them hanging out in the shopping mall. Today, in the evening, there were at least ten

> of them, and a couple of minutes later a few more joined. They were constantly moving around, changing their position and being quite loud. Surprising as it may be, the other users did not seem to find it disturbing. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, late Friday evening, June 2019)
>
> There were three [adolescents] spending time on the third floor. They were sitting on the floor and eating, and one was also charging [a] phone. They seemed relaxed. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, Monday afternoon, June 2019)

Although school children were less numerous in the squares than in the shopping mall, in many cases their use of the squares did not diverge significantly from that of the mall. In Narinkka Square, as well as in Tennispalatsi Square, they were most often seen meeting friends, socialising with them, and spending time doing nothing in particular or trying to figure out what to do, i.e., they were 'dwelling with' the spaces, to use Pyyry's (2016) concept. The answers school children found varied from scatting and riding scooters in Tennispalatsi Square, eating and taking part in events in Narinkka Square, and, quite likely, heading to Kamppi Shopping Centre for the same or other activities.

> At the stairs close to the entrance to the night bus terminal there was a group of [identifier removed] girls and boys. Some of them were sitting on the stairs while the others were standing and moving around. A few were socialising among themselves, and the rest were watching the life going on in the square. Even though they were together, it was obvious they were there in a public space for the purpose of spending time among strangers, i.e., to see them and to be seen by them. (Narinkka Square, late Tuesday evening, June 2019)
>
> A group of boys were sitting on the bench close to the fountain using their phones. Once in a while, they exchanged a few words, although they seemed happy enough to spend their time together in a passive way, yet in the presence of other people. (Tennispalatsi Square, Saturday mid-day, August 2020)
>
> There was a group of [adolescents] gathered under the apple tree. A few were skating, one was recording the skaters, and the rest were sitting, watching them and socialising. In a little while, they left the spot but only to skate on the routes along Salomonkatu and Fredrikinkatu streets. They must have wanted to position themselves among their peer as much as to present themselves to the rest of the users of the square, which was heavily peopled. (Tennispalatsi Square, late Sunday evening, August 2020)

Although occasionally there were school children attempting to skate or ride scooters in Kamppi Shopping Centre, this was not as surprising as to learn that in Narinkka Square, which is an outdoor public square, skating and scooting was uncommon. Tennispalatsi Square, on the other hand, was so well-received by school children who were interested in skating and scooting, as to make the security employee (personal communication, n.d., 2019), who I had the chance to interview, name this activity as one of the two uses in which the square in question differs from the shopping mall. Nevertheless, the variety of activities that school children undertook was wider namely in Kamppi Shopping Centre and Narinkka Square, both of which did not only offer opportunities for taking part in special events, but also provided a space where to have their own events, to carry out school projects and, more importantly, to spend time among and to be seen by more people. It is probably for the same reason why more subcultures, many of whom were also of young age, were most likely to choose Narinkka Square out of the three spaces that I studied.

The type and range of activities carried out by school children in the three spaces within the Kamppi area demonstrate that in none of the spaces did this user group and the energies they use the spaces for become problematised, at least not in any observable way (cf. Tani, 2015). What I could observe was that the activities that school children prefer easily coexisted with the activities preferred by other user groups. This observational evidence, however, stands in contrast to my findings from the interviews. In fact, my informants remarked that users of school-age sometimes get over-excited about spending time with their peers and get loud or otherwise fail to mind other users of the same space (security employee, personal communication, n.d., 2019; Fågel, personal communication, September 25, 2019; Jaakkola, personal communication, September 27, 2019). Despite this mismatch between interview and observational evidence, other observational data about school children's activities are well-corroborated by my interview data. For example, according to Jaakkola (personal communication, September 27, 2019), "shopping malls are places for young people to gather nowadays". Indeed, quantitative observational data suggest that in Kamppi Shopping Centre, school children's range of activities compares best to that of ordinary people, students and elderly people. Although Tennispalatsi Square was preferred over the other two spaces within the Kamppi area for an active engagement with the space (such as for skating and riding scooters), it was anyway found to attract significantly fewer underaged users, and, as a matter of fact, it can be said to have met fewer of their needs than the shopping mall.

Office people and workers

Both office people and workers were found to use each of the three spaces primarily for the purpose of sheltering during coffee and lunch breaks. Spending their breaks,

representatives of both user groups were as likely to be in company of their colleagues as to be on their own. What was found to classify the activity of office people and workers apart from many other groups was that they were more likely to eat or at least have coffee and less likely to watch other people. In addition, office people and workers equally well resisted getting engaged in special events or using the spaces in another more active way, and they succeeded in doing so more often than many other user groups.

Despite these similarities, observational data show that for many other activities that they carried out in the spaces within the Kamppi area, office people and workers were quite distinct. The stories below are aimed at showcasing the differences between the two groups in question.

> Three young man, looking like builders, were [identifier removed] sitting and chatting. In the background, I could hear the sound of construction works going on. But these builders were there in the square for the purpose of spending a break. (Narinkka Square, Wednesday morning, June 2019)

> On the stairs closest to the wall of the shopping centre, there I saw a young man (his clothes betrayed him to be a worker) sitting, drinking soda and using his smartphone. This must have been his lunch break, and he was there in the square sheltering. (Narinkka Square, Monday mid-day, June 2019)

> On the route from the shopping mall to the Kiasma museum, there were two young office people walking slowly and socialising. It looked like after lunch they still had some time to spend before their lunch break came to its end. (Narinkka Square, Wednesday mid-day, June 2019)

> There were many people in groups of four to six either still spending time in motion or already leaving the mall after a lunch break. All in good mood, they were socialising and being quite noisy, I would say. They must have been colleagues from the same workplace. Many of them did look like office people. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, mid-day, June 6, 2019)

While workers were observed spending their morning coffee breaks in Narinkka Square, office people were seen slowly walking the spaces within the Kamppi area and using Kamppi Shopping Centre for meeting other people and saying goodbyes to them. The fact that office people are interested in satisfying their work-related needs in Kamppi Shopping Centre was noted by the director of the shopping mall, who described that the mall is very well received by people who prefer working in its cafes and restaurants (Fågel, personal communication, September 25, 2019). In

the interview, the security employee (personal communication, n.d., 2019) highlighted business people's regular attendance during lunch hours and named the business people as a special group of visitors. Yet, the use of the mall by people of other occupations and the presence of a wide variety of user groups in the mall were also recognized (security employee, personal communication, n.d., 2019). Providing a contrast to the claims about the public of the shopping mall as narrowed down to a consuming public (see Chapter 2.3.1), this empirical evidence is especially important to acknowledge.

Finally, a word must be said about office people's and workers' use of Tennispalatsi Square. According to observational data, the square in question is relatively underused by either of the two user groups, and those users who appear to be office people or workers are regarded as belonging to the group of other users of the square. For this reason, no reliable account on the use of Tennispalatsi Square by either office people or workers can be given.

Tourists

Based on observational data, in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, the range of activities undertaken by those public space users who can be considered as tourists was as wide as that of many other user groups, including students, elderly people and travellers. The activities within the range, however, varied among the group of tourists on the one hand and the many other user groups on the other hand. Add to that, tourists used each space within the Kamppi area somewhat differently. For this reason, the activities that tourists were most likely to carry out in each space are overviewed in this sub-chapter and presented in separate paragraphs.

To begin with, demonstrating their preference for Narinkka Square over the other two spaces investigated, tourists were the group of users who took more photos than held conversations, used their smartphones to get to know the area and to save their time rather than to kill their time, and watched the square to satisfy their curiosity about the space itself rather than about other people present. In the field diary, there are also entries about tourists taking breaks from sightseeing, looking for a shelter to read a map, waiting to meet their peers and actually meeting them.

In Kamppi Shopping Centre, where they were slightly less numerous than in Narinkka Square, tourists were found to be as much curious about the space (its design and spatial arrangements) as they were about the shops and facilities available there. When inside, they replaced their smartphones and maps with information screens and leaflets and, instead of sitting while looking around, got to their feet. Quantitative observational data that I collected in the shopping mall also show that tourists use the space of the mall as a meeting place more often than any other user

group, and they tend to be less attracted to special events or watching other people and more attracted to watching the space itself. From the interviews with my informants, I also learned that tourists are considered as one of the major user groups of Kamppi Shopping Centre (Fågel, personal communication, September 25, 2019), and that they differ from other user groups in no other way than by being more active in addressing security guards for the purpose of receiving some information (security employee, personal communication, n.d., 2019).

As regards Tennispalatsi Square, it must be highlighted that this was the space where tourists appeared in the smallest numbers. Observing activities in the square in question, I noticed that it was primarily used to take a break from sightseeing – to sit, to have a conversation, to enjoy a snack and to inspect items bought in the shopping mall. In their behaviour in the square, tourists very much resembled ordinary people and students, although due to their low total number, the range of activities that they carried out was somewhat narrower when compared to the range of activities they undertook in Narinkka Square or Kamppi Shopping Centre.

> This is usually the time when tourists come to the square. However, they do not stay long there. Having taken a look around and a photo of the chapel, they would normally leave. (Narinkka Square, morning, May 27, 2019)

> A middle-aged couple of tourists came to the square searching for an opportunity to relax and have dinner. Having walked a bit and seen somewhat around, they started inspecting eating spaces and discussing where to take a seat. (Tennispalatsi Square, Monday evening, August 2020)

> On the first floor, I saw [a group of] tourists spending their time looking around the shopping mall. They were curious as much about the space as they were about the shops. Moving around chaotically, at some times the tourists were spending their shopping time together and at other times they were shopping alone. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, Monday afternoon, June 2019)

The stories offered above are aimed at showcasing how the group of tourists tend to use each of the three spaces in the Kamppi area. As tourists were the group that neither knew the spaces well nor had emotional ties developed with the spaces or enough experience using them, their activities can be said to reflect the potential which they saw and felt each space to have rather than which they knew the spaces to have. Narinkka Square was a space to see, Tennispalatsi Square was a space to relax, Kamppi Shopping Centre was a space to have fun, and each was equally worth a visit. In most of the cases observed, tourists used at least two of the spaces upon their visit to the Kamppi area, which reveals that in the contemporary city different

public spaces are likely to form a network of public spaces (see Jankovič Grobelšek, 2012). If the Kamppi area is considered as a network of public space, each space within the network can be said to fascinate tourists in a different way and each give its own contribution to the tourists' overall experience of using the Kamppi area.

Travellers

Travellers, or the group of users who were visiting the Kamppi area for travelling purposes or who were there in the area looking for a shelter to stay while waiting for a trip, also used each of the three spaces studied somewhat differently. Based on the field notes, in Narinkka Square, they were most likely to stand while using their smartphones or while watching other people and the square itself. More often on their own than in the company of other people, travellers did not socialise as much as ordinary people or students did, although they willingly engaged in unplanned conversations and well responded to any outside stimuli, especially when they had more time to kill before their trip. If that was the case, and travellers did not have to mind their time, they took a seat and pleased themselves with a meal or a cup of coffee, joined in the events held in the square and even played games. Below there are a few stories taken from my field notes and offered here to illustrate travellers' patterns of using Narinkka Square.

> There was a young traveller [identifier removed]. Sitting on his bag and looking at the square, he must have been waiting for a bus trip. He looked like a student, so I suppose he was travelling to his hometown for the weekend. (Narinkka Square, Saturday morning, June 2019)

> Close to the entrance to the night bus terminal, there were two travellers (a woman and a man) standing, looking around and exchanging a few words once in a while. On the ground, right beside them, there were more than a dozen travelling bags. They must have been waiting for their friends who were supposedly shopping in Kamppi Shopping Centre before the trip. (Narinkka Square, Wednesday evening, June 2019)

When in Kamppi Shopping Centre, travellers were moving around or standing at the central void and doing nothing in particular or, alternatively, actively using the space, i.e., shopping, taking part in special events or using facilities. Their travelling bags did not seem to bother them or otherwise affect their choice of activities to be carried out. The only exception observed was that travellers, more than many other user groups, found themselves in need to reorganise their bags or to dig something out of them.

What did affect quite many a traveller's activities was the amount of time they had at their disposal and their level of familiarity with the Kamppi area. As Tennispalatsi Square is slightly further away from the major transportation nodes than the two other spaces, it was used by significantly fewer travellers waiting for their trip; those travellers who were in the square were usually the ones that had more time to waste. In most cases, they were sitting (a few also sleeping) and taking turns between using a smartphone, eating, watching people and/or socialising. Two cases in point can be found below in the extracts from my field notes.

> From Annankatu Street there entered [a couple of travellers]. The bags they were carrying with them betrayed them to be arriving to Kamppi Shopping Centre for travelling purposes. Upon their entrance, the couple stopped to use the Information screen. In a little while, they disappeared in the hallway of the shopping mall to, supposedly, spend the time they had before the trip. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, Wednesday morning, June 2019)

> There were two female travellers waiting for their trip on the fountain bench. [One] traveller was sitting and [the other] traveller, who was together with her, was lying. It looked like they had quite some time to kill before the trip and were already getting bored. (Tennispalatsi Square, Saturday mid-day, August 2020)

Even if travellers needed the spaces mostly for purposes related to travelling, lingering a lot when trying to accomplish them, neither their activities nor the range of activities significantly diverged from those undertaken by many other user groups, such as ordinary people, elderly people or students. It was only in Tennispalatsi Square – where there were much fewer travellers than elsewhere – that their range of activities was slightly narrower. What did distinguish travellers' patterns of using the spaces in the Kamppi area was that they showed a tendency to associate each space with slightly different activities and to use more than one of the three spaces upon a single visit to the Kamppi area. In fact, when travellers used the shopping mall, as well as the squares, the spaces were observed to work in support of one another. This probably shows that travellers, like tourists and a few other user groups, conceive Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre as a network of public space and use the spaces accordingly, i.e., they tend to distribute their activities across the whole Kamppi area.

Ramblers and lower-income people

On the one hand, ramblers' and lower-income people's activities in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre compare well to those carried

out by ordinary people, students and elderly people using the same spaces. On the other hand, in their patterns of using public spaces, ramblers and lower-income people stand quite apart from many other user groups, which brings in the need to consider their activities independently. The observational evidence that I gathered in the spaces within the Kamppi area shows that although ramblers, likewise many other users, tend to spend time socialising, using smartphones and/or watching other people, they nearly never do anything else apart from that. This means that it is only very rarely that ramblers can be seen playing, doing sports, shopping or otherwise actively using the spaces; they almost never get engaged in any special events or unplanned conversations; they can hardly be seen meeting other people or saying goodbyes; and, except for Kamppi Shopping Centre, they almost never spend time in motion and prefer standing or at least leaning on some object. This is exactly how ramblers use the three spaces in the Kamppi area:

> A [rambler] was seen on different levels of the shopping mall. Well-dressed and carrying a smartphone in his hands, he was slowly walking the hallways, looking around, but not entering any shop. He was using the space as a promenade, as a place to see, to be seen and to be, not as a place to shop or use services. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, Wednesday afternoon, May 2019)

> [In the square], there were three [ramblers]. One of them was sitting silently and watching the life going on right in front of his eyes. The other two, sitting a little further away, were socialising among themselves and, at the same time, using their smartphones. When I came to the square, they had already been there. After half an hour, I left the square with the ramblers in the same spot and occupied with the same activities. (Tennispalatsi Square, Monday evening, August 2020)

Lingering like ramblers, lower-income people nevertheless differ from them in their patterns of using Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre primarily in that they tend to respond quite well to any outside stimuli, while ramblers usually do not. To specify, spending their time in the Kamppi area, lower-income people visit some shops, strike up a conversation with other users of the space they happen to be in, and join the audience attending an event. This user group is also characterised as having a keen interest in using the facilities available inside the shopping mall. In what follows below, there are two stories from my field notes, offering which I intend to illustrate typical ways of lower-income people's use of the squares and the shopping mall.

> It was a warm, yet windy, sunny morning. [Identifier removed] there were two people sitting and spending time: [a disadvantaged man] and a poorly dressed

> [lady] who might have been unemployed or short of money. They were sitting a chair or two apart from one another and appeared to be strangers. Having sat for a while on their own, they struck up a conversation, keeping the activity of watching people as the principal one and staying from each other at a distance. (Tennispalatsi Square, Monday morning, August 2020)

> There were two [people] spending time [in the mall] and using a socket to charge a smartphone. Although they were there together, they did not talk to each other. Looking tired and dissatisfied with their condition, one of them was sitting on the floor and the other one leaning at the wall. It seems they had already been there in the space for quite some time. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, Tuesday evening, June 2019)

Taking everything into account, the ways that ramblers and lower-income people were observed using Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre indicate that both user groups were there in the spaces not so much to be among other people as to be somewhere, i.e., to shelter or to spend the time that they appear to have plenty of. Despite this similarity among ramblers' and lower-income people's use of the spaces within the Kamppi area, the latter user group visited the spaces to satisfy more needs among which was using facilities offered free of charge, meeting other people and socialising. It is for this reason that lower-income people were found to undertake a much wider range of activities than ramblers and, in fact, as wide as to make it comparable to that of students, elderly people and travellers. This just reveals that privatised, redeveloped or retailised public space is not necessary more controlled and less accessible (see Chapter 2.3). While a number of case studies have shown that users have the power to overcome the plan imposed on them (e.g., Miller, 2014; Tani, 2015), my findings presented above contribute to this knowledge by showcasing that the activities carried out may depend to a large extent on the interest of public space users in using the space and in taming it to satisfy their needs or aspirations.

Disadvantaged groups

Observational evidence about the activities undertaken by disadvantaged groups of people, suggests putting forward somewhat different propositions from the ones above. To begin with, significantly more numerous in Narinkka Square than in the other two spaces even when taken them together, disadvantaged groups used the square in question primarily as a place to shelter, to earn their living and to gather or meet each other. During their prolonged stays, which they tended to spend sitting and doing nothing in particular or socialising with who they were sheltering with,

disadvantaged users of Narinkka Square also had something to eat, watched what other people spending time in the same square were engaged into, met their peers and made attempts to get some money (by collecting empty beverage containers, begging or selling small items). Some of them willingly took part in the events held in the square, engaged in unplanned conversations with other users and undertook playful activities. Others preferred to stay further away from the rest with a smartphone, to organise their belongings and to lie down or sleep. What is noteworthy is that in more cases than not, many of these activities were done throughout a single visit to the square, and neither representatives of another social group nor disadvantaged groups of people using the other two spaces could be seen engaged in so many activities at a time. What follows is a description of a typical case attested in Narinkka Square.

> On the stairs close to the wall of the shopping mall, there was a group of people sheltering. Among them there were both men and women, younger and older. Some were sitting, a few were standing, and a few more were moving around, changing their position. There was not any particular activity that they would be engaged in, and what they were doing kept changing. The people could be seen socialising, eating, watching people, staying emersed deep in their thoughts, digging something out of their bags and doing nothing in particular. It was neither the first nor even the second hour that they were there in the square, although earlier some of them could be seen sheltering in other spots and with other people they were sharing their faith or lifestyle with. (Narinkka Square, late Sunday evening, May 2019)

In Tennispalatsi Square, where they were fewer than in Narinkka Square and thus comparable in numbers to elderly people and lower-income people, users from various disadvantaged groups mostly spent their time on their own or in pairs, and they did not usually shelter longer than an hour or two. From their peers sheltering in Narinkka Square, disadvantaged groups using Tennispalatsi Square also differed in that they did not do more than sit or stand, watch other people and socialise with the people who they recognised as doing the same. In fact, their willingness to meet their peers and spend some time together set the groups in question well apart from other user groups present in the square. It is noteworthy that in Tennispalatsi Square, unlike in Narinkka Square, the majority of those users who were looking for empty bottles and cans were not the same users as those who were sheltering. The users collecting empty bottles and cans did not stay in the square – having checked the bins, they were quick to leave. This was also what many disadvantaged groups did in Kamppi Shopping Centre, which qualitative observational data suggest was primarily desired due to the facilities freely available to all visitors and an

opportunity to be on one's own and in peace, yet not alone. Below are a few stories that I wrote in the field notes when observing how differently disadvantaged groups of people use Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre.

> On one of the chairs facing the pathway which leads to Tennispalatsi, there was [a woman] sitting and reading a book. Her look and the many shabby bags she had around her betrayed her to be facing some serious issues in her life. Although she was reading, she did not look to be very much engaged in the activity. Sheltering was what was she actually needed the space for. (Tennispalatsi Square, Friday afternoon, August 2020)

> [One person], who can often be seen sheltering together with other people in Narinkka Square, was there under the pine tree alone. Standing with a cup of coffee and looking somewhere afar, [the person] seemed to be enjoying [a] moment of privacy, a moment that could hardly have been found in an open space as Narinkka Square is. (Tennispalatsi Square, early Monday morning, August 2020)

> When I was leaving the shopping mall, I saw two [disadvantaged people], whom I had already seen in Narinkka Square, enter the mall with a plastic bag full of empty cans. Once inside, [they] checked the waste containers for more cans to be returned to the shops and, having found none, headed forward checking for more and leaving the bins inspected open. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, late Thursday evening, May 2019)

> There seems to be no particular pattern that the people who come to the shopping mall to collect bottles would follow. They work at all times of the day, and they check all the bins that are there, any bins that they can find. By all means, the upper you go the less likely you are to see them do so, but this is because the upper you go the smaller the hallways, the less intensive the use and the fewer the bins. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, mid-day, June 12, 2019)

Both sets of data (quantitative and qualitative) from non-participant observations show that the range of activities which disadvantaged groups of people were seen undertaking in Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre was not only different from that observed in Narinkka Square but also narrower. Nevertheless, having in mind that disadvantaged groups of people were a few times more numerous in Narinkka Square than in the other two spaces, this difference appears to be quite insignificant. What is important instead is that I did not see any disadvantaged person taking part in any of the events held in the shopping mall, while the events held in

Narinkka Square did attract their attention, and disadvantaged groups were not only represented (better or worse) among the attendees, but they also undertook activities that the events encouraged or generated.

The observational evidence accounted for above is corroborated by interview evidence: one of the informants who I talked to mentioned that the events in Kamppi Shopping Centre, although they are open for everyone, mostly attract people who visit the mall with an intension to shop (security employee, personal communication, n.d., 2019) or, I add, who can afford shopping. Interview data can also be found to support a few other findings from observations. For example, Heinänen (personal communication, December 10, 2019) recognised that disadvantage people use Narinkka Square as a space where to gather, and Fågel (personal communication, September 25, 2019) mentioned that disadvantaged groups of people sometimes use the shopping mall to shelter and spend some of their time.

To conclude, empirical evidence gathered from observations and interviews seem to suggest that unlike many other user groups, disadvantaged groups have a different contribution to make to public life and activities in each space within the Kamppi area. This is revealed not only by the fact that disadvantaged groups choose different spaces for the carrying out of different activities, but also by the fact regarding the number of activities undertaken. Although the famous critics of the shopping mall would probably be quick to explain the differences pointing to the issues concerning management or ownership (see e.g., Goss, 1993; Voyce, 2006), this can hardly be done in relation to the spaces within the Kamppi area. The reason why it is so is that the activities that the disadvantaged groups are particularly in need to carry out in public space (such as collecting empty bottles or begging) are spread out across the three spaces within the Kamppi area and this is done in no different way than with any other of their activities (such as watching people or eating).

Different user groups and their range of activities compared

Finally, a few words must be said in relation to the range of activities, which the data from non-participant observations show to vary somewhat across user groups and the three spaces in the Kamppi area (see Figure 28). The largest user group, which in all three spaces was that of ordinary people, was found to undertake the widest range of activities out of all of the fourteen user groups. Slightly narrower in Narinkka Square than in the other two spaces, their activity range compares best to that of disadvantaged people, the second largest user group in the square. In Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, where users from the disadvantaged groups were lower in numbers and undertook fewer activities, their range of activities compares to that of elderly people, travellers and tourists, i.e., some of the smaller groups of users.

As regards other user groups, elderly people and lower-income people, for instance, although they used the three spaces in slightly less varied ways, seemed to receive Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre equally well. Students, who used the squares in comparable ways, found Kamppi Shopping Centre as better suited for certain activities than the outdoor spaces, due to which the variety of activities they undertook in the shopping mall was slightly wider and similar to that undertaken by ordinary people. Quantitative observational data also show that school children, travellers and tourists found Narinkka Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre attractive for a wider range of activities than Tennispalatsi Square, whereas the range of activities that ramblers, office people, workers and subcultures undertook was almost equally narrow in all of the three spaces within the Kamppi area.

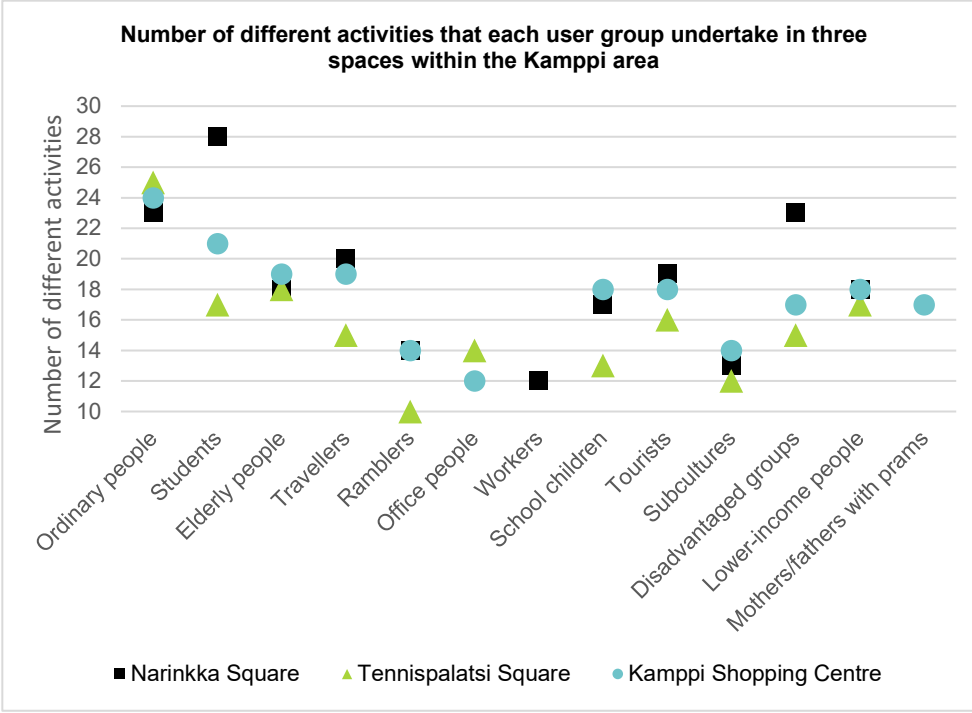


Figure 28. The number of different activities (including those noticed once) undertaken by various user groups in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre*

* Due to the low numbers (less than one percent from the total number of users) of mothers/fathers with prams in both squares, workers in Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre and office people in Narinkka Square, the figure does not represent the range of activities these groups undertook in the spaces studied.

As a matter of fact, it can be concluded that the size of a user group did not correlate with the range of activities carried out in a public space, even if more people naturally imply more instances of use and better changes for witnessing variation in use. No obvious link between the type of public space and different user groups' range of activities can be identified either. This only suggests that privatisation or retailisation of public space does not necessarily imply restrictions on the activities of certain user groups (see Chapter 2.4) and that the critique directed towards the shopping mall is worthwhile to question (see Chiodelli & Moroni, 2015). Empirical evidence from Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre reveal that how a public space responds to its users' needs, interests and inspirations can have a decisive effect on how a user group finally chooses to use that public space and what kind of publicness is (re)produced for that space.

4.2.4 Gender groups and their activities

An in-depth study into the publicness of a public space definable through use necessitates, among other things, scrutinising how users of different gender are distributed in that space and in time, how varied the activities they undertake are and how well each gender groups' patterns of use compare among each other and across different public spaces.

Distribution of gender groups among the total users

When it comes to the distribution of different gender groups among the total users of each space studied, quantitative observational data that I obtained suggest that Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square bear a striking similarity to each other and that Kamppi Shopping Centre stands in contrast to the outdoor squares. To specify, having counted the total numbers of men and women present during the data collection process, I found out that in both squares, the total number of male users was about one fourth times higher than the total number of female users, while in the shopping mall female users outnumbered male users by at least a quarter. As regards public space users of other gender, which includes people whose gender could not be identified with reasonable effort or need not be identified (e.g., babies' in prams), in all of the three spaces within the Kamppi area, their numbers were equally low, never reaching a single percent of the total number of users.

Distribution of gender groups throughout the day

Quantitative observational data show that regardless of who – women or men – were more numerous in a public space, male users were more evenly distributed between

different times of the day as compared to female users (see Figure 29). While in all three of the spaces within the Kamppi area the numbers of male users tended to change (either rise or decline) relatively gradually during the day, the numbers of women fluctuated quite considerably across time and space. In particular, in both squares there were very few women in the morning, and in Tennispalatsi Square the group of female users was small also in the late evening. Besides, most of the women who visited Kamppi Shopping Centre came a few hours before and after the noon, and at other times of the day there were much fewer women using the shopping mall. The biggest numbers of women were recorded in Kamppi Shopping Centre in the middle of the day, in Narinkka Square in the evening, and in Tennispalatsi Square in the second part of the day. Although each day in both squares, the group of men was about one quarter bigger than the group of women, in Tennispalatsi Square in the evening there were twice as many men as there were women, while in Narinkka Square a relatively sharp difference between the numbers of men and women was recorded in the afternoon. In Kamppi Shopping Centre, in turn, where female users outnumbered male users by four to three, it was in the middle of the day that the numbers of both female and male users were the largest.

Special attention needs to be paid to differences in gender distribution between public space users early in the morning and late in the evening, i.e., the times of the day when the shops, restaurants, service points and offices inside Kamppi Shopping Centre and the buildings around Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square are closed, and the turnout of people is significantly lower than that at other times of the day. Late in the evening, in Kamppi Shopping Centre, there were nearly as many women as there were men; in Narinkka Square, men were one fourth of a time a bigger group than women (which is also true about gender distribution across the total number of users); and in Tennispalatsi Square, the group of men was almost twice as big as the group of women. Early in the morning, it was in Tennispalatsi Square that there were nearly as many women as there were men, while in Kamppi Shopping Centre the group of women was one fourth of a time bigger than that of men, and in Narinkka Square the group of men was close to being two times the size of the group of women. What is noteworthy is that in Narinkka Square the changing numbers of men did not correlate with the changing numbers of women. In Kamppi Shopping Centre, on the other hand, the numbers of men tended to increase proportionally with the increasing numbers of women, and in Tennispalatsi Square the increase in the number of men coincided with the decrease in the number of women. While Miller et al. (1998) suggest that shopping malls might be essentially different in how they are used, I take a step further and argue that each public space is unique and, as a matter of fact, it is important to avoid making associations between a type of public space and the distribution of different groups among the total users.

Figure 29. Gender group distribution among the users of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre observed at different times of the day

Activities of different gender groups

Numeric data gathered in my observation forms also show that the proportion of women to men using Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre corresponds to the proportion of women to men engaged only in some of the activities most often observable in the spaces in question. Among them there are the activities of sitting or standing and socialising while spending time with other people, touching the screen of a smartphone while spending time among other people, sheltering while waiting for a trip or having one's lunch, and using facilities available in the spaces (see Figure 30). Thus, as in the squares there were a quarter more men than women, there were around a quarter more men than women carrying out the activities mentioned above. In the shopping mall, in turn, a quarter more women than men were engaged in the same activities.

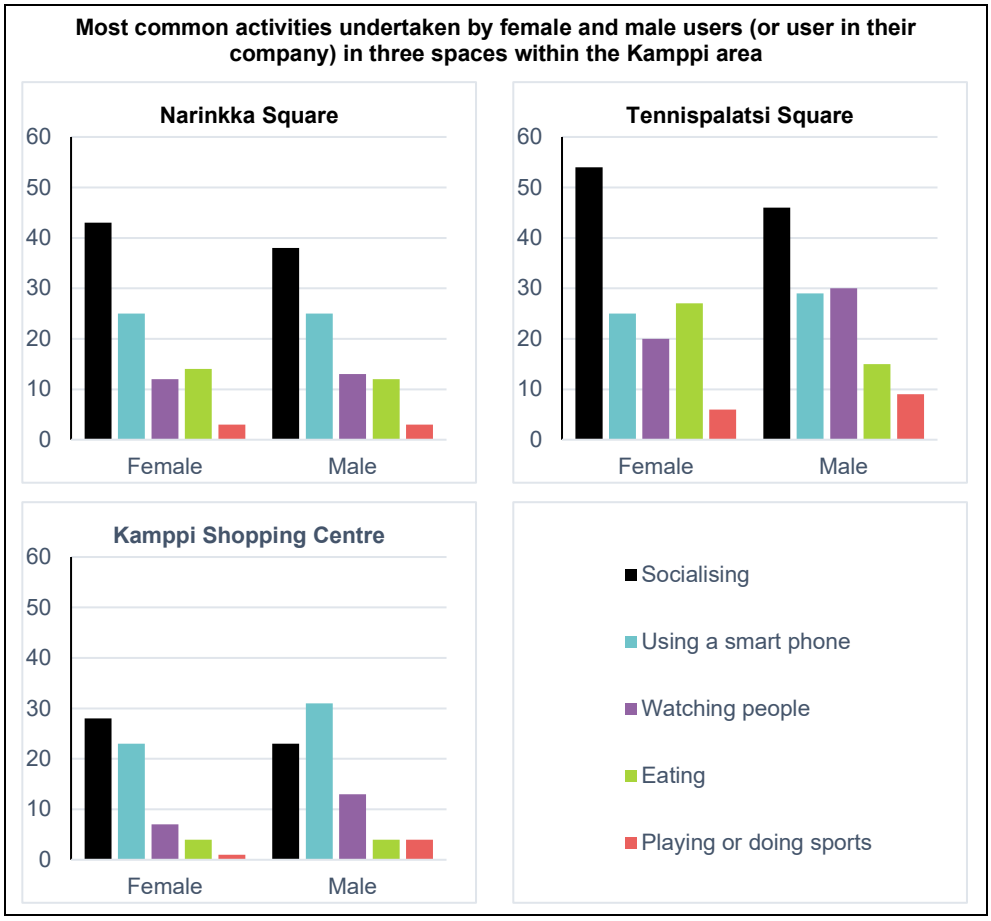


Figure 30. Major activities undertaken by female and male users (or users in their company) observed in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre (percentage share of total number of each gender group)

As regards other common activities, gender distribution among the users of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre diverged both less and more significantly from the gender distribution among the total number of users in each space. Despite the fact that in Kamppi Shopping Centre men were a smaller group as compared to women, they were half a time more likely to watch other people. Watching people was also significantly more popular among men who were in Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square for the purposes of passive being among other people and sheltering. Female users of the squares were more likely to spend their time eating or drinking coffee than watching people and, in the shopping mall, also moving around and window-shopping. In fact, in Kamppi Shopping Centre, there were almost twice as many women as there were men spending their time in motion or window-shopping; in Narinkka Square, there were as many women spending time in motion as there were men, even if men outnumbered women in many other activities. Women were also more likely to use the three spaces in the Kamppi area for meeting their friends, colleagues and relatives, for saying goodbyes to them and for seeing them off, while men more often used the spaces for spending their coffee and lunch breaks. Offered below are a few stories from my field diary that can serve as examples of women's and men's different patterns of using the three spaces in the Kamppi area.

> Close to one of the trees, there met two [women]. Having hugged each other, they remained there standing and chatting. Whether the meeting was planned or not remains unknown, but women's behaviour betrayed they knew each other more than well. (Narinkka Square, Friday evening, June 2019)

> Two men [identifier removed] were spending time in the area riding electric scooters and inspecting the surroundings as if they were tourists. Tennispalatsi Square was among the spaces visited. Having slowly ridden around and through the square, they left. (Tennispalatsi Square, Thursday afternoon, August 2020)

> It was lunch time, and there were quite some people spending their breaks and eating their meals in the square. Among them, under the apple three, there was [one] woman enjoying her lunch and the view to Salomonkatu Street. (Tennispalatsi Square, Wednesday mid-day, August 2020)

> Close to the central void, there was [a man] standing and looking around, as if waiting for someone. In a minute or two [a woman], supposedly his wife, left one of the shops and approached him. Having had a few words close to where the man was standing, they went on to spend their time in the mall together. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, Wednesday afternoon, June 2019)

As regards more active and less common activities, women present in Narinkka Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre were significantly more likely to take part in various events held in the spaces by watching and/or listening to the performances, engaging in conversations with strangers, buying the goods offered, taking photos or singing and dancing along. Men, in turn, were more active whenever there were games to play or challenges to take on. In general, playing games and doing sports, whether it was related to a special event or not, interested almost twice as many male users as female users of Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre. On the face of it, the most uneven gender distribution was recorded among the users shopping in Kamppi Shopping Centre: almost three times more women than men were seen visiting shops. Although at first notice this piece of evidence does not appear to offer any new insight, a closer look at the field notes reveals that many of the women shopping were, in fact, accompanied by men, who preferred to visit fewer shops and to spend the rest of their time in the mall standing and using a smartphone or waiting and doing nothing in particular.

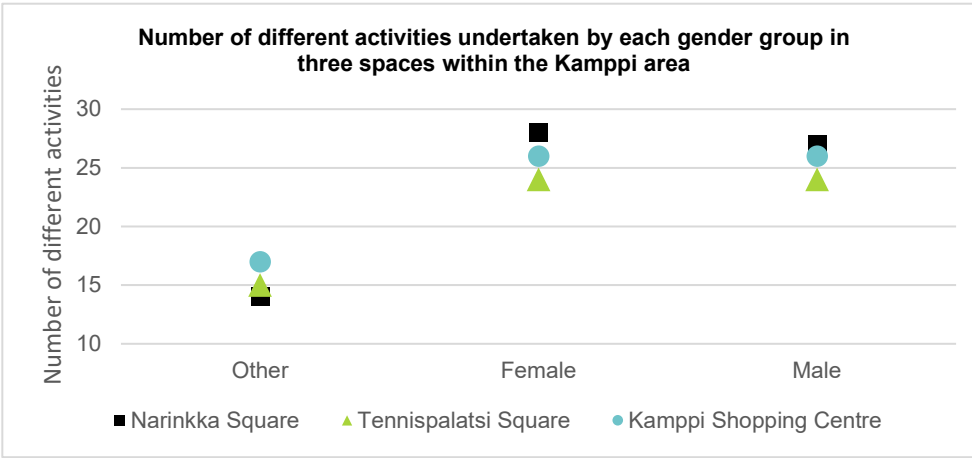


Figure 31. The number of different activities undertaken by users of each gender group in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre

In their use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre for carrying out various occasional activities, the groups of female and male users compare well to one another, according to the data aggregated from observation forms. In all three of the spaces studied, women were more likely to read while passively spending time among other people or waiting for a trip, to take photos of the space or of themselves while spending time or taking part in events, and to lie or sleep when sheltering. The men observed were more likely to use the spaces for working purposes, as well as for relaxing and having something to drink. Despite the

variations, the overall range of activities undertaken by men and women were found to be very much comparable not only within each space but also across the spaces (see Figure 31).

Finally, in terms of the activities that different gender groups undertook out of the need to survive, variation is attestable not only in the patterns of use followed by different gender groups but also across different spaces within the Kamppi area. While women sheltering were most likely to do nothing in particular in whatever the space, women who needed the spaces in the Kamppi area for activities that helped them make their living approached them very differently. To specify, in Narinkka Square, women in need were most often seen begging for money and/or food and searching for empty bottles and cans, although for other activities necessary to survive, women tended to choose Kamppi Shopping Centre.

Men, in turn, were more likely to use the spaces within the Kamppi area for sheltering rather than for activities necessary to survive, and there were at least one third of a time more men than women sheltering. When sheltering in Narinkka Square, men were most likely to sit or stand and socialise with other people or to do nothing in particular. In Tennispalatsi Square, in turn, they were most likely to sit, socialise, watch other people and drink some beverages. In Kamppi Shopping Centre, charging or using a smartphone, watching people and rambling the space were the commonest activities undertaken by those men who needed the shopping mall as a shelter. It was only when they were collecting empty bottles, that men did not seem to discriminate between the three spaces within the Kamppi area and visit them equally often. A few selected stories from my field notes are offered below to illustrate the different patterns that the group of men followed when using Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre for sheltering and for other necessary activities.

> [One man] who can regularly be seen in the area collecting empty beverage containers was now sitting on the stairs, watching the life in the square and obviously trying to relax. (Narinkka Square, Wednesday afternoon, June 2019)

> On the chairs facing the route between the entrance to the shopping mall and the Tennispalatsi building, there were two [men] sitting. Right beside and in front of them, yet on the floor, there was [another] man. In a constant need of a shelter, the men were some of the regular users of the area. This time they happened to be staying in the same square at the same time and, for this reason, were spending their time together. (Tennispalatsi Square, late Monday evening, August 2020)

> [One man] came in looking for empty cans and bottles to be returned to shops in exchange of money. Walking through the hallways, he checked every waste

container that was on his way. It was not the first time the man was seen do so. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, Monday morning, May 2019)

To sum up, when it comes to the use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre by different gender groups, the three spaces were found to differ in both the distribution of gender groups and the activities that public space users of different gender prefer carrying out. Using the three spaces within the Kamppi area for almost the same range of activities but undertaking some of them more often in one space as compared to the other two spaces, the group of women demonstrate that they recognise that different spaces suit better for different activities, while all the spaces equally well satisfy their needs. This does not only show that women are more selective and tend to place more requirements on public space than men do (Whyte, 1980; 2009), but also that the three spaces within the Kamppi area can be conceived as and work as a network of public space (see Jankovič Grobelšek, 2012), at least for some user groups. As regards the group of men, they tend to use all of the three spaces in more comparable ways, even if they outnumber women in the squares and are outnumbered by women in the shopping mall. When Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre are taken together, the Kamppi area can be said to have as many female users as it has male users, and both gender groups can be seen are more or less equally distributed throughout the day and engaged in a comparable range of activities. Thus, both female and male group of users are likely to have a comparably strong impact on the use of each public space.

Approaching the end of the sub-chapter, a few words must be said about the activities undertaken in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre by different gender groups by public space users of other gender. Due to the fact that they made a very small part of the total number of users (less than one percent), observational data about their activities in the spaces within the Kamppi area can hardly be considered as representative. Their patterns of using the spaces studied cannot be compared to the patterns of female and male users either. Therefore, an attempt will be made to do no more than to overview the activities that users of other gender were observed carrying out in each space and compare their use of the three spaces.

As regards the principal purposes for which people of other gender used all three spaces, they were found to be the same as for any other group and that is passive being among other people and sheltering before a trip. Yet, it was only in Narinkka Square where, regardless of what they were using the space for, users of other gender were almost always socialising with the people accompanying them and almost never watching other people using the same square. In Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, on the other hand, people of other gender were almost as

likely to use a smartphone or to do nothing in particular as they were to socialise with the people they were with. The use of the spaces for all of the other activities varied more significantly. In particular, Kamppi Shopping Centre was as often used for spending time among other people as it was used for shopping; in Tennispalatsi Square, more than elsewhere, users of other gender were likely to spend their time eating; and in Narinkka Square, they were most likely to play or do sports and meet other people. Finally, the shopping mall was the better preferred place for taking part in public events. All things considered, for people of other gender, Kamppi Shopping Centre appeared more attractive than the squares: not only did they visit the shopping mall more often, but the range of activities they carried out in the mall was wider and closer to the range of those undertaken by the other two gender groups.

4.3 Control over use

Holding that the publicness of public space implies not only the actual use of public space for a wide range of activities and by a variety of user groups, but also the possibilities for such use, I studied various factors (or forces) that affect the processes in which Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre are practiced and (re)produced as public spaces. First, I observed the physical characteristics of each space mentioned (including their design, various free-standing objects, spatial arrangements and facilities) and second, I studied what for and by who the spaces are used and how the actual practices are affected. Upon the completion of my observations, I invited a few informants to share their expertise and insights as regards the use of the spaces and asked them about how the spaces are managed and used. Each set of empirical data provided information about a different aspect (or means) of control, as well as supported, explained and extended the knowledge collected about the other means of control. Below, there are results obtained from the analysis of all of the empirical data that I managed to gather from the different sources.

4.3.1 Control by location (whether the space is outdoors or indoors)

The numerous observations that I conducted in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre disclosed that the spaces in question depend quite considerably on the weather for users and activities. What this means, I argue, is that the location of a public space outdoors or indoors is a highly powerful means of control over the use of public space. Although the public space literature that I read was almost silent about this, I found that the effects of location on the use of

public space to be more or less profound, to last longer or to wear off sooner, and to concern some certain activities and user groups only.

To begin with, observing how people use the three spaces in the Kamppi area, I learnt that sunshine, which is recognised as a positive factor for the quality of an outdoor space in the north of Europe (Gehl, 2011), is the best invitations for people to visit Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square. To acknowledge the fact that in Helsinki the desire for sun is insatiable I did not need much time: having once observed half empty spots in shade and filled to the limit spots in the sun, I did not witness any different scenario over the period of four weeks. Approximately a week after I started gathering observational data, in my field notes I wrote the following: "It is now obvious that stationary activities are directly related to the weather: the better the weather outside the more people are seated." (Narinkka Square, afternoon, June 3, 2019). Actually, in the outdoor squares, at those times when it was sunny, there could be twice as many users as compared to those times when it was overcast. In what follows, there is description of a typical scene on a sunny day.

> In the middle of the day, the part of Tennispalatsi Square that is further away from the wall of the shopping mall attracted a lot of people. Among them there was [a man], who having got out from his office was spending his lunch break; a disadvantaged [person], who was sitting and watching people; [a group of supposedly unemployed men], who were again gathering in the square to spend time together; and two [young pairs], who were sitting, socialising and enjoying their time outside among other people. In the area around the fountain, which stayed in shade, there were two people only: [a boy] having his lunch and [a man] working on his laptop. The sun, which attracted people to various sunny spots, seemed to keep also those that might have overlooked the opportunity to spend time outside in the square if the weather had been different. (Tennispalatsi Square, Monday mid-day, August 2020)

Another point to be highlighted is that sunny days and sunny moments on overcast days turned out to be the times when the users of both squares were most willing to spend time watching other people or doing nothing in particular, to have their take-away lunch, to stop by with a cup of coffee, to take a seat for a chat with a friend, to give time for children to run around the fountain, to join in the group partaking in a special event, and to stay for a skating or scooter-riding challenge. According to the data gathered in the field notes, the time spent undertaking one or another activity was also longer, forcing a quickly changing picture of public life to slow down. On top of that, it was only when the sun was shining brightly, that I saw some users of Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square engaged in more rare activities such as reading, making music, lying on the benches or stairs, and soaking up the sun.

Therefore, the location of the squares outdoors can be said to have revealed itself to be a highly powerful tool in positively affecting the use of both spaces.

> There were [students] spending time in the square. One of them was lying and soaking up the sun, and the other one was sitting and drawing something on a big sheet of paper. Although they were together, they did not say a word to one another – the sun and the people around them were their reason to stay in the square. (Narinkka Square, Thursday afternoon, May 2019)

> As the sun was shining brightly, [a woman] was lying on the bench close to the fountain and taking sun. To make her lonely stay in the pleasant warmth more enjoyable, she was talking on her phone. No one seemed to mind or even notice that a great part of the bench was occupied by one person lying. (Tennispalatsi Square, Friday evening, August 2020)

Able to offer an opportunity to spend time among other people in the sun, an outdoor location can leave a profound impact on the use of a public space. This proposition is based on the findings from qualitative observational data, which reveal that on a sunny afternoon or evening, the users of Narinkka Square were almost inconsiderate to the design of the space - they were happy to use any sittable surfaces in order to stay (or stay longer) among other people enjoying the sun. In Tennispalatsi Square, in turn, not only chairs and benches, but also all kinds of platforms got filled much easier, and the distance between strangers sharing the same piece of street furniture or ledge shrunk. Moreover, bright sun changed travellers' perception of time and distance, making some of them think Tennispalatsi Square was fairly close to the bus terminal located in Kamppi Shopping Centre or the time they had before a trip was enough to have a cup of coffee or a snack in Narinkka Square.

Over the four-week period that I spent observing Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, I could witness the use of each space under almost all of the weather conditions that can be experienced in Helsinki during the warm season. Yet, many of the weather conditions were found to have a surprisingly modest effect on the use of the spaces. In my field notes, there are data revealing that the rain had to be persistent, the wind had to be high, and the wet and chill had to be intolerable to scare activities and people out of the squares. This is not to say that a rainy afternoon or a chilly evening was as much preferred for staying outside as a sunny noon, but rather to suggest that the wind, light rain or lower than typical temperatures, did not have a significant effect on the use of the squares.

> The fact that it was overcast and about to rain did not discourage the users of Narinkka Square either from going about their deeds or from spending their time

> in the square for pleasure. Many were also quite willing to stand watching the sports event that was going on. (Narinkka Square, mid-day, June 2, 2019)
>
> As the evening was approaching, the sun was going down, and the temperature was dropping quite drastically. Despite this, people continued sitting, socialising, watching other people and even eating ice-cream. Some of them were obviously feeling chilly; yet, the desire to stay out under the clear sky must have been stronger than the other feelings. (Tennispalatsi Square, late evening, August 11, 2020)
>
> It was overcast. The clouds in the sky were so dark as to promise some showers in a little while. Yet, since it was not raining, and the weather was pleasantly warm, the users of the square did not seem to mind it or take any precautions to prevent themselves from the change in weather, which was more than likely to happen in a while. (Tennispalatsi Square, afternoon, August 22, 2020)

As the stories above show, the users of both Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square conceived relatively dry and warm weather as a good enough motivation to stay outside in the squares for various purposes (see Figure 32). Among them there was a desire to break from work, a need to shelter while other working-age people are at work or until the right bus comes, an opportunity to watch the city life while having lunch, a wish to prolong a pleasant conversation, an agreement to meet someone, and curiosity about a special event. Some other impetuses, like an intention to spend some time in a more or less passive way among other people or to have fun together with one's peers, were more sensitive to the weather conditions and more in need of the sunshine to turn into an activity.

Figure 32. Activities in Tennispalatsi Square on a sunny morning and a rainy morning

More severe weather conditions, on the other hand, did have a profound negative effect on the use of the two outdoor spaces. A case in point is presented below.

> The strong wind, which had been blowing since the morning, kept few people and activity other than the ordinary people who were there for working purposes or to meet other people, the disadvantaged who were sitting and sheltering, the travellers who were waiting for a trip and the tourists who stopped by to study a map. The rain, which started to pour within a few hours, drove away many of those people. Even the number of the passers-by significantly dropped down. A few people did stay: a young man hiding under his umbrella while, supposedly, waiting for someone; a disadvantaged [person] trying to quench [one's] thirst while sheltering; and [two disadvantaged persons] socialising. Had it been a sunny afternoon, the number of people staying would have been at least tenfold. (Narinkka Square, Thursday afternoon, June 2019)

> As the sky cleared, and the sun came out, the square started drawing people to stay there. Under the trees, where the sun was the brightest, there was a young couple enjoying their take-away dinner, another young couple watching people, a student sitting and waiting for a friend to join [identifier removed] and a [traveller] using her smartphone. Elsewhere in the square, one could also see travellers organising their belongings, the disadvantaged engaged in a lively conversation, a pair of students taking photos of the Kamppi Chapel and a young man walking around and enjoying the improved weather conditions. (Narinkka Square, Thursday evening, June 2019)

Even though the indoor location of Kamppi Shopping Centre makes it possible to affect the use of the space by taming contingencies associated with the weather, in practice the effect remains limited to certain situations, at least during the warm season. My observations disclosed that given rough weather, from the streets that they are walking down or the open spaces they are staying, people rush inside to the shopping mall. Some users, such as mothers and fathers with prams, groups of school children, office people, middle-aged men and pairs of women, turned out to be more sensitive to the weather conditions outside than some other groups of users. As a matter of fact, the inside location and the controlled climate had more effect over them. Yet, the responsiveness of all user groups to the weather conditions was likely to grow with the weather quickly getting inhospitable. What follows below is a story that I observed and wrote up in my field notes on the same day as the ones above. Even so, while the previous ones are about Narinkka Square, an outdoor space, this one is about the shopping mall located indoors.

> When the wind rose so high that one could hardly stand still, and a pouring rain started falling, a number of people left Narinkka Square for Kamppi Shopping Centre. Among them there were not only mothers trying to protect their small children from getting wet, office people trying to keep their clothes and documents dry and tourists having no desire to continue sightseeing, but also [a person] who regularly use the square as a shelter, school children, who sometimes find it fun to get wet, and travellers, who are usually prepared for whatever may come. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, Thursday afternoon, June 2019)

As the story above illustrates, bad weather outside caused the number of users to increase in Kamppi Shopping Centre. More people implied more activity, i.e., more standing and moving around, more shopping and window-shopping, more watching people and eating and more doing nothing besides waiting for the sky to clear. In addition, and this is what other items of observational data disclose, the duration of activities changed positively: watching other people lasted longer than usual, conversations with friends were prolonged, more shops were visited, an extra hallway was walked down, and, most importantly, the shopping mall was discovered as a space to spend time among other people. The variety and distribution of activities also changed. At that time, there were surprisingly many users standing around the central void and watching people or socialising with the ones they were together with; there were office people and travellers forced to slow down; there were users who had to finish their food inside or to get dressed up before they could leave; and then there were users who had no other intention to stay inside but were forced by the weather to do so and made an attempt to discover the shopping mall as something more than the space they would normally pass through. Thus, based on observational evidence, it can be argued that the indoor location of Kamppi Shopping Centre, because it is able to offer protection even from the most unpleasant weather conditions, can positively affect the variety of people and the range, intensity and duration of activities in the space in question.

In summary of the main findings from observations, it can be said that the sun appealed to the users of Narinkka Square so much that during the sunny moments they undermined the fact that in the square there are few seating options comfortable for longer stays and they used it in a way comparable to that observed for Tennispalatsi Square. Harsh weather, in turn, scared people and activities out of both outdoor squares and pushed them to Kamppi Shopping Centre, the indoor location of which affords good protection from unfavourable weather. As a result, in the shopping mall, the number of users and activities increased, and their variety and duration improved. While architects point to the link between the design and the use of public space as strong (see e.g., Project for Public Space, 2005; Gehl, 2011), the empirical evidence that I collected in the spaces within the Kamppi area suggests

that the indoor/outdoor location of public space can have no less, if not more, of a strong effect on the activities in public space.

Interview data, even if it is much less extensive, stand in support of the observational findings accounted for above. According to the informants interviewed, during the cold season, when the weather outside is unpleasant, certain user groups and certain activities (e.g., school children spending time with their peers and disadvantaged groups of people sheltering) are attracted to the shopping mall much more than when the weather is warm and sunny (security employee, personal communication, n.d., 2019; Fågel, personal communication, September 25, 2019). In addition, some of the city officials recognised the relation between the use of Narinkka Square and the weather. In particular, Jaakkola (personal communication, September 27, 2019) mentioned that Narinkka Square draws people when the weather is warm, and Heinänen (personal communication, December 10, 2019) noted that sunlight and the ability to be in an open space are some of the principal attractions of Narinkka Square.

Based on the empirical evidence collected about the use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre from the different sources, I conclude that the outside/inside location of these spaces, the opportunities the location affords for exercising control over climate, and the way these opportunities are seized can have a profound impact on the use of the spaces. On the one hand, protecting its users from unpleasant weather means depriving them of the possibility to spend time enjoying sun and pure air. On the other hand, the location of the indoor shopping mall adjacent to the outdoor squares, where there is sun and wind, makes it possible to tame the climate inside, keeping users and activities there regardless of the weather outside. This can be proved by the fact that the heavily increased use of the squares on sunny days did not have a negative effect on the use of the shopping mall. Similarly, the users of the squares were slow to relocate to the inside when the weather was gradually becoming less pleasant outside – they seemed to be delaying to do so as if they had known that protection was readily available in the shopping mall located within a few steps.

4.3.2 Control by design and facilities

The spatial observations that I conducted in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre rendered a considerable body of observational evidence about the impact of design on the use of the spaces in question. Below, I present my findings about the different elements of the design and facilities, focusing on how they affect the composition of users and the activities that they can and do undertake in the three spaces within the Kamppi area.

Seating

To begin with, my spatial observations showed that the amount of sittable space available in the squares is highly comparable. Yet, regarding their variety and level of comfort, the seating options in Narinkka Square diverge quite significantly from those of Tennispalatsi Square. Kamppi Shopping Centre, in turn, offers very few seating options in its halls and hallways, making the shopping mall very different from the squares as far as seating is concerned.

Among all three of the spaces studied in the Kamppi area, it is Tennispalatsi Square that has the most varied and comfortable for longer stays seating options (see Figure 33). In addition to the regular wooden benches located around the fountain and the wooden street chairs with backrests placed beside the landforms, the square offers many other seating options. The options include a few stone benches with and without backrests close to the pathway along Salomonkatu Street, a sittable fountain ledge, sittable platforms encircling some of the great many trees planted in the square, three stair cases (each one of which leads from a different spot in the square to the area around the fountain), the stairs leading up to Fredrikinkatu Street, and the ledges of the walls separating the naturally elevated land from the pathway along the wall of Kamppi Shopping Centre. In total, the street furniture alone can accommodate around 200 users, whereas the other seating options, or *integral seating*, to use the collocation used by Whyte (2009), are available for another 200 or so sitters.

What is also noteworthy is that the seating options vary not only in their physical characteristics but also in their arrangement and location within the square, creating favourable conditions for users with different preferences and opportunities for a range of activities that involve or require sitting. Spatial observations showed that wooden benches are arranged not only side by side but also at an angle to one another. Long and wide enough, the benches are suitable for spending time in smaller and larger groups as well as for lying down. The chairs, in turn, are located around the landforms so that they face some of the busiest pathways. Well-spaced from one another, yet situated in the middle of the square, they must be particularly suited for those individual users who prefer lively spots and are interested in watching other people using the space. For observing the life in the surrounding streets, but remaining in the background, the stairs leading to the fountain area appear to be particularly favourable. More secluded individual or group stays are possible to have on the benches hiding behind a pine tree. Finally, the platforms under and around the trees planted along Fredrikinkatu Street are good for staying in the middle of all the hustle and bustle, but away from the sun.

Figure 33. Benches, chairs and other seating options in Tennispalatsi Square

Observational data gathered in Narinkka Square disclose that seating options available in that square are quite different from those found in Tennispalatsi Square, whereby the two squares differ in the level of control that can be exercised over their use and through the design of seating. At the time when I conducted observations in Narinkka Square, there were no single piece of street furniture, and the space offered integral seating only (see Figure 34). Although abundant, the seating options were not varied enough to respond to different users' needs, such as the needs of children, the elderly or public space users coming in groups. Working age people, who would use the square alone or in pairs, seemed to be those users that the seating option satisfied most. About a year after I completed my analysis, four wooden benches with backrests and armrests were placed right beside the Turku barracks. Even so, most of the sittable space has remained available in the northern part of Narinkka Square, where there is a stair-like construction intended for sitting and a few stair cases leading from the square to Salomonkatu Street. Other integral seating options have been available along the southern perimeter of the square, namely under the trees where there are sittable ledges and on the stairs leading up to Annankatu Street.

Figure 34. Seating options in Narinkka Square

Despite the fact that the amount of sittable space in both squares is highly comparable, sitting in Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square can be an essentially different experience, particularly due to a significantly smaller variety of seating options in the former as compared to the latter. Conducting spatial observations, I found out that integral seating options in Narinkka Square are not comfortable enough either physically or socially. To be more specific, most of sitting is possible side by side or back-to-back only, and sitting face-to-face can be practiced only on condition that the sitters stay apart at an uncomfortable distance. Add to that, except for the staircase located close to the night bus terminal, all of the other integral seating options offer almost equal exposure to the life going on in the square and little opportunity for more secluded stays. Thus, even if there is a lot of sittable surface, the location of the seating options vary, and integral seating is not hostile to users in terms of physical comfort, the users of Narinkka Square have a choice between a spot in the sun and a spot in shade, for they can hardly choose how to position themselves and whether or not to shy away from the life going on in the square.

Talking about the design of Narinkka Square, Jaakkola (personal communication, September 27, 2019) noted that in Finland, there is an aim to design timeless and multifunctional public spaces that would allow for a wide range of activities and serve as "a platform for all different kinds of uses, instead of demanding or requiring something from the spectator or the user" (pp. 7-8). What this results in, the city official explained, is that public open spaces tend to be free from permanent objects (Jaakkola, personal communication, September 27, 2019). According to, Prokkola (personal communication, October 22, 2019), the absence of free-standing objects in Narinkka Square is an outcome of the necessary trade-off for an opportunity to stage large-scale events. Thus, when evaluating the kind of

seating options that Narinkka Square offers it users, it is important to realise that relying on integral seating the square can ensure better opportunities for more active engagements in the public life going on in the space and undertaking activities that are performed while standing or moving. Besides, as previous research showed (see e.g., Simões Aelbrecht, 2016) carefully designed edges may also offer good opportunities for social mixing.

As regards seating options in the halls and hallways of Kamppi Shopping Centre, I found them to be very few. Besides the chairs in the bus terminal area on E level, the shopping mall does not offer any places specifically designed for sitting other than those provided by its restaurants and cafes. Integral seating options are also almost absent: windowsills close to some of the entrances to the first floor are practically the only surfaces or ledges comfortable enough to sit on for a while when not being on someone else's way. The wooden stairs leading from the first to the second floor are, in fact, also sittable, although non-participant observations showed that they are exceptionally rarely used for that purpose. Offering few seating options, Kamppi Shopping Centre can be said to control activities involving sitting significantly more than the other two spaces studied. On the face of it, this insight from spatial observations seems to stand in line with the arguments of those scholars who suggest that the shopping mall tends to rely on design to restrict various activities (see Chapter 2.3.1). Yet, observing how people use the shopping mall in the Kamppi are, I witnessed that the users' interest in spending time among the people using the mall keeps them motivated to search for alternative and creative ways of using the space. In his case study, Miller (2014) shows that users' intentions and interests cannot be easily tamed by the design of the mall, and I, in my part, offer two entries from the field diary to showcase my relevant observational evidence.

> On the windowsill close to the Information point (*Infopiste*) there was [one person] sitting and using [a] smartphone. I am sure I saw [the person] earlier today. [The person] must have been spending quite some time around. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, late Friday evening, June 2019)

> On the second floor [identifier removed], there was a couple of adolescents sitting right on the floor and spending their time. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, Monday evening, June 2019)

Comparing evidence from spatial observations conducted in each of the three spaces in the Kamppi area, it becomes obvious that Tennispalatsi Square offers the widest variety of seating options in terms of types, physical characteristics, arrangement and location within the space. Consequently, Tennispalatsi Square can be said to allow for most freedom and creativity as regards the activities that require a sitting position.

Narinkka Square, in turn, although it can accommodate a comparable number of sitters, offers few benches for those activities (and user groups) that might need a backrest and few opportunities for detaching oneself from the life going on in the square. Unlike in Tennispalatsi Square, where integral seating serves as a desirable alternative and an addition to the street furniture during the busier times of the day, in Narinkka Square, this type of seating carries the bulk of sitters. Finally, in the halls and hallways of Kamppi Shopping Centre, the need for sitting is nearly undermined. The lack of proper or integral seating options that would not be a part of a restaurant or a café can be seen to significantly affect the range of activities involving sitting by encouraging some and/or deter some other activities and/or user groups from the space in question.

Spatial arrangements

Observational evidence collected in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre shows that the spaces stand in sharp contrast to one another when it comes to their spatial arrangements. Naturally, different spatial arrangements precondition different possibilities for moving in the spaces and using them for various other purposes. The overview of spatial arrangements shall begin with Narinkka Square, which was found to allow for a complete freedom of choice when it comes to movement. Kept free from any street furniture and other objects across its greater part and accessible from the nearby streets not only at its corners but also along some of its sides, the square can be traversed in any trajectory and manner that its users please. For this reason, more and less popular routes that people take in Narinkka Square cannot be identified by making spatial observations; detecting them requires observing the actual practices of moving through the square.

As people moving on foot tend to take short-cuts (Gehl, 2011), and there are no physical obstacles for that in Narinkka Square, it is natural that the three principal routes (see Figure 35) that the users have established by their repeated movements are the shortest routes between the points of attraction, including Kamppi Shopping Centre, commuter bus terminal on Fredrikinkatu Street, and the main attractions of the city located to the east from the square. Observing how people move in Narrinkka square, I could not only identify those three major routes, but also recognised that in case a part of the square is blocked and made impassable by some unexpected object or unusual activity, the routes are easily deflected and get re-established elsewhere. Yet, the need to do that does not always please either the passers-by or other users of the square. This can be explained by the fact that changing the established routes forces passers-by to walk a little more than they are used to and those who carry out some other activities to share their spots with passers-by, who come claiming space for movement. Other than that, and this is what data gathered from spatial

observations show and data from non-participant observations corroborate, an equally passable, safe and comfortable route can get established almost anywhere in Narinkka Square.

Figure 35. Three major routes established in Narinkka Square by passers-by

In contrast to the complete freedom with which passers-by can move in Narinkka Square, the spatial arrangements of Tennispalatsi Square allow for movement according to a more or less pre-determined plan. As the square in question is bordered by the building of the shopping mall on two sides and occupied by landforms and restaurant terraces for its greater part, the design of the square can be said to clearly define major routes (see Figure 36). Observing the spatial arrangements of Tennispalatsi Square, I managed to detect that the principal routes go straight along the perimeter of the square, i.e., along the wall of the shopping mall, along Fredrikinkatu Street and Salomonkatu Street, and between the entrance into the shopping mall and the point where Salomonkatu Street meets another pedestrianised street, Jaakonkatu Street. Diagonal movement is possible only between the same entrance and the southernmost corner of the Tennispalatsi building, but this anyway requires minding landforms and restaurant terraces.

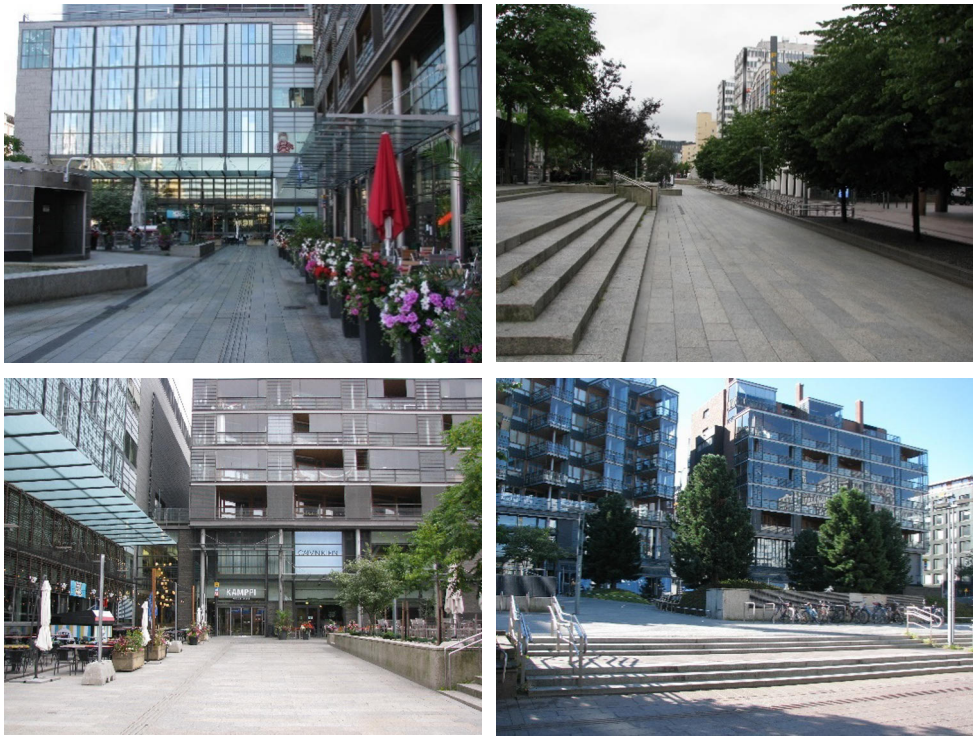


Figure 36. Pathways in Tennispalatsi Square

Data from non-participant observations, in turn, disclose that in Tennispalatsi Square, namely landforms place the greatest restriction on a completely free movement, making it impossible to move through the square with the same freedom that one can move through the neighbouring Narinkka Square. It is due to the placement of landforms that diagonal movement is only occasional and the bulk of movement happens along the perimeter of the square and between Salomonkatu Street and the entrance to Kamppi Shopping Centre beside the fountain. Restaurant terraces, even if they take up significantly more space than the landforms and stand no less on the way between the entrances to the shopping mall and other points of attractions, are passable, and some passers-by choose to walk in between chairs and tables to take short-cuts. To illustrate a case in point, below there is an excerpt of a story that I wrote up in my field diary when collecting observational data.

> [A woman] came from around the corner, went up the few stairs leading to the apple tree and, having cut through a restaurant terrace, entered Kamppi Shopping Centre. Surprisingly, in a minute or two another [woman] did the same: instead

of walking along the wall, she took a short cut and, having navigated through the tables and chairs placed on the terrace, entered Kamppi Shopping Centre. It was a bit of a surprise to see two people do the same within a few minutes. (Tennispalatsi Square, early Wednesday morning, August 2020)

Figure 37. Spaces for horizontal and vertical movement in Kamppi Shopping Centre

As regards Kamppi Shopping Centre, the space prescribes certain and very clear patterns of movement: any movement is possible only using the halls and hallways and, as a matter of fact, either between their ends or in zig-zags between shops on either side of each hallway (see Figure 37). This, however, can hardly be regarded as a deliberate attempt to control passing through or other activities. If the space is not to be charged with heightened concerns over security or commercial gain as critics often tend to do when they describe the shopping mall (see e.g., Goss, 1993; Voyce, 2006), spatial arrangements are to be considered alongside with the plan underlying them. First and foremost, Kamppi Shopping Centre is a T-shaped indoor space, which naturally makes it limited and clearly defines its boundaries. Yet, the halls and hallways lack almost any objects that would obstruct free horizontal

movement, while a big number of entrances/exits to/from the building facilitate the movement between the outside and the inside. Vertical movement is relatively quick and uncomplicated too. To specify, for moving up and down the floors, the users of the space can use either elevators or escalators, the number of which varies depending on the floorspace of each floor (from five escalators between E level and the first floor to one escalator between the uppermost floors). In addition, vertical movement between the first and the second floors is possible using the wooden stairs. All these spatial arrangements described above only confirm the intention to improve opportunities for the freedom of movement inside the shopping mall.

To sum up, just like the spatial arrangements of Narinkka Square are aimed at creating opportunities for large groups of people to gather and the space of Tennispalatsi Square is arranged so that there are opportunities for activities involving sitting, Kamppi Shopping Centre is designed with the intention to facilitate movement, which is one of the principal uses of any public space, a use that is "at the heart of urban experience" (Carmona et al., 2003, p., 169). If other activities inside Kamppi Shopping Centre can be seen as in any way controlled, then it is the limited amount of space and the need to facilitate movement that shall be considered in the first place.

Facilities

In this sub-chapter, the last to be discussed are the various facilities available in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre free of charge for all the users of the spaces. Although bicycle parking places, public toilets, phone chargers and many other facilities are but loosely connected to the design of public space, it is worthwhile to discuss all of them alongside design solutions, since facilities also tend to exercise control over the use of public space by opening up opportunities for certain activities to be carried out and by creating more desirable conditions for certain user groups.

It must be acknowledged that within the Kamppi area, Kamppi Shopping Centre offers the widest variety of facilities free of charge and, because of this, stands out from the other two spaces studied. In addition to bathrooms and a baby care room (both of which are vital to have in a public space as they allow satisfying the most basic human needs), in the shopping mall there is free Wi-Fi, free newspaper stands, information screens, a plan of the Kamppi area, a phone charging device, regular sockets, post boxes, public transport information stands, real-time passenger information displays and public transport ticket vending machines (see Figure 38). Although not all facilities are possible to spot at a glance, many of them are located where they are supposed to be most needed. For instance, information screens are close to the escalators, and the baby care room is on the floor that the children shops

are gathered. Thus, even if some of the facilities must be searched to be found, information screens available on every floor allow one to do that quite easily.

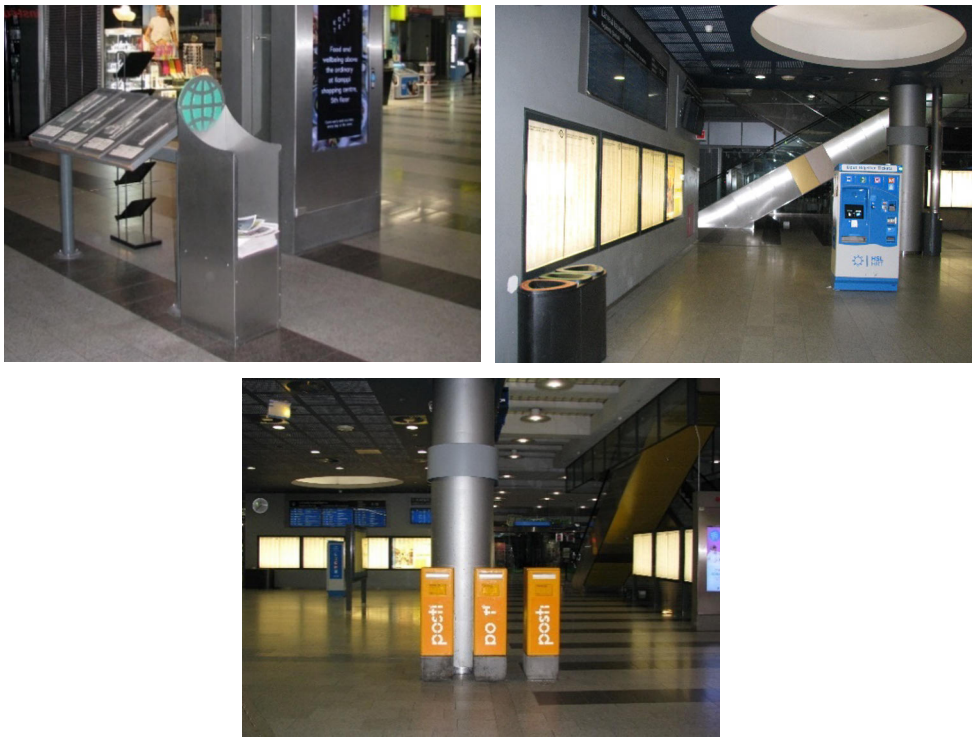


Figure 38. Some facilities in Kamppi Shopping Centre

Compared to Kamppi Shopping Centre, the facilities that are available in the squares are limited. City bicycles, bicycle parking places and information screens are the only facilities found in Narinkka Square, whereas Tennispalatsi Square offers no other facilities besides bicycle parking places (see Figure 39). Both squares lack many basic facilities, the most needed of which is, by all means, public toilets. The users of Narinkka Square are especially affected by the absence of public toilets, and the need for the facility in question is especially felt at those times when the square is used for special (sometimes large-scale) events. Regardless of whether the absence of public toilets in the squares is a result of the lack of consideration to the basic human needs or a deliberate attempt to control use, the effect is the same: everyone can use the squares for a limited period of time only, or they have to use the bathrooms inside Kamppi Shopping Centre or elsewhere in the area to be able to stay longer outside.

Figure 39. Some facilities in Narinkka Square (top) and Tennispalatsi Square (bottom)

On the one hand these findings about the lack of public toilets in the squares do no more than repeat what has long been condemned in the public space literature, not only by social scientists (e.g., Davis, 1992; Mitchell, 2003) but also by architects and urban planners (e.g., Carr et al., 1995). On the other hand, they reveal opportunities for the interaction or networking of adjacent located public spaces and point to the advantages this may have on the use of the spaces within the network. As observational evidence discloses, because Kamppi Shopping Centre is able to offer public bathrooms, which Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square fail to do, the mall becomes instrumental in overcoming their absence in the squares and in mitigating the negative effects that could otherwise occur when using the squares. The squares, in their turn, offer the users of the shopping mall bike parking facilities and outdoor seating options. Thus, the networking identified here is somewhat different from the one described by Liljana Jankovič Grobelšek (2012). To specify, instead of combining efforts or sharing obligations to serve the public, there is a kind of mutual exchange between the spaces within the Kamppi area: they support and sustain each other by exchanging certain services.

4.3.3 Control by various physical objects

The spatial observations showed that Kamppi Shopping Centre is the only one of the three spaces in the Kamppi area where various physical objects are regularly used in order to place some restrictions on accessing certain spots within the space. In addition, opening hours apply to using the shopping mall, while the squares are open 24/7. Still, using Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square is not without restrictions: in both squares various objects are occasionally placed to exert some control over the use those spaces. This sub-chapter discusses those various physical means that managers or other agents entitled to do that were found using in any of the three spaces within the Kamppi area.

Doors and opening hours

While Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square, both of which are outdoor spaces, can be accessed from the streets and squares surrounding them, Kamppi Shopping Centre, located in a multi-story building, can only be entered through certain spots designed as entrances. This, however, shall not be associated with the legal status of the shopping mall as a private space, and the indoor location of the space shall be regarded as the main, if not the only one, reason why the mall is accessible through designated spots only. Such a statement rests on at least three pieces of observational evidence, each of which is presented below in a separate paragraph.

Note. Kamppi area [map] by The City of Helsinki Map Service, 2021, (https://kartta.hel.fi/) Copyright 2021 by City of Helsinki. Adapted with permission.

Figure 40. Entrances to Kamppi Shopping Centre marked with the logo of the shopping mall

The first piece of evidence is the number of entrances, which appears to be higher than sufficient to make Kamppi Shopping Centre easily accessible. In particular, to enter the shopping mall, one can use any of the eight entrances marked with the logo of Kamppi Shopping Centre and leading directly to the spaces inside the shopping mall (see Figure 40). In addition, the mall has been clarified to be accessible through many other entrances that do not take one directly to the shopping mall but that lead to spaces with a direct access to the mall. Among them there is the entrance to the night bus terminal from Narinkka Square, the entrance to Kamppi metro station, a number of entrances to the buildings surrounding Kamppi Shopping Centre (such as the Sähkötalo building on the other side of Fredrikinkatu Street and the Simonkenttä building facing Narinkka Square) and the entrances to Kamppi parking garage.

The second argument is related to the location of the eight direct entrances marked with a Kamppi logo. As a free-standing building, Kamppi Shopping Centre has doors on all of its four sides and, as a matter of fact, can be entered from (and exited to) all of the streets and squares encircling it. What deserves special attention is that all the eight entrances to the shopping mall are accessible on foot only, and they allow a direct access to four different levels (levels K and E and the first and second floors) within the building. This enables easy physical accessibility to the building where Kamppi Shopping Centre is located and from that building to various other spaces in the Kamppi area, including Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square.

The third piece of evidence is the design of the entrances in general and the physical characteristics of the doors in particular (see Figure 41). Except for the side doors, which some of the entrances have to support the main doors, all the doors are double glass doors that open automatically. This does not only allow for the ease of movement between the outside and the inside, but also makes it possible to see inside. Glass doors, coupled with glass walls partitioning them and the glass structures on the façade, allow the users of the squares and streets outside to see inside the hallways of the shopping mall and, even if that does not correspond to the openings of the squares to surrounding streets, improves the visual accessibility of the building. Clear demarcation of all of the eight entrances only adds to making this multiple-storied and large in scale building appear more welcoming.

Overviewing entrances, their design and location, it is worth to consider the times when they can and cannot be used to access Kamppi Shopping Centre. As surprising as this may be, the opening hours that apply to some of the halls and hallways inside the shopping mall are relatively long, making those parts of the mall nearly as accessible as the outdoor squares. For instance, when I was there conducting spatial observations, the main entrance (the one leads from Narinkka Square to E level) was open from 5 am to 2:30 am on some days and open to 4:20 am on other days, making the doors a barrier to enter the space only between 40

minutes and two and a half hours each day. The same opening hours applied to the entrances from Annankatu Street and Antinkatu Street, both of which allow direct access to the first floor and make it possible for passers-by to take a short-cut if they want or need to move between the two streets that the building cuts in between (otherwise they would have to go around the building). The entrance from Urho Kekkosen Street, as well as a few other entrances to the second floor, however, were open for fewer hours: between 8 am and 9 pm on working days, between 8 am and 6 pm on Saturdays and between 12 pm and 6 pm on Sundays. Thus, in the summer of 2019, the E level was open for at least 22 hours each day, a part of the first floor and the second floor were open a few hours longer than the commercial places located there serve their clients, and the upper levels were open only for as many hours as the shops and service points.

Figure 41. Some entrances to Kamppi Shopping Centre

What my spatial observations disclosed in addition is that at those hours when some spaces inside Kamppi Shopping Centre are kept open and some are closed, folding glass doors, tapes and signs urging no entry are used. No comparable means that would be regularly used at certain hours so as to prevent public space users from

accessing and using certain spots within a space were identified in Narinkka Square or Tennispalatsi Square.

Permitting its users to access the upper floors of the mall for no longer than the stores are open, Kamppi Shopping Centre appears to resemble the shopping mall as described by its critics: consumption-oriented, exclusive and controlled or regulatory (see e.g., Goss, 1993; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006; Voyce, 2006). Moreover, differences identified in the opening hours of different floors or even parts of the floor brings back the discussion about the shopping mall as a space of contrived publicness (see Chapter 2.3.1). However, this is significantly undermined by the fact that certain floors or their parts stay open much longer than the shops or service points serve their customers. Prolonged opening hours of some halls and hallways make those parts of the shopping mall accessible nearly for the full day as well as suggests that the mall is for much more than consumption-oriented activities and it welcomes users who need it for other purposes than shopping (see Chapter 2.3.1.). Taking a step further, this empirical finding from Kamppi Shopping Centre may also be used to ask if making all the floors accessible for as long as the E level would make the space more public, and whether it is desirable by users and from the perspective of sustainable use of resources.

Fences and other physical objects demarcating restaurant terraces

Observing Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square, I detected that in both squares, even if they are open 24/7, certain spots are fenced or the borders of the spots are demarcated by some other physical means only to control how (and if) they can be accessed and used. In most cases, those are the spots around the perimeter that are handed over to private restaurants and cafes to be used as their terraces (see Figure 42). In Narinkka Square, there are two spots of that kind – one close to the wall of Kamppi Shopping Centre and the other one close to the wall of the Turku barracks. Filled with chairs and tables and reserved exclusively for restaurant clientele, the spots look very different from the other spots within the square. Tennispalatsi Square has at least half of its space dedicated to the terraces of restaurants and cafes. In particular, all the spots along the wall of Kamppi Shopping Centre, the area close to the fountain, a spot surrounded by landforms and a spot close to the stairs leading to Fredrikinkatu Street are all used as restaurant terrace during the warm season.

Despite the fact that restaurant terraces take significantly more space in Tennispalatsi Square as compared to Narinkka Square, it is in Narinkka Square where the part of the space reserved for eating out is fenced from the rest of the square. In Tennispalatsi Square, on the other hand, the boundaries between restaurant terraces and the remaining parts of the square are much softer: in most cases they are demarcated by flowerpots or restaurant chairs and tables, all of which are easily

moveable. Although the data from spatial observations do not show evidence about the effect of those different physical means of control on the access to and use of the demarcated spots, the data that I collected when observing activities and users of the squares demonstrate that more than well. Below there are a few stories from the field notes to illustrate what I managed to observe, and that is that restaurant terraces are used regardless of whether or not the restaurants are open.

Figure 42. Restaurant terraces in Narinkka Square (left) and Tennispalatsi Square (right)

> Although all the terraces were closed, [a man] was spending his time in one of them. Sitting back relaxed, he was sipping something from a can and looking at the screen of his smartphone. It looked like he was enjoying himself and his Saturday morning spent in the square. (Tennispalatsi Square, Saturday morning, August 2020)

> Two colleagues, a man and a woman, working at Kamppi Shopping Centre left the building for a break in Tennispalatsi Square. When in the square, they went to one of the closed restaurant terraces, sat behind a table and started chatting. (Tennispalatsi Square, early Monday morning, August 2020)

What is also noteworthy about the restaurant terraces in Tennispalatsi Square is that the visitors of the square watches them with no less curiosity than the people eating out watches the life of the square. Moreover, outside of the opening hours of the restaurants and cafes, some of the terraces are closed and their chairs and tables are assembled, whereas some other terraces remain untouched, whereby they come to serve as alternative spaces for sitting and spending time. In Narinkka Square, where the boundaries between restaurant terraces and the rest of the square are sharper, the terraces remain but islands from which their visitors observe the spectacle of public

life as lived on the mainland of the square. For those who stay on the mainland, the terraces appear as extensions of the buildings and something that is to be bypassed without scrutinising. Thus, the fences that clearly define restaurant terraces do much more than reduce the amount of space that is freely available; they divide the users of the same square into two distinct groups and obscure the opportunities for them to interact, for their activities to intermix and for the unplanned to happen. To conclude, although restaurant terraces and fences (more and less solid) that demarcate them are found in both Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square, the effect that they have on the use of each square is highly different.

Other temporal fences and barriers

Observational data disclose that in Narinkka Square, in addition to the restaurant terraces which somewhat restrict the use of certain parts of the square, there sometimes are fences and other physical objects that are temporarily used for the purpose of controlling how smaller or larger spots within the square can be accessed and used. A temporal closure of a part of Narinkka Square is most likely to happen when the square hosts a special event (see Figure 43), which the event organisers see as in need to be confined within certain boundaries so that they can prevent either the activities associated with the event from spilling over into other parts of the square or the life of the square from blending into the event. During the four weeks that I spent regularly visiting Narinkka Square and collecting observational data about how the square is used, there were a few events that were held within clearly defined spots. Thereby, I could witness how temporal fences and other physical means used to separate the activities making up an event from the other activities present in the square can affect the use of the whole square.

Figure 43. Preparations for special events in Narinkka Square

One of the events was a food event that took hold over the greater part of the square for a few days. The whole area reserved for the event was fenced, and one could only enter it from two points left open and supervised by security guards. Although the event was open to everyone, and everyone was welcome to enter, it was dominated by the people who could and were ready to pay for the food sold, while those who could not or did not want to buy any food had little reason to stay there. As for the part of the square that the event did not take over, it turned into a left-over space. The fence that separated the event from the remaining part of the square was not permeable, whereby those outside of the festival were deprived of the possibility to see what was going on behind the fence, and they could not enjoy the unbroken view of the square or the public life as lived there. This was one of the reasons why on the days when the festival was held, the sittable stairs along one of the edges of the square had much fewer users sitting and watching other people, spending their time in motion or sheltering while waiting for a trip. Overall though, and it is crucial to take this into consideration, during the event the number of users in the square was significantly greater than it would typically have been.

Another event, which was equally large in scale and long in duration, kept about a third part of the square surrounded by fence. Yet, unlike in the food event, in this sports event, the fenced area was completely closed off from the public and reserved for the sportsmen. What is noteworthy is that during the event the fences did not only prevent the users of the square from entering certain spots, but also deflected them to the spots where they had no intention to be. As a matter of fact, the course of the activities that would have typically been undertaken in those spots had to change completely. In what follows below, there is a note that I left in my field notes having observed the event.

> The part of the square close to the six trees was reserved for the players only. The area was fenced, and on the fence there was the sign saying *Pelaajat*, meaning "players". Right beside the sign, there was a security guard sitting to ensure that no one else but those who had been granted the right to enter could access the designated area. Unable to cross the square where they usually do, passers-by were moving along the trees and converting the area usually used for sitting, spending lunch breaks and eating into a pathway. Passing by was intermixing with more stationary activities, although there was not much sitting or sheltering, for there was too much hustle and bustle around. (Narinkka Square, afternoon, June 8, 2019)

The informants who I talked to also recognised the fact that certain spots within Narinkka Square may get temporary blocked. Yet, unlike my observations, interview data do not show this to have that strong controlling power over the other activities

typically undertaken in the square. According to Prokkola (personal communication, October 22, 2019), a closure of a part of the square at the time of an event is not problematic, for even if the access to some demarcated area is controlled, it is temporal, events do not occupy the whole space of the square, and people are nevertheless able to traverse it. Another city official that I interviewed remarked that the use of Narinkka Square for such events that take a lot of space needed to be negotiated (Heinänen personal communication, December 10, 2019). What this might mean is that if special events that block certain parts of Narinkka Square do take place in the square, the city found it acceptable to stage them and did not foresee the closure of a part of the square to have negative effects on other activities.

Although none of the arguments justifying a temporal closure of some parts of the square can be denied, they do not override two very important facts. The first is that even if it is temporal, a closure of a smaller or bigger part of the square reduces the amount of public space available in a way very much comparable to that observed in Kamppi Shopping Centre, where outside of the opening hours of shops, certain halls and hallways are closed while the others remain open. Yet, unlike in the shopping mall that has its opening hours indicated at the entrance, in Narinkka Square, the temporal closure can hardly be predicted and prepared for by public space users, since the calendars of the events do not indicate either the time when preparations for them begin or the duration of the post-event activities. The second, and more important point, is the fact that the closure of one part of the square is bound to affect the use of all the other parts of the square, for the square is a single space, a monolithic structure, wherein different spots are closely tied together and work in close cooperation to one another.

4.3.4 Control by organisational means

The last to be discussed are the various organisational means that I found as able to affect both the possible use and the actual use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre. Although the means used by owners, managers and any other agents entitled to control the use of a public space might be more varied and numerous, in the sub-chapter that follows, I single out three means that the empirical data gathered in the three spaces within the Kamppi area suggests to be the major ones. The three organisational means of control over use are the following: sings, manpower and surveillance cameras.

Signs

Signs, although they are physical objects, are organisational means of control and one of the means that were detected to be applied quite differently in the squares as

compared to the shopping mall. To begin with, in Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square, any signs giving information or prohibiting certain activities were found to be relatively few. Besides, due to their physical characteristics (such as colouring and size) and their location higher above than the eye tends to look, the signs are not very eye-catching and can easily go unnoticed. I was able to see the signs only because I was intentionally looking for them.

In Narinkka Square, I detected two types of signs: signs prohibiting certain activities and signs giving information. Prohibition signs include six non-smoking signs located in the area around the main entrance to Kamppi Shopping Centre and two traffic signs forbidding car parking in the area that is close to the stairs leading up to Annankatu Street (see Figure 44). Taken together, they nearly amount to one half of all of the signs, which include the signs giving information about the shops and services located inside the buildings surrounding the square, the signs showing the spots where city bikes and bike parking facilities are located and the signs giving directions. Yet, prohibition signs appear to have little effect over the use of Narinkka Square, for their visibility is quite poor and whether they are minded or not does not seem to be supervised.

Figure 44. Signs giving information and controlling the use of Narinkka Square

In Tennispalatsi Square, the signs giving orders are not only the most numerous among all three of the spaces studied, but they also make up the largest portion of all of the signs used in this square. To specify, there are eight signs prohibiting skating and roller-skating and five signs prohibiting parking and informing that the area is private (see Figure 45). As the private area signs are placed alongside the non-parking signs, they may also be seen as a notice inviting the users of the square to reconsider whether their activities are appropriate for that space. This impression is

only strengthened considering the fact that in Tennispalatsi Square there are five such signs, and they are placed where parking is hardly possible due to the spatial arrangements of the square. Yet, non-participant observations conducted in the square did not provide any evidence on the practical value of the signs. In fact, the private area signs, like the signs prohibiting skating, tend to go unnoticed by the users of Tennispalatsi Square. Finally, as for the signs giving information, in the square they are very few and include no more than a few signs with the names of restaurants and services inside the building of Kamppi Shopping Centre.

Figure 45. Signs giving information and controlling the use of Tennispalatsi Square

In Kamppi Shopping Centre, signage is very different from that found in the squares. Compared to the squares, the signs in the shopping mall are not only more numerous, but more varied. Upon one's entrance to the shopping mall, the user is immediately welcomed by a number of signs varying in shape, colour, location, amount of information, content and, from the point of view of control, purpose or intent. Yet, the mere number of signs says very little about their effect on the use of Kamppi Shopping Centre other than that they tend to punctuate the view of the halls and hallways and excite the users' attention, diverting it away from something else.

Most of the signs that I found in the shopping mall were signs helping the user to orient in the space and in the surrounding area, giving directions for reaching different points of interest and telling the name of a shop or a service point (see Figure 46). The signs that would forbid or try to prevent one or another activity or the signs that would point to any risk entailed in carrying out a particular activity seemed to me to make but a small portion of all of the signage used in the mall. Besides, in the mall I found fewer prohibition signs than in the squares, while the activities that the signs are directed towards were found to include no more than the climbing over Gekko, which is a sculpture serving as an entrance to Kamppi metro station, and using escalators at the time when the upper floors are closed. Smoking,

consuming alcohol, skating and roller skating are not allowed inside either, but the signs that would prohibit these activities are placed outside on some of the entrances to the shopping mall. Except for the sign forbidding the use of the escalators when they are closed, all of the signs giving orders can easily go unnoticed due to their small size, location above or below the eye level and modest colouring.

Figure 46. Sings giving information and controlling the use of Kamppi Shopping Centre

In summary, within the Kamppi area, the signs aimed at controlling the use of the spaces vary greatly not only in their number, but also in their desired effect. While in Narinkka Square signage of any kind is almost absent, in Tennispalatsi Square nearly all of the few signs that are placed are signs forbidding the activities of skating and smoking, both of which have few other spaces where to be conducted if not in an outdoor space. In Kamppi Shopping Centre, although there are significantly more signs than in the squares, prohibition signs are few and directed only towards certain activities that might cause danger to all users if undertaken indoors. Instead of controlling how the space inside the shopping mall is used, most of the signage is primarily aimed at improving accessibility and facilitating movement inside the space, benefiting primarily those users who are in the shopping mall occasionally

and for purposes other than shopping. These observational findings are important for at least two reasons: first, they shatter the image of the shopping mall as a highly controlled, ordered and exclusive space (see Chapter 2.3.1) and second, they point to the risk of associating certain tools or strategies that can serve as means of control over use with the actual intention to impose some particular patterns of use or to put restrictions on certain activities. This idea is only furthered with the findings about manpower and surveillance cameras, which are discussed in the sub-chapters to follow.

Manpower (security guards and police)

Empirical evidence that I managed to gather reveals that in all three of the spaces within the Kamppi area, manpower is relied upon to supervise the use of the space and to ensure that the people there are safe. In Narinkka Square, it is the police who are responsible for safety, whereas privately-owned Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre are regularly supervised by a private security company. Despite the fact that the source of control varies between the spaces, the principal duty of both the policemen and the security guards was found to be highly comparable, i.e., to ensure safety by observing the spaces. Observational data reveal that the method of security operation among the spaces is also similar: typically, a pair of policemen or security guards would arrive to a space in the Kamppi area, stay in one spot for a while to watch over the space, and, having made sure there are no security issues, they would relocate to another spot or leave. Occasionally, supervisors of order and safety were also seen supervising in small groups and alone, although this is slightly more commonly practiced by private security guards working in Kamppi Shopping Centre when compared to the same people working in Tennispalatsi Square or the policemen doing their duties in Narinkka Square.

What does differ more significantly among the three spaces within the Kamppi area is how much policemen and security guards move about when doing they duty. In Narinkka Square, the police would normally stay inside their car, which they would park either by the wall of the shopping mall or somewhere close to the centre of the square to observe the space from inside. In Tennispalatsi Square, security guards would most likely watch over the square by standing at a certain spot, one that would allow them to observe the greater part of the square. Finally, in Kamppi Shopping Centre, security guards would first move around for a while, then stop at one or another spot on a different floor to watch over the space from a standing position, and get back to moving again.

The fact that in Kamppi Shopping Centre security guards are not only more likely to be seen at work but also doing their duties while moving around might create a false impression about heightened security concerns in the shopping mall or an

intention to control use, which some studies proved to be the case in privately-owned public spaces (e.g., Lawton, 2007; Németh & Schmidt, 2011). To avoid this, at least three remarks must be made prior to drawing any conclusions. First, unlike the squares, the shopping mall is a multi-level indoor space and a space that has a floor area greater than the area of both squares taken together. The size and the physical characteristics of Kamppi Shopping Centre are sufficient to necessitate a different approach to supervising. Second, at any one time there are more people inside the shopping mall than there are outside in the squares, which reaffirms the need for more manpower in the shopping mall than in the squares to ensure a comparable level of safety. Third, even if the number of security guards is higher in Kamppi Shopping Centre than their number in Tennispalatsi Square or the number of policemen in Narinkka Square, it is, in fact, quite limited: throughout their stay in the mall, users are no more likely to see a security guard patrolling than not to see any at all. Thus, the mere presence of more security guards inside than outside does not by itself suggest any difference between Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre as regards control over use exercised by manpower.

In addition to the mode in which the three spaces are supervised, it is important to consider what duties security guards have and to compare these with the duties that policemen generally tend to have as civil servants responsible for maintaining public order. To begin with, what I managed to find out during my numerous visits to Kamppi Shopping Centre is that it takes a highly disruptive, dangerous or illegal activity for the security guards to approach the users of the mall who partake in them. Noisy adolescents' hanging out, adults' passing through by bikes, beggars' occasional asking for money and even flashmobs go unnoticed or, better said, are uncontrolled. The story below can be considered as a case in point.

> [A group of women] suddenly assembled in the central hall on E level and started doing physical exercises. It looked like a fitness training: one of the women was standing in front of the rest and was demonstrating an exercise, and the rest were doing it alongside. Although the majority of people carried on walking as if nothing unusual was going on, a few did stop to take a look. The flashmob was also spotted by the security guards standing on one of the upper floors right beside the central void and looking downwards. The guards did not take any action besides watching what was going on. In a couple of minutes, the performance finished, and the students disappeared, whereas the guards continued observing the space by standing still at the same spot. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, Friday evening, May 2019)

What the extract from my field notes illustrates is that unusual but non-disruptive activities do not provoke any reaction from the security guards, which is strikingly

different from what Miller (2014) finds in his case study. Thus, if other users of Kamppi Shopping Centre do not mind such activities as flash mobs, and if they are not exposed to danger, security guards will not step in and instead will allow all of the users to carry out the activities that they please. In case some users' behaviour becomes disturbing, the users would be given some time to realise this themselves and to modify their conduct so that it would not infringe on other people's rights of using the shopping mall. It is only if they fail to do so that security guards would approach them and could ask them to be more quiet, not to cause danger to themselves or other users of the space, or to allow others to pass through. Yet, during my visits to Kamppi Shopping Centre, most of the situations involving any conflict resolved themselves well before they became issues, whereby staying in the space and observing it remained security guards' principal duties.

The validity of the findings from observations is confirmed by my interview data, according to which it is only in case that a situation is troublesome and requires to be dealt with immediately that the security staff would hurry to take an action (Fågel, personal communication, September 25, 2019). According to the director of the shopping mall, (Fågel, personal communication, September 25, 2019), the security staff are there in Kamppi Shopping Centre to help anyone who is inside the shopping mall to feel safe and welcomed and to experience the friendly and pleasant atmosphere that prevails there. The security employee (personal communication, n.d., 2019) who I interviewed seconded the statement, saying that in the shopping mall, the security guards are primarily responsible for ensuring that both visitors and customers feel safe and enjoy being inside the mall. Thus, talking to those users of the mall whose behaviour might cause danger to others or who have been reported by others as making noise is the principal duty of the security guards, and they neither have the right nor intention to control who can use the space (security employee, personal communication, n.d., 2019). In fact, the security employee's (personal communication, n.d., 2019) remark that they (i.e., the security staff) work for a customer service business explains their behaviour very well and it can be used to describe the approach that the security guards working in the shopping mall take as their duties and responsibilities. Offered below there is a story from my field diary that can serve as an illustration of this approach.

> Something happened in the square. Under one of the trees there was [somebody] lying and showing no reactions. Someone from the users spotted the case. Not knowing how to react, one user of Narinkka Square approached the security guards who were standing in front of the main entrance to the shopping mall and spending their break outside. When they were called for help, the security guards did not delay a minute and headed to check what had happened. While many people continued passing by, the security guards remained standing beside the

> person in need of help and, supposedly, waiting for an ambulance to come. They were there right beside the person for at least half an hour. (Narinkka Square, Monday evening, June 2019)

It is worthwhile to stress that although the security guards do not have any responsibilities to Narinkka Square, and their working duties are related to Kamppi Shopping Centre and Tennispalatsi Square only (security employee, personal communication, n.d., 2019), their commitment to serve people when needed transcends the border, whereas their power to act does not. What is, in fact, more decisive in regulating the use of the spaces is not the security staff's presence or actions, but what the security employee (personal communication, n.d., 2019) called "common sense" and what can be explained as realising the effect of one's actions on other users of the same space and showing respect for the other users and the activities that they undertake. This remark made by the informant, again, corroborates my observational evidence that regarding all of the three spaces within the Kamppi area, activities that can be predicted to come into conflict or infringe on one another tend to be modified in their duration, manner or location so as to avoid any clashes of interest (see also Chapter 4.1).

What is also noteworthy is that to ensure safety in the spaces within the Kamppi area, private security guards and police sometimes work in cooperation. During my visits to the area for the purpose of collecting observational data, occasionally I could notice police cars standing close to Tennispalatsi Square or driving by the square, and private security guards watching over Narinkka Square. As for Tennispalatsi Square, this can be explained by the fact that although the square is a privately-owned space and, as a matter of fact, is supervised by the same private security company as Kamppi Shopping Centre, it is publicly accessible and usable, which makes it a space of public interest. In Narinkka Square, on the other hand, it is during special events that private security guards employed by the event organisers might assume the duty of watching over event participants and attendees. This, however, is more of an exception than a rule. Yet, it does not override the fact that even in a space owned by the city, private security guards may be relied upon when public safety concerns appear to be heightened (cf. Clough & Vanderbeck, 2006). Given below there is an excerpt from the field diary aimed at illustrating a case in point.

> There were at least two security guards, one at each entrance to the area designated for the food festival. What they could be seen doing was welcoming event attendees and thanking those who were leaving. Even if their actions appeared to be limited to those noted, it cannot be denied that their standing at the entrance could deter certain groups of people from entering. In fact, I was among those who hesitated to enter and stood wondering whether the event is

> free of charge or only for those who had a ticket bought in advance. It was only because I had made a commitment to do research that I made an attempt to enter the festival area and, having succeeded, could realise that it was open for everyone and free of charge. (Narinkka Square, mid-day, June 16, 2019)

Although I did not see a policeman in Kamppi Shopping Centre, interview data disclosed that the shopping mall may call on police officers in cases of an emergency. To specify, for solving the issues that cannot be dealt with by communicative means, the security guards would rely on the police rather than take any further actions themselves (security employee, personal communication, n.d., 2019). Yet, as most of the users of the shopping mall demonstrate a willingness to change their disruptive behaviour when asked, it is only occasionally that the security staff are in need to ask someone to leave (security employee, personal communication, n.d., 2019). This takes one back to the idea that in Kamppi Shopping Centre, the control exercised by security manpower is relatively limited and may even be seen as being passed on to the users of the space themselves. Although this is not the social controlled in the form of "eyes on the street", as Jacobs (1961) calls it, it is nevertheless related to it at least in that the users are expected to recognise the presence of other users and to know how to behave to respect them and to maintain public order.

Concluding, it is worthwhile to remark that although my observations confirmed that the spaces within the Kamppi area are regularly supervised by the police and private security guards, the manpower present is limited and constrained in their actions, i.e., they take no other roles than those of an observer and, if necessary, a mediator. In most cases, when a clash among interests (or activities) breaks out, the users themselves are quick to react and prevent it. Therefore, I argue that it is not only the police and private security guards who work in cooperation to ensure public safety and order in the three spaces within the Kamppi area; the manpower who are paid to do the job are joined by public space users, who generously contribute to making the spaces safe and pleasant for anyone using them.

Surveillance cameras

To support the manpower in doing their duties and ensuring safety and order, in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, surveillance cameras are in use. Collecting observational data, I found out that both more traditional (or box) cameras and more innovative 360-degree cameras are used to observe various spots inside the mall and outside in the squares. Despite differences in their number and location, the effect that surveillance cameras manage to exert on the use of the three spaces within the Kamppi area is relatively comparable.

As regards the location of surveillance cameras, spatial observations reveal that that in Narinkka Square, most of them are placed on the walls of the buildings that border the square, such as on the wall of the Turku barracks and the wall of Kamppi Shopping Centre. The remaining few cameras are in the more heavily used areas, which include the stairs that go along Salomonkatu Street and that are intended for sitting and the area around the Kamppi Chapel. In Tennispalatsi Square, those few surveillance cameras that I found were attached to the walls of the shopping mall and the special structure which is in the square for fire extinction purposes. Even if in Narinkka Square they were slightly more numerous than in Tennispalatsi Square, it is in both squares that CCTV cameras were found to be placed in critical spots, which suggests that surveillance devices are mainly for ensuring safety of those spots rather than for monitoring and controlling the use of the entire space of the squares. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the number of surveillance cameras used would be sufficient to observe either of the two squares in their entirety.

In Kamppi Shopping Centre, surveillance cameras were found to be used significantly more extensively than in the squares. Before making any concluding remarks about the use of this means of control in the shopping mall, it is important to remember that the mall is located in a multi-storey building with direct street access from all of its sides and from four different levels: the underground level (K level), the ground level (E level), the first floor and the second floor. Monitoring the numerous entrances, escalators and elevators alone requires installing more CCTV devices than would be needed to monitor all the corners, edges and stairs either in Narinkka Square or in Tennispalatsi Square. Yet, Kamppi Shopping Centre has much more than that to supervise, because in addition to commercial activities, the building houses public services, and it is used to access a metro station, making the space of the mall an object of public importance. Thus, using surveillance cameras in the hallways, at the corners and around the central void can be regarded as a matter of public safety.

What is also noteworthy is that Kamppi Shopping Centre makes no pretence regarding the use of video surveillance devices to overlook the space inside the building. The cameras are never hidden or covered, and they can easily be seen if one is to look a little up. The fact that the shopping mall is under video surveillance is also notified at the entrances, and the notice is easy enough to see. Yet, it was not even once that observing how the halls and hallways within the shopping mall are used, I could see a user who would look at CCTV devices or seem to mind they are being watched over. Thus, even if visible, video surveillance cameras tend to stay unnoticed, suggesting their effect on the users' behaviour in the shopping mall to be negligible. Below, I offer a story written in my field notes and illustrating that neither the users of the mall mind they are being watched nor those who watch do so for any other reasons than to spot disruptive behaviour or a case of an emergency.

> As is usual at this time, everyone was going about their deeds paying little attention to what was going on. To the centre of the hall there came a group of [people] who [identifier removed] started singing in a choir along the music coming from their player. In a little while, a pair of security guards approached them. I cannot say whether or not it was through the cameras that the security noticed them, but as there were not that many people to spot them and report their performance, it is likely that the cameras were of help. After a short conversation with them, [the people] left. I suppose [they] were asked not to be so loud. Yet, the group of four decided to leave. (Kamppi Shopping Centre, early Monday morning, May 2019)

The reasons behind the use of video surveillance cameras and the ways in which the information recorded is used become better known from the evidence collected through interviews. As noted by Fågel (personal communication, September 25, 2019), the shopping mall needs surveillance cameras (as well as manpower and design improvements) to make sure that all the users of the mall, be they employees, users of public transportation, visitors or customers, feel safe and experience the space as pleasant and attractive. Surveillance cameras assist the security staff in spotting accidents and activities that are harmful, illegal or posing a security risk to the users of the shopping mall, and in taking actions, which is nearly always limited to conversations and asking people whose behaviour appears threatening or disturbing to make it more acceptable for everyone who they share the space with (security employee, personal communication, n.d., 2019). Thus, in Kamppi Shopping Centre, just like in Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square, surveillance cameras are revealed to be primarily utilised to ensure safety at the more critical spots within the space.

As the sub-chapter on the organisational means of control over use marks the end of the overview of findings about control over use, one final remark deserves to be made. Regardless of whether the use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square or Kamppi Shopping Centre is attempted to be controlled by design or by management and through physical means or through organisational means, it is relatively limited not only in effect but also in intention. As a matter of fact, the three spaces within the Kamppi area represent a relatively different approach to control over use from the one typically described in the public space literature (see Chapter 2.4). Thus, there is a great correspondence between the kind and level of control exercised by different means, location being the only one that stands out from the rest.

5 Discussion

This chapter discusses the key findings about (1) activities, (2) users and (3) control over use in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre obtained from spatial and non-participant observations and semi-structured interviews with informants. The discussion is held in the light of the conceptual framework (see Chapter 2.2) which I established for the purpose of this research. As the overall aim of the dissertation is to build an understanding of what the publicness of public space implies and of how it is practiced and (re)produced in different public spaces of the contemporary city, in the discussion, I focus on the results obtained when comparing the findings about each dimension of publicness across the three spaces studied as public spaces. The chapter is divided into three sub-chapters, each of which overviews a different dimension of publicness and answers a corresponding research question (see Table 1).

5.1 Activities defining and (re)producing the publicness of public space

The first to be discussed are the findings about the activities that public space users undertake and that in one or another way define Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre as public spaces and (re)produce their publicness (my research question no. 1). To begin with, no one activity or a group of activities were identified as instrumental either in defining or (re)producing any of the three spaces as public space. Yet, based on the observational data, it can be argued that the variety and intensity of different activities (both of which I suggest to be components of activities when it is understood as a dimension of publicness) are tied to a certain extent with the activity of passing through. The study reveals the relationship between passing through – the principal activity in the spaces within the Kamppi area – and other activities to be as follows: passing through enlivens each space, and this liveliness attracts more users, who bring with them their aspirations and their activities. What this means is that other activities hardly draw on passers-by as their participants, but their presence in the spaces serves as a magnet to attract others. In Figure 47, I offer a graphical illustration of how the activity of passing through supposedly draws to itself and the public space in which it is undertaken all

kinds of activities, and how all of those various activities coexist alongside each other in the same public space. As the activities that passing through manages to attract vary across space and time, in the figure they are not specified and marked as activity x, which means "any activity".

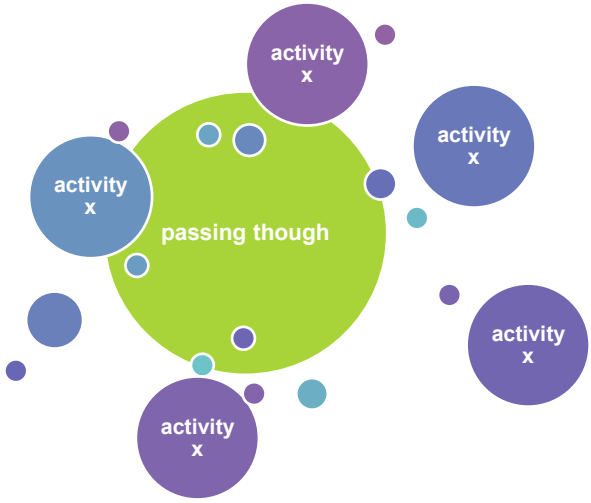


Figure 47. Passing through in relation to other (unspecified) activities in the three spaces within the Kamppi area

While in the public space literature the importance of the activity of passing though for the publicness of public space generally goes unnoticed (see Chapter 2.1), my findings from Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre suggest that passing through serves as a starting point for other activities, and it acts an invitation to come and join in the public life that is already being lived in the spaces and to do so in the way that one pleases. Moreover, passing through literary involves the mixing of users who come from all around the city, the country and elsewhere and who meet in the Kamppi area out of the same needs and, sharing the spaces there, become equal on that footage. All this furthers the idea that more active forms of engagement necessitate a critical mass of people present (Whyte, 1980; Gehl, 2011) and that public life is a 'self-reinforcing process' (Gehl, 2011, p. 73), which the activity of passing through prepares the ground for. Although findings from my primarily qualitative study cannot be used to make empirical generalisations, it can at least be suggested that passing through is highly likely to precondition other, more varied forms and higher levels of activity in the different public spaces. This probably means that the use of public space for passing through can create a necessary condition for activities to increase in their variety and intensity and, in this way, for practicing and (re)producing the publicness of public space.

As regards the activities that can directly contribute to defining and (re)producing the publicness of public space, the multiple-case study reveals various actions performed for the purpose of passive being among other people to be highly important. Observing public space users sitting and watching other people or looking at the screens of their smartphones, walking around and inspecting the space or studying window displays, and sipping coffee while leaning on a lamppost or squatting on a staircase, to mention but a few alternatives, I found out that what they were actually doing was spending their time in the presence of but at a distance from other people. Enjoying the opportunity to see others and to be seen by them, the public space users, however, preferred acting on their own. I am inclined to believe that these and a handful of other activities are but different manifestations of the same activity of passive being among other people.

On the one hand, this finding it is not very novel since it restates what many other studies have already confirmed, and that is that the publicness of public space is definable, to a large extent, by its use for meeting or mixing with strangers (Zukin, 1995; Kärrholm, 2012; García-Doménech, 2015) and becoming familiar with their presence (Young, 2010). On the other hand, my study reveals that the kind of being among other people that the users of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre desire is passive being, such as that kind that does not require coming into close contact with other people and that is desired indoors almost as much as outdoors or in a shopping mall almost as much as in a square (cf. Makagon, 2003). All of the various actions or patterns of behaviour that passive being among other people can be observed correspond to different strategies that the public space users adopt to be able to stay on their own, in private, while being in public; these strategies serve as motives for justifying one's presence and/or one's passivity in public space. Therefore, I suggest that the spaces within the Kamppi area are public not only because they are used for a wide range of activities and for meeting others and spending time *with* them, but also because the spaces serve as spaces of and for passive interaction or *collective passivity*, i.e., meeting all the different people that are there, being *among* them, enjoying them and oneself, and doing so *without* the need to succumb to any collective activities.

Having said that, I call for recognising collective passivity as an important need that public space users have and that public space, because it is public, offers them a possibility to fulfil. Public space, by its conventional definition, allows various groups of people to satisfy their needs and to do so freely (Carr et al., 1995), while collective passivity is a need fulfilling which requires the presence of strangers – the public – and the freedom to choose a form to be among them. The cases of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre show that public space creates necessary conditions not only for the need to be satisfied but also for it to arise. Based on the study, the publicness of the three spaces within the Kamppi area

can be seen as defined through and built on, among other things, the responsiveness of the spaces to the need for collective passivity (or passive being among others). Taking a step further, I argue that when the users of the spaces in question search for opportunities to be among others in a passive way, they also contribute to (re)producing those spaces as public spaces.

The process of (re)producing the publicness of public space is a process that varies across space and time and in its intensity. At first notice, this statement of mine does no more than to reiterate what previous research has put forward in relation to the dynamic nature of publicness (Tyndall, 2010). Yet, what my observations reveal is that the variety and intensity of various activities vary with the overall level of activity and number of users in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre. The publicness of the three spaces, therefore, may be seen as varying with time, but this time is more likely to be contextual rather than astronomical. This stands very much in line with Lefebvre's (1991) ideas that time is wrapped up in space, that it is social, and that it is constantly emerging as complete though various processes of production and reproduction. Discussing this in relation to the publicness of the three spaces in the Kamppi area, it can be argued that when the spaces are used for the purpose of satisfying the need for collective passivity, their publicness is revealed to have social or *situational dynamics*, implying that publicness varies with the overall level of activities. This clearly shows that the three components which I singled out as making up the dimension of activities (see Chapter 2.2.2) need to be considered in relation to one another. More importantly, the multiple-case study extends the knowledge about publicness as a dynamic social practice (Tyndall, 2010), as it puts forward an idea that because publicness is relative, the type of public space cannot be seen to imply any particular kind or degree of publicness.

Another insight that empirical evidence from the spaces within the Kamppi area yields is that even if every activity adds to the publicness of the spaces, some activities are likely to contribute more than others. While scientific literature offers different lists of activities to define public space (see Chapter 2.1), the activities that I found as working for publicness the most are the activities that have a dialectical relationship with other activities, i.e., activities that develop and exist in relation to other activities rather than apart from and regardless of them. Among these activities, there are most of the activities carried out to satisfy the need for collective passivity and many active forms of spending time. These activities vary across space and time and, as a matter of fact, a complete list of which is hardly possible to compile. The multiple-case study reveals that it is how the activity is carried out, how flexible and adaptable it is, and how much it needs other activities and people to be carried out that count much more than what that activity is. Different activities can develop dialectical relationship with other activities. If, and when, they do so (e.g., at the time

of some special events), an intricate mixture of activities, a kind of an ecology of activities or a mixed-life place, to use Francis' (2014) wording, is created, and it has the potential to (re)produce any of the three spaces within the Kamppi area as a public space. I call this intricate mixture of activities an *ecosystem of activities.*

In addition to this, the study reveals that political activity, even if it tends to be recognised as one of the most important activities for the publicness of public space (see Chapter 2.3.1), fails to make any significant contribution to the ecosystem of activities in Narinkka Square (the only of the spaces where I could observe political activity) and to the (re)production of the square as public space. The reason why this happens is that political activity does not capture the attention of public space users and, as a matter of fact, it does not intermix with the other activities present in the square and remains instead but an extra activity that adds to the range of activities undertaken in Narinkka Square. Another activity, the activity of shopping, yields a completely different insight. During various special events held in the spaces within the Kamppi area, from an activity as a network (Miller et al. 1998), shopping is likely to turn into an activity within the network of activities (or within the ecosystem of activities). Underlying this, the study calls for the need to reconsider long-standing associations between certain activities – and not only political activity and shopping – and the publicness of public space.

In a public space, the development of an ecosystem of activities is highly likely to be tied with various special events and happenings. On the grounds of qualitative and quantitative observational data about the use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, I argue that when in a public space there is something extraordinary or unusual, the mixture of various activities becomes the most complex, and dialectal relationships among activities intensify. At the time of some special events, various activities manage to combine so that each activity reinforces another and become dependent upon another, any one activity matters as much as any other, and the success of the whole system of activities guarantees the success of each activity and v.v. As I see it, planned special events and unplanned happenings that raise the complexity of activities by encouraging activities to mix in various ways and an ecosystem of activities to develop are highly important for the publicness of public space, because a high degree of complexity of activities makes it possible for a publicly usable space to be successfully practiced and (re)produced as a public space.

Most importantly, this multiple-case study underlines that the intricate mixture of activities, which I am inclined to call an ecosystem of activities, is an indicator of the publicness of public space. On the grounds of my findings, I doubt the possibility of identifying and determining certain activities as markers of publicness or as defining characteristics of public space in general or of one or another type of public space in particular. I strongly believe that public activities should not be reduced to

any one or a few activities, as some scholars tend to do putting political activity to the front (e.g., Mitchell, 2003; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006); neither should a pre-defined set of activities be singled out (e.g., Kohn, 2013). Following my findings, each publicly usable space can have a set of activities which are not only unique to that space but also to some moment in time. How much one or another activity is able to contribute to the publicness of a public space depends on the activity itself as much as on other activities undertaken in the space at the same time and on the relationship among all the activities present. Disclosing this, my study broadens the knowledge about the importance of different activities for (re)producing the publicness of public space and calls for refining the conceptual framework developed for this research (see Chapter 2.2) by recognising an ecosystem of activities as a constituent element within the dimension of activities. In addition to all this, it draws attention to the fact that physical characteristics, legal ownership and/or the type of public space are insufficient to rely upon in an attempt to determine the set of activities specifically important for the publicness of public space, and that there is a lot of room for new research to find out what else is to be considered to make it sufficient.

One point that the multiple-case study has already disclosed is that although it is legally private, the shopping mall can serve as any other public space, i.e., for meeting other people and interacting with them (Lloyd & Auld, 2003; Edwards, 2006). Special events held in Kamppi Shopping Centre show a tendency to diversify the activities undertaken there and invite the users of the mall to engage in common activities and to act as part of the public rather than as individuals going about their deeds in public. Furthermore, opening the space to a public event, the mall manages to shift the focus from retail activity to the activities that the event encourages to develop. Thus, highly comparable use of Narinkka Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre at the time of special events can be used as an argument to refute the charges that the shopping mall represents a space of contrived publicness (see Chapter 2.3.1) and to support my proposition made earlier, and this is that the publicness of the shopping mall, like any other publicly usable space, is in constant transition since it is practiced and (re)produced though its use as public space.

Three main findings about the use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre for sheltering and various activities necessary to survive can be singled out and discussed in relation to the publicness of the spaces, how it is practiced and (re)produced. The first is that in the three spaces studied, the aforementioned activities usually coexist without infringing other activities and requiring for compromises. What I could observe in the Kamppi area was a mutual respect among different user groups and among public space users and public space owners (or managers) for each other's choices and preferences. In the light of these findings, the publicness of public space is revealed to be practicable and

(re)producible in a peaceful manner and does not necessarily imply any conflict over use, as it tends to be argued in some scientific literature (e.g., Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009; Kohn, 2013). Furthermore, since all three of the spaces within the Kamppi area appear to be equally open and inclusive as far as the activity of sheltering and other activities necessary to survive are concerned, it can be argued that public spaces of different types can be equally public on these terms.

As for the second finding, while the squares are more often used for sheltering, the shopping mall is more often used for many other activities necessary for people to survive. Revealing that it is namely in the shopping mall where the disadvantaged groups of users searching for returnable bottles and cans can be seen more often than elsewhere in the Kamppi area, my study refutes such ideas that the mall is for a limited group of people (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006) or for activities that do not threaten profit-related goals (Korngold, 2017). Compared to the two squares, the shopping mall offers many more facilities (such as restrooms, sockets for charging their devices and a baby care room), making it possible for the users of the space to carry out some activities which can hardly be carried out in the public spaces outside. Moreover, Kamppi Shopping Centre works to the advantage of those users of the Kamppi area who look for opportunities to shelter outside, either in Narinkka Square or Tennispalatsi Square, but who need the facilities that the mall offers while the squares lack. Facilities available in the mall allow the users of the squares to prolong their time spent outside, to diversify their activities, and to make their stays in general more pleasant and more desirable. If publicness is defined through the range of necessary activities and responsiveness to users' pressing needs, Kamppi Shopping Centre can actually be seen to perform no less good, or even better, than Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square. This probably means that instead of posing a threat to more traditional types of public space, as some scholars believe (e.g., Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006; Carmona, 2010b; Korngold, 2017), the shopping mall deserves credit for making its contribution to the level of activity in the squares and for leaving a positive effect on their publicness. Thus, the study I conducted illustrates that the shopping mall may also work to the advantage of the more traditional public spaces if there is willingness for such cooperation from both sides.

Third and finally, the study underlines the interdependence of public spaces located adjacent to one another at least as far as the carrying out of certain activities is concerned. For example, observational evidence shows that most of the people who come to the Kamppi area searching for opportunities to shelter usually become users of more than one space within the area, and that some forms of sheltering are desirable and possible to practice in one public space only because it is located in the near vicinity to another (or other) space(s). This intertwining of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre in relation to the use of the spaces for the purpose of sheltering, but also for many other activities, implies their

partial dependence on each other for their publicness. Disclosing this, the study broadens the knowledge about the network of public space (Jankovič Grobelšek, 2012) and highlights the importance of considering public spaces in relation to other spaces (Németh & Schmidt, 2011) and to each other's publicness.

Summarising all the activities that were identified as in one or another way contributing to the publicness of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, it shall be stated that no one activity is particularly critical. As I suggested earlier, it is the variety of activities, their complexity and the overall level of activity that define and (re)produce the publicness of public space (see Chapter 2.2). Based on the findings from my multiple-case study, the publicness of each of the three spaces within the Kamppi area is defined and most successfully (re)produced by the intricate mixture of activities, which given certain conditions becomes highly complex and turns into a kind of an ecosystem of activities. While the activity of passing though is the point for the system to set itself up (and sometimes a catalyst to keep running) all of the other less and more passive activities and all of the activities carried out of less and more pressing needs matter equally. This is so because how the activity is related to other activities, how it interacts and intertwines with them, and how flexible and adaptable it is are most important for the smooth operation of the complex ecosystem of activities. The system is dynamic and highly situational: the more complex it becomes and the smoother it operates, the more noticeable and desirable the publicness of a public space can be (re)produced. This shall only be associated with the quality of publicness and not linked to its quantity.

5.2 Contribution of various user groups to the publicness of public space

The next to be discussed is the variety of the groups of users that carry out all the activities in public space, focusing on the output of this variety and each particular group of users to the publicness of public space (my research question no. 2). This is crucial to do because the presence of a variety of user groups has widely been recognised as a defining feature of public space (see Chapter 2.1) and, as a matter of fact, I recognised it as one of the three dimensions of publicness (see Chapter 2.2). My multiple-case study has revealed that at least fourteen different groups of users are involved in the activities performed in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre. What this shows is that all the spaces within the Kamppi area are widely accessible and that they manage to attract users with different aspirations and interests and serve their different needs equally well. Although it is important for understanding the publicness of the spaces studied, this finding from my study is hardly novel. As a matter of fact, special attention shall be

devoted to another finding and that is that the same fourteen groups of users visit Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre and carry out various activities, revealing that the variety of user groups across three different spaces is highly comparable. With this finding, I challenge the claims that the shopping mall tends to exclude certain user groups or to be more discriminating as compared to the more traditional types of public space (e.g., Goss, 1993; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006). On the contrary, the cases in the Kamppi area afford an insight that different spaces that are open for public use may be equally public in terms of the variety of users, and their publicness is possible to be defined and (re)produced by the same actors.

The results obtained from the study conducted in the three spaces within the Kamppi area interestingly disclose that while the same fourteen user groups use each public space, their distribution across the spaces varies. Although the most even distribution of user groups was detected in Narinkka Square, some of the more sensitive groups, such as children, elderly people and mothers and fathers with babies in prams, were found to prefer Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre over Narinkka Square. This is especially important to pay attention to when evaluating the contribution that the variety of user groups in general and each different user group in particular makes to the publicness of public space. As I discussed earlier, much of the public space literature speaks about the overall accessibility of public space and highlight the importance of public space for various sensitive groups (Mitchell, 2003; Loukaitou-Siders & Ehrenfeucht, 2009; Pineda, 2022). Consequently, the relatively low proportion of some sensitive user groups in Narinkka Square can be seen to somewhat undermine what the otherwise quite even distribution of user groups among total users could achieve in (or when) defining and (re)producing the publicness of this public square. At the same time, the less even distribution of user groups among all the users of Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre becomes less significant for the publicness of either space, since in those two spaces some of the more sensitive user groups are represented better than in Narinkka Square. Therefore, I suggest that when it comes to the variety of users as an indicator of publicness, even distribution of different user groups among total users shall be weighed against the proportion of users from those user groups that for one or another reason can be treated as sensitive.

In addition to this, my findings about the higher proportion of some sensitive groups in two privately-owned public spaces stand in line to the proposition that commercial spaces, such as the shopping mall, might be received as more liberating by certain sensitive groups (Listerborn, 2005), and they also broaden the knowledge about the accessibility of those spaces to the public (see e.g., Robbins, 2008; Chiodelli & Moroni, 2015). The study is likely to suggest that as in the spaces within the Kamppi area, private actors involved in the ownership and/or management of

publicly usable spaces can contribute to, among other things, their quality and safety (Carr et al., 1995) rather than make them less accessible, as some theorists tend to believe (see Chapter 2.4.1). On the ground of this insight from my study, I call for more research on the accessibility of different types of public space to different user groups and on various user groups' contribution to the (re)production of the publicness of public space.

When it comes to the process of (re)producing a publicly usable space as a public space, it can be traced through the actual use of that space by various user groups and their interactions. Although according to scientific literature public space owners and managers hold the idea that the presence of some groups in public space may discourage some other groups from using the same space (e.g., Mitchell, 2003; Whyte, 2009), my study affords an insight that the presence of different user groups works in support of, even as a catalyst for, user variety. Based on empirical evidence from the three spaces within the Kamppi area, it appears that the variety of user groups can develop organically rather than forcefully or in a conflict, i.e., it can be an outcome of public space users' desire for and interest in it, and it can stimulate itself. A *self-stimulating variety* does not only define the publicness of public space, but is highly productive. This probably means that in the conceptual framework that I developed for studying and understanding the publicness of public space (see Chapter 2.2.2), self-stimulating variety of user groups is worth to be added as a component element to the dimension of users.

Varying distribution of user groups across time and space naturally brings about variations in the range of activities, and as those two dimensions of publicness vary, so does the publicness of public space. Studying the use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, I found out that while the largest user groups, namely ordinary people and students, and a few other user groups follow similar patterns of using the three spaces, many smaller groups approach the spaces somewhat differently. As the differences in the range of activities are least pronounced among the users of Narinkka Square, each user group can be said to practice the publicness of the square in question almost like any other user group and, in this way, contribute to it equally well and in a comparable way. On the one hand, appearing as the most democratic and best received public space for whatever one feels like doing, Narinkka Square may be seen to come close to the public space ideal, or at least to the more traditional ways of conceiving public space and the users and activities it is expected to be open for. On the other hand, one cannot overlook the fact that the more sensitive groups of people, such as the elderly, mothers and fathers with prams, women and users of other gender are more likely to prefer the other two spaces, especially the shopping mall, over Narinkka Square. It is in Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre where the groups primarily

choose to practice the publicness of public space and where they can contribute more to the (re)production of those two spaces as public spaces.

What all this appears to reveal is that while the publicness of Narinkka Square is primarily (re)produced by a more equal distribution of various user groups, the publicness of Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre mostly benefits from their comparably more intensive use by more sensitive (and smaller) user groups, who either show a greater general interest in using one or the other of the two spaces or visit the spaces for the purpose of carrying out certain activities. It is a fact that variations in the use of different public spaces can not only define, but also (re)produce a different kind of publicness in each space. Yet, as long as all user groups are granted the same rights over the use of a public space and can enjoy the space equally well (see Carr et al., 1995; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009), I consider these differences as qualitative rather than quantitative, i.e., as differences in the kind or character of publicness, not in the degree of excellence. Different kind of publicness does not necessarily imply that publicness is lower or higher in degree, whereby attempts to grade different types of public space by the degree of their publicness (see e.g., Nissen, 2008) shall better be replaced by attempts to name their defining features. As I see it, describing the publicness of public space in the contemporary city implies answering a question *how* public rather than *how much* public. Thus, the multiple-case study that I conducted in the Kamppi area of Helsinki contributes to, among other things, the understanding of variations in the publicness of public space and provides a real-life example of qualitative variations across different publicly usable spaces in the contemporary city.

It is noteworthy that any differences in the publicness of different public spaces (as well as in one and the same public space at different times) that are associated with different use of the spaces by some user groups should be assessed with great care. For instance, on the one hand, office people's interest in using Kamppi Shopping Centre and workers near absence from the space in question or disadvantaged groups' less varied use of the mall as compared to Narinkka Square can be seen to give support to the idea that it is those who are able and ready to spend who use privatised and retailised spaces (Lloyd & Auld, 2003; Voyce, 2006). On the other hand, this can show that different spaces are naturally used for different purposes (Chiodelli & Moroni, 2015) and that each public space cannot perform well on all aspects (Németh & Schmidt, 2011). It must be recognised that it is only in the shopping mall that the group of office people can satisfy their special need to meet their clients or partners and hold business meetings, for neither of the squares can offer an opportunity to do that simply because they are outdoor spaces. Similarly, certain activities that workers and disadvantaged groups of users wish to undertake require an outdoor space. In support of the argument, it shall be noted that the shopping mall is also preferred over the squares for carrying out some certain

activities that are necessary for people to survive, and some representatives of disadvantaged user groups are never noticed in Narinkka Square, but they are regular users of Kamppi Shopping Centre and/or Tennispalatsi Square. As a matter of fact, the study underlines that even if some user groups use the three spaces in the Kamppi area differently, this shall not be attributed to either privatisation or retailisation (or any other change) that public space in the contemporary city is often associated with (see Chapter 2.4). Users do not necessarily act as they are expected to (Miller, 2014); they suggest their own ways of using the spaces. When public space users undertake different activities in different public spaces or in the same space at different times, they practice publicness differently and, by doing so, define it and contribute to it in a unique way.

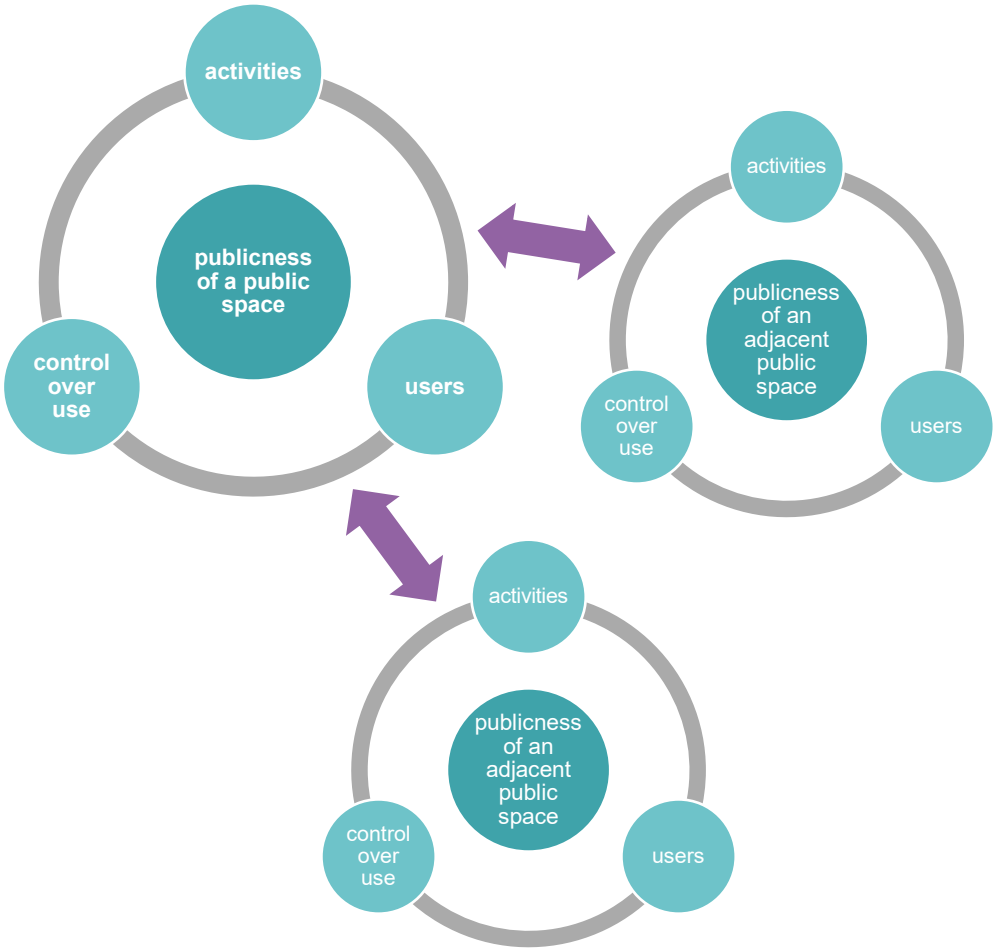


Figure 48. Advanced version of the conceptual framework for studying the publicness of public space

Another finding that is important to highlight is that spreading out their various activities across Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, some user groups make the three spaces work alongside and in support of one another. In this way they can make each space within the Kamppi area serve their needs better and/or help them in satisfying their aspirations more successfully. Purposeful distribution of activities across the spaces within the Kamppi area is likely to suggest that geographically close and functionally intertwined publicly usable spaces, as they depend on each other at least for serving some user groups, are interrelated and interdependent in their publicness. This makes any differences in the publicness of each one space relatively insignificant and highlights the need to consider the publicness of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre not only on their own, but also in relation to one another. Having said that, I follow Tyndall (2010) in his proposition that publicness is a practice that users take across the city and its spaces. As I see it, at least for some user groups, adjacent located public spaces work as a network of spaces, whereby their publicness becomes interrelated and can be conceptualised as *complementary publicness*. The multiple-case study conducted in the Kamppi area thus contributes to the existing knowledge about the network of public space (Jankovič Grobelšek, 2012) by offering a new concept for understanding manifestations of such a networking in the contemporary city. This also reveals the potential for advancing the conceptual framework developed for this research by recognising interdependencies between the publicness of a public space and the publicness of public spaces that are adjacent to it (see Figure 48).

Finally, the multiple-case study highlights the leading role of activities in defining and (re)producing the publicness of public space, even if the conceptual framework suggests treating all three dimensions of publicness on equal terms. As my findings show, the variety of user groups, although it is highly important as a sign or a characteristic of the publicness of a public space (e.g., Madanipour, 2004; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009), it is not productive, and it contributes to the production and (re)production of the publicness of public space not more than indirectly. Given unrestricted access, the three spaces in the Kamppi area attract an exciting variety of users groups, which bring to the spaces their interests, needs and conduct. Yet, it is only when those different user groups undertake – or get engaged in – some activities that they contribute to the (re)production of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre as public spaces. Offering context-specific knowledge, the study conducted in the Kamppi area cannot redefine the concept of publicness; even so, demonstrating that publicness can be primarily *activity-based* it manages to put the concept to question and to initiate a call for more attempts to reconsider it.

5.3 Control over the publicness of public space by controlling use

This third and final sub-chapter is primarily dedicated to discussing how various factors, such as design, facilities and signage, that were found to control the use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre manage to affect the publicness of the spaces (my research question no. 3). While the previous two sub-chapters mainly discuss findings about the actual use of the three spaces in relation to their publicness, the discussion below focuses on both possibilities for using the spaces and the actual practices of using them.

The first insight to be made concerns the inside/outside location of public space. Although the public space literature shows a tendency to overlook it, and very few publications pay any regard to it (e.g., Whyte, 1980, 2009; Gehl, 2010, 2011), I have found location to be a major factor affecting the use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre. The results that I obtained from my multiple-case study show that bright sun can intensify and diversify the range of activities in the squares, while heavy rain outside can affect the range and level of activities and the distribution of user groups in the shopping mall more positively than any design solution, organisational matter or contextual condition. As both the range and the level of activities are components of activities when it is considered as a dimension of publicness (see Chapter 2.2.2), this probably means that the inside location of the shopping mall can create better opportunities for the shopping mall to be reproduced as public space than the outside location of the squares can create for either of the two squares.

At the same time, when they depend on their location inside or outside for the level of activity, the outdoor squares and the indoor shopping mall depend upon one another. The interdependence has been detected to be as follows: Kamppi Shopping Centre accommodates the users of Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square when the weather gets intolerable, while the open squares cater for the users of the shopping mall on sunny days. This, again, reveals that in the contemporary city, various public spaces work as a network of public space (Jankovič Grobelšek, 2012), and supplements the existing knowledge by showing that the networking is based on fair barter transactions, where adjacent public spaces have something to offer to each other for the benefit of each other's publicness as well as for the publicness of the whole area. In addition, my findings about the controlling power of the indoor/outdoor location of a public space and the interaction (or networking) among adjacent public spaces are important in building an understanding of the dynamics of publicness (Tyndall, 2010). To specify, my study shows that the publicness of a public space can vary not only with time and user activity, but also with contextual conditions that do not depend on the users or the owners/managers of that space. Based on these findings, I argue that the publicness of public space is dependent on

more factors than the public space literature tends to recognise (see Chapter 2.1) or than I initially assumed (see Chapter 2.2) and confirm the validity of my suggestion to study the publicness of anyone public space paying regard to the publicness of adjacent public spaces.

The next to be discussed are various design solutions adopted in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre to create good opportunities for some activities, primarily movement, and encourage some particular user groups to come and use the spaces. To begin with, the three spaces in question demonstrate profound differences in their spatial arrangements and the kind of effect they manage to exert on their use. What this means in relation to publicness is that in each space, publicness can be practiced and (re)produced not like in the other two spaces. In Narinkka Square, where users can not only choose a route, but also produce one for themselves, there is a great measure of freedom for practicing publicness and (re)producing the square as public space. As regards Tennispalatsi Square, predefining certain routes for movement but offering a number of seating options and leaving a possibility to take short cuts, the square is able to reconcile different activities and improve their variety, generating opportunities for its publicness to be practiced and (re)produced through a variety of options. Finally, Kamppi Shopping Centre, as it brings free movement into sharp focus and leaves the opportunities for undertaking many other activities more or less unrecognised, can be said to hardly facilitate its publicness to be (re)produced by means of spatial arrangements. This probably means that even if free movement is the most basic of all the activities because it preconditions other activities and encourages public life (Carmona et al., 2003), favourable conditions created for movement can contribute to the publicness of public space only when they do not entail precluding other activities. Therefore, I am inclined to believe that the freedom with which users can not only freely move through a public space but also carry out various activities are equally important in enabling them to satisfy their needs and claim the space to be their own, i.e., to practice publicness and (re)produce a public space.

As for the design of seating, it is widely believed to be an indicator of an attempt to exercise control through street furniture over how public space is supposed to be used (see e.g., Atkinson, 2003; Whyte, 2009). My study extends this knowledge by revealing that seating options may be as clearly reflected in the possibilities for carrying out activities in a sitting position as in the possibilities for any other activities and the actual use of public space. In particular, Narinkka Square, which relies on integral seating, attracts proportionally less sitters and, as a matter of fact, less people watchers than Tennispalatsi Square, where abundance of seating options are available. Despite this fact, it is in Narinkka Square where activities are more likely to mix in intricate ways and develop into a complex system of activities, since a lot of open space allows for creativity and freedom of use. What all this means in

relation to the publicness of the two squares is that in both cases the design of seating exerts a profound influence on the possible and actual use of the spaces, but in neither case that influence can be recognised as more or less advantageous or powerful. This is so because the squares are comparable in the range of activities, even if activities within the range somewhat vary. The cases of Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square shall be seen to illustrate that although they differ considerably in their design, public spaces can create equally good opportunities for practicing their publicness and (re)producing it through use.

Special attention needs to be paid to Kamppi Shopping Centre, since the mall was found to stand in a sharp contrast to the squares as far as seating options and their power to affect the use of the space are concerned. The study shows that the lack of proper seating and sittable ledges in the shopping mall discourages certain activities, such as longer staying inside, waiting for a trip or eating one's food during a lunch break, and sometimes even hampers the activity of shopping. Thus, contrary to the popular charges of the shopping mall with using design to keep its users moving and to sustain consumption (Goss, 1993) or to discourage some certain user groups from using the space (Whyte, 2009), Kamppi Shopping Centre is revealed to be over-concerned about facilitating free movement. Even so, this does not undermine the facts that the space of the mall discourages those activities that requires a sitting position, and that it might appear hostile to those users who are in need to take a seat. This affords an insight that while different in the design but not the amount of sittable space, the squares are different in their kind of publicness, with almost no free seating available, the shopping mall is different from the squares in both its kind and its degree of publicness. Underlining the relationship between the design of public space, the possible use and the actual use of public space, and the kind and degree of publicness, this study contributes to the existing body of knowledge about the linkage between urban design and use, or social and cultural aspects (e.g., Carmona et al., 2003; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 2014). Before discussing other means of control over use, it is important to note that it is quite unusual for my study to reveal variation in the degree of publicness among the three spaces within the Kamppi area.

When it comes to facilities offered in public space, the study again points towards limitations of the simple understanding of the shopping mall as a space of contrived publicness (see Chapter 2.3.1). Although there is a tendency for the critics of the shopping mall to consider the provision of facilities as a tactical manoeuvre rather than as an honest intention to serve for the users' needs (e.g., Goss, 1993), I have found the range and kind of facilities offered in Kamppi Shopping Centre to be in no way different from what they would be in another indoor public space. As I see it, the facilities offered in the shopping mall represents an adequate consideration to the principal users' needs. The city-owned Narinkka Square, on the other hand, provides

almost no facilities, and it even fails to provide the basic ones, such as public toilets, which makes the users of the square rely on Kamppi Shopping Centre for satisfying some of their basic needs. As a matter of fact, this can be seen to suggest that private investment may contribute to keeping up the comfort and quality of public space (Carr et al., 1995; Duivenvoorden et al., 2021), in this way also creating better and more ample opportunities for satisfying the need to be among other people.

Taking a step further I also suggest that instead of the abundance of public facilities made available in the shopping mall, it is the absence of facilities in the squares that is to be problematised. In scientific literature it has already been argued that lacking necessary facilities public space does not appeal to its users and stays underused (Madanipour, 2003), and that poorly managed and/or designed public space compromises possibilities of using it (Carmona et al., 2003; Carmona 2010a; 2010b). The cases of Narinkka Square and Tennispalatsi Square serve as examples of how insufficient consideration given to some of the basic users' needs may work to deter some user groups and activities and pose an obstacle to practicing and (re)producing the publicness of the squares. They also showcase that the publicness of public space can rest upon, among other things, the range of facilities available, since this enables public space users to act more freely.

One more illuminating insight that the multiple-case study affords is that public spaces located adjacent to one another tend to work in cooperation to serve their users' needs. This cooperation becomes especially visible when either design solutions or facilities offered in one public space do not please its users or fail to satisfy some of their needs, while an adjacent public space manages to respond to their needs and, in this way, helps to overcome the limitations of the other space. For instance, when they do not find food in Narinkka Square, the users of the square relocate to Kamppi Shopping Centre to get it, while the users of the shopping mall who do not want to eat their take-away food in motion go outside to one of the squares and take a seat. What I find in the Kamppi area is a network of public spaces, where three spaces are spatially and functionally interrelated and depends for their possible and actual use – and their publicness – upon one another (see also Chapter 5.1.). Pointing this out, this multiple-case study puts to question the idea that commercial spaces benefit from carefully designed public spaces (Kunzmann, 2014) and instead suggests that when public spaces serve for each other users' needs they do not necessarily compete for users or for status. In addition, it extends the knowledge about how control that is exercised over possibilities for using a public space may affect the actual practices of using that space.

Besides location, design and facilities, possibilities for using public spaces may be controlled with the help of various objects (such as doors, fences and flowerpots) that can work as barriers and that can physically obstruct access to a public space or to some of its parts. In the spaces within the Kamppi area, this becomes especially

pronounced at the time of some events, when fences or other kinds of barriers are placed in Narinkka Square to separate the area reserved for an event from the rest of the square. Although unintentionally, the barriers do more than define the use of the demarcated area – they affect most of the activities undertaken in the square either by making it difficult or unpleasant to undertake them of by displacing them. What this means in relation to the publicness of Narinkka Square is that it does not only change in its kind or quality but also in its degree, which obviously becomes lower. The case of Narinkka Square, thus, serves as an example to showcase that having one or a few activities dominating a public square for a few consecutive days can have severe effects on its publicness. In addition, my study contributes to the academic debate on the exclusionary practices that various public spaces of the contemporary city have recently been seen to follow as a result of privatisation and other changes (see Chapter 2.4.1). Based on my findings from the spaces within the Kamppi area, I argue that what matters more than the source or means of control is the effect that the attempts to curb access or control the use of a public space produce on the actual use of that space.

Contrary to the popular notion about the limited accessibility of the shopping mall as a space of contrived publicness (see Chapter 2.3.1), Kamppi Shopping Centre is revealed to make attempts to improve possibilities for accessing it. This remark is primarily grounded in the empirical evidence on the carefully designed and numerous entrances to the shopping mall. This, however, is somewhat devalued by the fact that different entrances have different opening hours, and some levels (floors) or their parts are closed significantly longer than others, making the amount of space that the shopping mall makes available for public use vary with the time of the day. What does remain publicly accessible at all times can be used in no different way, which is contrary to what is observed in Narinkka Square when certain parts are fenced for special events. This just shows that public space of any type can be exclusionary (Edwards, 2006; Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009) and that privately-owned spaces might be less restrictive and more open (Robbins, 2008). As a matter of fact, I suggest that the publicness of public spaces within the contemporary city shall not be associated with the source of ownership.

In the discussion on various means of control over use, two insights shall be made about the impact of signage on the publicness of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre. First, by openly disclosing the facilities and opportunities available and helping the users of Kamppi Shopping Centre to orient better when inside, the use of signs make the shopping mall more (rather than less) accessible and offer more freedom for using it. In addition, signs giving information assist the users of the Kamppi area in finding the squares located outside and contribute to the networking of the three spaces within the area in question. This probably means that signs might have a positive effect not only on the

publicness of the shopping mall, but also the publicness of the whole area. Second, prohibition signs are likely to have an apparent negative effect on the publicness of Tennispalatsi Square only, as the activities that are prohibited are essentially outdoor activities that need open space, and that the square is well-suited for. In Kamppi Shopping Centre, on the other hand, prohibition signs do not have a comparably negative effect since they forbid activities which might be dangerous if carried inside. What this suggests is that the effects of the same means of control over use (prohibition signs in this case) varies across public spaces, contributing in this way to variations in the publicness of public space within the contemporary city. This also shows that when it comes to control over use as a dimension of publicness, all the various elements that it is composed of must be considered in relation to other elements of the same dimension, the other two dimensions of publicness and even the publicness of adjacent public spaces.

Findings about other organisational means, namely surveillance cameras and manpower, forward the proposition made earlier, and this is that there is a need to refrain from associating certain means of control over use with certain types of public space and instead study each case without cliches. Even if privately-owned public spaces tend to be charged with increased security concerns (see Chapter 2.4.1) and other studies have found such spaces to be more likely to utilise surveillance cameras to control use (e.g., Németh & Schmidt, 2011), I found no direct relationship between the ownership of the spaces within the Kamppi area and the use of surveillance devices.

Based on my findings, it is the physical characteristics of spaces and the purposes the spaces and/or their various spots are used for that appear to be most critical in judging the siting and number of devices used to ensure safety. Therefore, I stand in line with those who recognise that although private ownership implies the right to control how the space is used and entails the pursue of the owner's interests, they do not by default work against other interests or the interests of the others (Chiodelli & Moroni, 2015). This is not to This is not to suggest that having significantly more surveillance cameras Kamppi Shopping Centre opens up to a wider variety of user groups as compared to the squares; nor is this to argue that privately-owned spaces generally tend to be more public (see Robbins, 2008). What my study highlights is that the use of surveillance cameras does not necessarily relate to the attempts to limit the diversity of users or the range of activities.

As for the manpower, my study shows that neither the presence nor actions taken by police officers or security guards work in any observable way to have a more significant influence on the use of the spaces within the Kamppi area. In fact, security guards supervising Kamppi Shopping Centre and Tennispalatsi Square and policemen patrolling in Narinkka Square can be argued to serve as extra "eyes on the street", to use Jacobs (1961, p. 35) words. As I see it, policemen and security

guards stand in support of the mechanism of social control, with the only difference being that unlike public space users, they do it purposefully and get paid for their supervisory work. In relation to the publicness of public space, this kind of supervision is likely to mean that users are free to practice and (re)produce the publicness of public space as they please provided that they respect other users' right to do the same. Revealing that control exercised by manpower can serve as social control and for social control, my multiple-case study contradicts the idea that in the contemporary city negotiations over the use of public space are no longer conducted by public space users themselves and tends to be overtaken by other people (Madanipour, 2003; Mitchell, 2003). This also suggests a new approach to understanding control over the use of public space exercised by manpower.

To sum up, inside or outside location, design solutions, facilities and various management practices taken are all able to exert their effect on the possible and actual use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre. As regards the more powerful means of control, spatial arrangement and seating options are especially effective in defining the range of possible activities, while the narrow range of facilities and various barriers and fences prove to work well in limiting the space available for use and obscuring possibilities for activities to intermix. Other means of control over use either have insignificant effect on the use of the three spaces within the Kamppi area, or they affect them in a positive way, improving rather than limiting possibilities of use. The multiple-case study thus discloses that although the effect of each means of control – its kind and degree – varies from space to space within the Kamppi area, in all the spaces this directly concerns certain activities only. As for the user groups, their variety and distribution are in no observable way controlled and might be affected only if the activities they are particularly interested in undertaking are encumbered or prohibited. Based on all this, I argue that control exercised over the use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping results in somewhat different possibilities over the use of each space and the actual practices of using the spaces, in this way contributing to variations in their publicness. This, again, is variation in the kind and not in the degree of publicness.

6 Conclusions

The aim of this dissertation was to build an understanding of what the publicness of public space implies and of how it is practiced and (re)produced in different public spaces of the contemporary city. To achieve the aim, I conducted a multiple-case study and investigated the publicness of three public spaces in the Kamppi area of Helsinki, Finland by scrutinising and comparing their possible and actual use. In particular, I studied a city-owned outdoor Narinkka Square, a privately-owned outdoor Tennispalatsi Square and an indoor shopping mall known under the name Kamppi Shopping Centre. My study involved exploring the physical characteristics of the spaces, observing activities that different user groups carry out in the spaces, and talking to informants (people whose work is related to the spaces) about the use of the spaces. The fieldwork rendered extensive qualitative and quantitative data about activities, users and control over use of each of the three spaces that I conceived as public spaces and studied as cases. All the sets of data were thoroughly and systematically analysed using a conceptual framework (see Chapter 2.2) built for the purpose of this research and grounded in the notion that the publicness of public space is the extent to which it (1) yields equally well to all groups of users for various activities, (2) is used in different ways and by different groups of users, and (3) can be (re)produced through use chosen by public space users. In what follows below, there are the key insights from my multiple-case study.

One of the major insights that the study affords is that the publicness of public space is primarily defined by the activities that public space users carry out. Activities – their kind, range, level, complexity and interdependencies – reflect what possibilities public space opens up, how attractive and functional different user groups find the space to be, and how much the space yields for changes and adaptations introduced by its users. As the cases of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre show, it is when all the various activities are carried out that possibilities of using public space are revealed and acquire meaning, the publicness of public space is practiced and (re)produced, and publicly a usable space actually becomes public. Because the publicness of public space is largely activity-based, different public spaces may be highly comparable in their publicness given that they are used in a comparable way. Unfortunately, the productive role of

activities tends to be overlooked in much of the public space literature, reducing publicness to a simple characteristic that contemporary city spaces either have or not. The study reveals that publicness is not a characteristic, and it is not static: it varies with activities, which are somewhat different at anyone moment and different not only across different public spaces but also within each one public space. As a matter of fact, the dynamics of publicness shall be considered as situational.

Another important insight is that the publicness of public space may vary in its kind without varying in its degree. This is explainable by the fact that even if activities vary across space(s) and time, they do not necessarily vary in their number and intensity or in how they interact and combine into a system of activities. As every single activity has a contribution to make to the publicness of public space in the contemporary city, what activities are carried out in each case and how intensive each activity is does not matter much as long as the actions contribute to the intricate mixture of activities and produce a kind of a system of activities that in its complexity and interlinks resembles an ecosystem. Therefore, the study of the use of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre calls for recognition that, while being different in many of their characteristics, publicly usable spaces may be equally public provided that the system of activities that is created in each space from all the activities carried out there is comparably complex and intricate.

When it comes to the activities that tend to be performed in public space, they may be highly comparable across public spaces located adjacent to one another despite that the spaces differ in their physical characteristics and legal ownership. For instance, what public space users look for in the spaces within the Kamppi area primarily includes passive being among other people, sheltering, and satisfying various pressing needs. The dominant activity, and the activity that serves as the starting point for many other activities and as a magnet for more intensive use of the spaces, is passing through. Sitting and drinking coffee, standing and watching people passing by, moving back and forth and doing nothing in particular are some of the many forms of passive being that passers-by attract simply by moving through the spaces and creating the conditions for being among others while staying at a distance from them. Looking at Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre, it appears that in the contemporary city, public space is a space of and for collective passivity rather than for collective activity and a space to shelter and satisfy some pressing human needs. These are the activities through which the publicness of public space is commonly practiced, and this, I suggest, needs to be minded when planning and designing public spaces in the contemporary city.

However, it is noteworthy that no one activity or a set of activities can be appraised as more critical than any other to the publicness of public space, even if differences in activities affect variations in publicness across public spaces. What is of particular importance is how the activity combines with other activities and how

much it contributes to the ecosystem of activities that is created out of all of the activities. While each one activity contributes to publicness by defining and (re)producing it, the activities that manage to develop more complex ties with other activities (i.e., to attract other activities, to encourage other activities to develop, to keep other activities up or to split up into other activities) raise the degree of publicness. Such quantitative input of some activities into the publicness of public space is explainable by the fact that they do not merely add to the number of activities present, but also make the (eco)system of activities more complex. By this point, the study suggests a new perspective for looking at the activities that define and (re)produce the publicness of public space in the contemporary city and helps to build an understanding of the processes in which that is done.

Activities, in general and as a dimension of publicness, are highly related to the variety of groups who use public space. The cases of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre yield an insight that the wider the variety of user groups is present in a public space, the broader the range of activities is likely to develop, and the more complicated their intermixture is likely to become. Yet, meeting different user groups' needs and wishes and doing so without discriminating between them or demanding compromises, the space only prepares the ground for practicing and (re)producing its publicness. As the publicness of public space is primarily activity-based, the variety of user groups shall be seen as indicative and conditional to publicness, and it is to be treated as a dimension of publicness inasmuch as it is (re)productive and has an influence over attracting, encouraging, developing and sustaining a variety of activities in public space. Pointing this out, the study suggests relocating the focus traditionally placed on the mere accessibility of public space to different user groups onto the actual use of public space by different user groups and for satisfying their different needs.

One more remark needs to be made in relation to the findings about users as a dimension of publicness: the diversity of user groups can work in support of more diversity among public space users rather than to the disadvantage of it. My study revealed that instead of claiming public space for themselves or demanding their rights over its use, public space users show a tendency to prioritise the needs of others, thereby ensuring that all the people who they share a space with would help them sustain their own activities. It is largely due to this respect for other users' needs, aspirations and choices that a variety of activities becomes possible and activities can intermix, developing into an ecosystem of activities and (re)producing a space open for public use as a public space. Showcasing that regardless of the type of public space, publicness can benefit from mutual respect and cooperation and is possible to be practiced and (re)produced in peace, the study puts to question the long-standing notion that contestations over the use of public space are productive and raises a doubt over the idea that it is in privatised public space where these

conflicts are absent because they are prevented. As I see it, the publicness that is produced out of respect *for* the public rather than a demand for respect *from* the public is more genuine, and it can characterise any public space regardless of its type. Claiming this I introduce a relatively new way to approach the processes of and the forces behind the (re)production of the publicness of public space.

Another contribution that the study makes is that it broadens the knowledge about interactions and interdependencies between different public spaces of the contemporary city. The cases of Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre clearly illustrate that when the design of adjacent public spaces allows users and activities to move between the spaces easily, certain user groups tend to distribute their activities and certain activities tend to spread out across the spaces. Interacting in this way, adjacent located spaces complement to each other's publicness. Although more research is needed to identify and describe various forms of interactions between different public spaces of the contemporary city, based on the findings from the Kamppi area, I introduce the concept of complementary publicness and suggest that because it is practiced across public spaces, the publicness of any one space shall be conceived not only through its actual and possible use, but also in relation to the use of public spaces that are located adjacent. As a matter of fact, understanding and evaluating the publicness of any public space requires a scrutiny; publicness cannot be judged from the type that the space represents, as each space is unique in its publicness. This points to a need to rethink and redefine the concepts of public space and publicness in general and in relation to the contemporary city.

Variations in publicness across different public spaces and within one and the same public space are largely conditioned by variations in control over use. Yet, privatisation, as well as other changes that have recently affected the public space of the contemporary city, should not be associated with that. The source of ownership and/or management is hardly as influential as is traditionally argued, and it cannot say much about the possible or actual use of public space. Findings from the study of the three spaces within the Kamppi area provide an insight that the owners and/or managers do not necessarily exercise their right to control use or instead they exercise it differently under different conditions and differently in the different spaces they own and/or manage. What is more, their intentions do not always correspond to the practices of control while the practices do not necessarily reach the desired goals and might even have a reverse effect. This suggesting, the study puts to question the prevailing trend to link publicness to the matters of ownership, and it points to the need to rethink the legal owners' role in determining the use of public space and affecting how the publicness of public space can be and is practiced and (re)produced.

What is evident as regards control over use is that when it is intended rather than contextually determined, it is mostly practiced through various design solutions (including spatial arrangements and seating) and with the aim to encourage or to facilitate some particular patterns of use rather than to prevent some activities or deter some user groups. Yet, using design to create favourable conditions for some activities might work to the disadvantage of other activities and/or to user groups interested in those activities. Even if this kind of control over use is at best a side effect of over-concern with creating conditions for a particular use and at worst a failure to recognise that users have other aspirations and needs, it does not deny the fact that the freedom of using public space is restricted. The study, thus, teaches urban planners and designers that when public space is designed to prioritise some activities, opportunities for using the space unconditionally and practicing and (re)producing its publicness are compromised. In contrast, the design that allows for and encourages a variety of activities to develop and different activities to intermix, creates good opportunities for a public space to be (re)produced and for its publicness to change positively not only in quality but also in quantity. This is a very practical outcome of the study.

When it comes to exercising control over the actual practices of using different public spaces, findings from Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre reveal that in all three of the spaces, it is social control and mutual respect among different users and their groups that do most of the work. Supervisors of order and safety (both the police and private security guards) act as mediators when necessary, and work by supporting the mechanism of social control. Such an approach to control is highly beneficial for the publicness of public space because it encourages each public space user to respect other users' choices to secure the same kind of response for one's own choices. Although it allows no statistical generalisations, the multiple-case study broadens scientific knowledge by showcasing the benefits of a different kind of approach to the supervision of public order, an approach that helps maintain order and safety without compromising public space users' freedom and creativity. This insight from the three spaces within the Kamppi area may be taken as a moral for public space owners and managers to consider.

To sum up, the major contribution that this study makes is conceptual and theoretical. The study introduces five new concepts, namely activity-based publicness, collective passivity, situational dynamics, ecosystem of activities and complementary publicness, all of which help to broaden the understanding of the publicness of public space. In addition to this, the study shows that in the contemporary city the publicness of public space is defined and (re)produced primarily through its actual use, which can vary across public spaces (as well as within each public space) resulting in variations in their publicness. As for the actual

practices of use, they are revealed to be determined by the variety of user groups, their willingness to respect each other's choices about the use of public space, the networking of a public space with adjacent public spaces, and design solutions and management practices. Pointing this out, the multiple-case study may also be seen to have a practical value, i.e., to be of use for practitioners working in the fields of urban planning and urban design, the owners and managers of urban spaces and decision-makers and at least at the level of values and at most as a source of illustrations of real-life examples.

The next steps to be taken to further broaden the knowledge about the publicness of public space and variations in publicness across different spaces could involve studies of other public spaces (inside or outside of Finland) conducted applying the same methodology as in this multiple-case study and studies that would involve significantly more public spaces and have a quantitative approach. Future research paths also include in-depth studies of one or a few components of publicness and on the networking of different public spaces and their interdependencies for publicness, i.e., on complementary publicness. What remains to be clarified is what other situations or activities beside special events and unexpected happenings can encourage various activities to intermix and an ecosystem of activities to develop and what other versions, if any, of the situational dynamics of publicness exist. Other case studies (both single and multiple) may also contribute to the existing body of knowledge by identifying what needs beside collective passivity and sheltering public space users intend to satisfy in public space and by explaining how those different needs manage to peacefully coexist and to make their coexistence productive. Finally, as new types of public space continue to be developed, there is room for research on the publicness of different types of public spaces. Future studies are encouraged to use the methodology (with or without modifications) that was developed and adopted in this multiple-case study.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. An excerpt of the data collection form used in spatial observations

Space _____

Date and time _____

Objects in space

Benches and chairs	
Location	
Number and size	
Arrangement	
Backrest/armrest	
Condition	
Other characteristics	
Other seating options	
Type	
Location	
Number and size	
Arrangement	
Condition	
Characteristics	
Other characteristics	
Devises for surveillance	
Type	
Location	
Number	
Purpose	
Other characteristics	
Signs	
Type	
Location	
Purpose	
Size	
Other characteristics	

Appendix 2. Spots and directions of motions in Narinkka Square, Tennispalatsi Square and Kamppi Shopping Centre observed when collecting observational data about activities and users

<table>
<tr><th>Narinkka Square</th><th>Tennispalatsi Square</th><th colspan="2">Kamppi Shopping Centre</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Spots</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">• area around the main entrance to Kamppi Shopping Centre
• stairs along the wall of Kamppi Shopping Centre leading to Salomonkatu Street
• area around the entrance to night bus terminal (including the stairs to/from Olavinkatu Street)
• stairs for sitting on the north-east of the square
• area around the main entrance to the Turku barracks
• artwork in the centre of the square
• area around and sittable ledges under the six trees</td><td rowspan="4">• sittable ledges under the trees along Fredrikinkatu Street
• stone bench and the area around the pine tree
• stairs on the northern side of the square and sittable ledges under the apple tree
• ledges of the fountain
• benches around the fountain
• seats facing the fountain
• seats facing Fredrikinkatu Street</td><td>E Level</td><td>• area around the main entrance/exit
• central hall
• area around the entrance to Kamppi metro station
• area around Gekko</td></tr>
<tr><td>1st floor</td><td>• area around the central void
• hall close to the exit to Annankatu Street
• hall close to the exit to Salomonkatu Street
• hall where there is an Info desk
• hall close to the exit to the fountain in Tennispalatsi Square
• wooden stairs</td></tr>
<tr><td>2nd floor</td><td>• area around the central void
• hall facing Annankatu Street
• hall facing Salomonkatu street</td></tr>
<tr><td>3rd floor</td><td>• area around the central void;
• hall facing Annankatu Street
• hall facing Salomonkatu Street</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td><td>5th floor</td><td>area around the central void</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Directions of motion</td></tr>
<tr><td>• from/to the Kamppi Chapel and to/from the main entrance of Kamppi Shopping Centre
• from/to Kiasma museum and to/from the main entrance of Kamppi Shopping Centre
• from/to the stairs facing Olavinkatu Street</td><td>• along Salomonkatu Street
• along the wall of Kamppi Shopping Centre
• from/to the Tennispalatsi building and the entrance to Kamppi Shopping Centre near the fountain</td><td colspan="2">• from/to the main entrance/exit
• from/to the metro station
• from/to Annankatu Street
• from/to Salomonkatu Street
• hallway to/from Fredrikinkatu Street (1st floor)
• hallway along U. Kekkosen katu Street (1st floor)
• hallway along U. Kekkosen katu Street (2nd floor)</td></tr>
</table>

Appendix 3. Data collection form used to gather observational data about activities and users in a public space

Public space: _____

Date, time and duration: _____

Weather conditions:_____

Other remarks: _____

Space	**People**										**Activities**																					
Exact spot OR Direction of movement	An individual or the number of people in a group	**Users' age**					**Users' gender**			**Users' social affiliation***	**Passive**								**Active**						**Other**							
		Children	Adolescent	Young adults	Middle-aged	Elderly	Female	Male	Other		Standing	Sitting	Watching people	Passing by	Eating	Using ICT	Spending time	Waiting	Socialising	Participating in events	Shopping	Using facilities/services	Working	Doing sport/playing	Taking a break	Meeting/gathering	Saying " Bye"	Collecting bottles	Begging	

* Some possible social affiliations: school children, students, young families, disadvantaged groups, tourists, mothers with prams, upper-class people, ordinary people and office people

Appendix 4. Information sheet provided for the informants who were asked to give an interview

Information sheet for research participants giving an interview

This information sheet supplements the letter of request sent for the purpose of asking to participate in research on the changing publicness of public spaces in Finland. The research is carried out by Zieda Tamasauskaite [item removed as no longer valid], a doctoral student at the University of Turku.

The sheet offers information regarding the collection, use, publication and disposal of data collected during the interview. Before taking part in the research, the research participant is kindly asked to familiarise oneself with the information offered below and confirm one's agreement with the conditions of participation. Please sent your decision (positive or negative) to the researcher by email [item removed as no longer valid].

Participation

Participation in the research is voluntary, acknowledged (not anonymous) and not paid for. The research participant takes part in the research by giving an interview by one's free will.

The research participant is treated as an expert and is expected to speak in the name of the organisation/company he/she works for.

Personal data

The personal data that is collected includes the research participant's name (given name and surname), work position held and the length of service in the company/institution. The data is collected, used and disclosed to demonstrate the reliability of research data.

The personal data collected will be used only in relation to the interview e.g., when describing how the interview was conducted, analysing responses to the interview questions, comparing responses of different research participants or discussing the contents and form of responses.

The personal data will be disclosed in the published dissertation (and related publications) when describing research process, analysing and presenting the interview data and quoting or citing parts of the interview.

Other research data

The interview will be audio recorded. After the interview, the recording will be transcribed verbatim. However, any sensitive information and information that could contain direct or indirect identifiers of any third parties that shall remain anonymous, will be removed or generalised. The transcription of the interview can be showed to the research participant upon his/her request.

The recording, the transcript accompanying it and the data it contains will be used for the purpose of this research only. The data will be carefully analysed and interpreted, offering balanced arguments. In the dissertation (and related publications) to be published, some parts of the interview might be cited or quoted.

Accessibility, storage and disposal

During the research process, all the data (personal data, recording of the interview, transcript of the interview, etc.) will be stored in a private network folder that the University of Turku provides for its students. The folder is secured with a password and the files inside the folder are regularly backed-up. The data will be readily available for the researcher and may be made available to the research supervisors and the University of Turku staff if needed for a purpose related to this research.

Information about the data collected (not the data itself) will be registered to Research Data Inventory of the University of Turku.

After the research is published, all the data will be stored for five years in a data repository provided by the University of Turku. After the time period expires, all the data and its back-up files will be disposed without a possibility to be recovered and re-used. However, the metadata or the background information about the interview (purpose, topic, place, time, length, research participant‘s name, etc.) and the interview guide (including remarks about how to conduct an interview, questions planned to be asked during the interview and the information supplied to the research participant before the interview) will be stored in a trustworthy data repository used for storing research data.

Potential harm

The research participant is kindly advised to avoid answering any questions or disclosing any piece of information they consider as likely to cause any harm to themselves or others.

If the research participant foresees any harm (mental, economical, social or other) the disclosure of his/her personal data or his/her responses can cause to himself/herself or to others, the research participant is advised to inform the researcher and to ask to guarantee anonymity or not to participate in the research.

If the research participant gives the consent to disclose his/her name in the published dissertation, he/she confirms awareness of any potential harm of such participation.

Research participant's rights

The research participant has the right to enquire about the research process and the processing of his/her personal data and restrict the processing. Upon the research participant's request, the data collected can be showed to him/her. Enquiries and any remarks must be sent to the researcher by email [item removed as no longer valid].

The research participant has the right to withdraw from the research (the interview) or withdraw his/her consent at any time before the research results are published in the dissertation (or related publications). Having made up the decision of withdrawal, the research participant shall inform the researcher by email [item removed as no longer valid] as soon as the decision is made. After the research results are published in the dissertation, no withdrawal is possible.

For more information on the research participant's rights please see the webpage of The Office of Data Protection Ombudsman (link: https://tietosuoja.fi/en/what-rights-do-data-subjects-have-in-different-situations).

Appendix 5. Information about the storage, security, reuse and disposal of research data

Data storage, security, reuse and disposal

During the research process, all the empirical data were stored and secured following the practices of responsible conduct of research and recommendations for data storage set by the University of Turku (n.d.) and the Academy of Finland (n.d.), (today known as the Research Council of Finland). Each data set that was gathered was recorded at the University of Turku Research Data Inventory (http://datainventory.utu.fi) and put in a secure repository, i.e., either in a private network folder provided by the University of Turku or in my personal archives.

All the empirical data that I collected during the research process appeared in two formats: paper and electronic (see Table i). The greater part of the data gathered applying the methods of spatial observation and non-participant observation were paper-based. These sets of data were stored in my personal archives secured by a double key, and they were not accessible to anyone except me. Yet, this raw data were ready to be made available to my research supervisors, the staff of the University of Turku and the members of the dissertation's examining committee for the purposes related to the research or for checking their validity. As all the data contained on paper were later aggregated and processed using computer programmes, no photocopies of paper files were made to back-up the originals. These aggregate observational data were stored alongside other electronic data.

Table i. Data storage during the research process

TYPE OF DATA	DATASET (AND ITS FORMAT)	STORAGE
data from spatial observations	digital pictures (.jpg)	private network folder
	paper-based data collection forms	personal archives
	paper-based field notes	personal archives
	aggregate data from spatial observations (.docx)	private network folder
data from non-participant observations	paper-based observation forms	personal archives
	paper-based field notes	personal archives
	digital field notes (.docx)	private network folder
	aggregate data from observation forms (.docx)	private network folder
	aggregate data from field notes (.docx)	private network folder
interview data	audio recordings of interviews (.mp3)	private network folder
	transcripts of interviews (.docx)	private network folder

A part of the data collected applying the methods of spatial and non-participant observations and all the raw interview data appeared in electronic form. During the research process, the electronic data were stored in my private network folder provided by the University of Turku. The given place for storage was chosen for the following reasons: first, the folder is secured with a password; second, the data stored is regularly backed-up; and third, the files can be accessed from anywhere and edited online. Thereby, I could not only ensure that my research data were kept secured from unauthorised access, but also that I could access it easily. For more information on data security see Data Security Description of University of Turku (University of Turku, 2016a). In this paragraph, it feels sufficient to mention that the electronic data, like the paper-based data, was ready to be made accessible to the research supervisors, the university staff and the members of the dissertation's examining committee if this was needed for a purpose directly related to this research. Upon the agreement with the informants who gave an interview, a copy of the transcript of their interview was made available to them. All measures were taken to ensure that the data which was ready to be opened up to the people mentioned above would be transferred safely.

Although the end of the research process is marked by the publication of this dissertation and the awarding of a degree, the life-cycle of the research data continues. Therefore, it is important that the data which I gathered for this multiple-case study are handled responsibly not only during but also after the research process. The Data Policy of the University of Turku (University of Turku, 2016b) is formulated with openness as its aim, explained by the positive effects it is likely to have on science and society. Indeed, open research data can be associated with various benefits, including facilitation of data collection, speeding up of research processes, increasing credibility in scientific research and enabling the development of new research ideas. All these advantages of opening data, however, need to be weighted upon certain constraints.

Appraising what data to maintain, for how long to store it and what to make available for reuse, I evaluated the following aspects: (1) the value of raw, unprocessed data and the data processed from the raw data; (2) conditions under which informed consent from the research participants was obtained or permission for collecting research data in the spaces studies was secured; (3) provisions of GDPR and DPA as regards the collection, use and storage of personal data; (4) availability of a corresponding or comparable data set elsewhere; (5) feasibility of replicating the data; (6) benefits of storing and opening the data; and (7) resources and effort required to store the data. Besides these criteria, my decisions were largely affected by the contextual conditions, including the difficulties faced when negotiating with various research data archives on the terms of storing the data (or opening the data for reuse) and the limitations to using the data repository provided by the University of Turku after I graduate with a degree. Table ii indicates the terms

under which each set of the data collected for this research is planned to be stored and made accessible. A further discussion on the terms is offered in the paragraphs that follows the table.

Table ii. Data management after publishing research results

TERMS OF STORAGE	LOCATION	TYPE OF DATA	DATASET (AND ITS FORMAT)
stored for 10 years and made accessible for reuse upon request; disposed (deleted) after 10 years	trustworthy data repository or archive	data from spatial observations	some selected digital pictures (.jpg)
		data from non-participant observations	aggregate data from observation forms (.pdf)
stored for 5 years and made accessible for validity checks only; shredded after 5 years	personal archives	data from spatial observations	paper-based data collection forms
			paper-based field notes
		data from non-participant observations	paper-based observation forms
			paper-based field notes
stored for 5 years and made accessible for validity checks only; disposed (deleted) after 5 years	data repository (Seafile or another) provided by the University of Turku or another trustworthy data repository	data from spatial observations	aggregate data from spatial observations (.pdf)
			digital pictures not selected for long-term storage (.jpg)
		data from non-participant observations	digital field notes (.pdf)
			aggregate data from field notes (.pdf)
		interview data	recordings of interviews (.mp3)
			transcripts of interviews (.docx)

The data that has been appraised to be stored for making it accessible to other researchers include those sets of data that are deemed valuable due to the lack of availability of corresponding or comparable data (at least as far as I am familiar with that fact at the point of making this appraisal) and the difficulty in replicating the data which is site- and time-specific. At the same time, these are the data that might lose their value or validity with time or in case the spaces that the data were collected in undergo significant changes. All things considered, these data are planned to be stored for the period of ten years (starting from the day when the dissertation is publicly defended) and in a trustworthy data repository or an archive that can offer long-term storage free of charge and help me guarantee that the data is kept and

transferred safely. Upon a request, this data can be accessed and reused for research purposes that are compatible with this research. Requests, containing a brief overview of the research and a plan for using the data set requested for reuse, shall be addressed to the data owner, who for the time being is the author of this dissertation. If the data is reused, the same (or higher, if applicable at the time when the data set is obtained for reuse) ethical standards as for this research shall apply and The Data Policy of the University of Turku (University of Turku, 2016b) shall be followed. After ten years, the data is to be disposed permanently or, alternatively, the terms of storage them can be reconsidered.

The sets of data that cannot be made available for future reuse are planned to be stored temporarily and disposed permanently when the time expires. These data are stored for no other purpose that assessing their validity, and they can be opened up only upon a request made by the people authorised to investigate the validity of the data. Five years have been chosen as the period for storing those paper-based and electronic data sets that cannot be stored permanently or made available for reuse. As regards the repository, paper-based sets of data are planned to be kept in my personal archives secured by a double key until the end of the storage period and shredded after the period is over. Electronic data sets are planned to be stored for five years in Seafile or another data repository provided by the University of Turku, or, in case the university services cannot be used, another trustworthy data repository that ensures the data files can be stored for the time needed in the safest possible way. I, as the owner of the data, take all the responsibility for ensuring the disposal of temporary stored paper-based and electronic data files after the period of storage expires.

According to the Data Policy of the University of Turku (2016b), limiting the openness of data is possible, but requires justification. As regards the reasons for not opening up interview data, the provisions of national and European data protection legislations (such as GDPR and DPA) and the conditions under which informed consent was obtained are the principal ones to be accounted for. Therefore, the recordings and their transcripts, as well as all of their back-up files, have been appraised to be stored for a limited period of time, made open for checking their validity only and disposed after the storage period is over. This dissertation shall serve as the medium through which the interview data collected is made accessible to the general public.

As regards paper-based observation forms, paper-based data collection forms and fields notes (both digital and paper-based), they shall not be made available for reuse for at least three reasons. First, all the sources of data listed include raw, unprocessed data that was collected either having obtained the permission to collect them or having informed the city authorities about particular research intentions. Both the management of the privately-owned spaces and the city authorities were notified that the data I intended to collect about the spaces they were responsible for

at the time might be made open in no other than aggregate form. Second, not opening the raw data from non-participant observations for reuse is needed to ensure complete anonymity of the people who became research participants by using one or some of the spaces studied. As for the data collected when making spatial observations, the second reason for not opening it is related to its replicability. Third and final, since aggregate data from non-participant observations and digital photos from spatial observations have been appraised for long-term storage and for opening it for future reuse, the storing of the other data files is seen to be both unnecessity and demanding extra time, effort and expenses.

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