



Privatization of Public Space

– Apple Piazza Liberty

Swedish: Privatisering av Offentliga Rum – Apple Piazza Liberty

Jonathan Eriksson

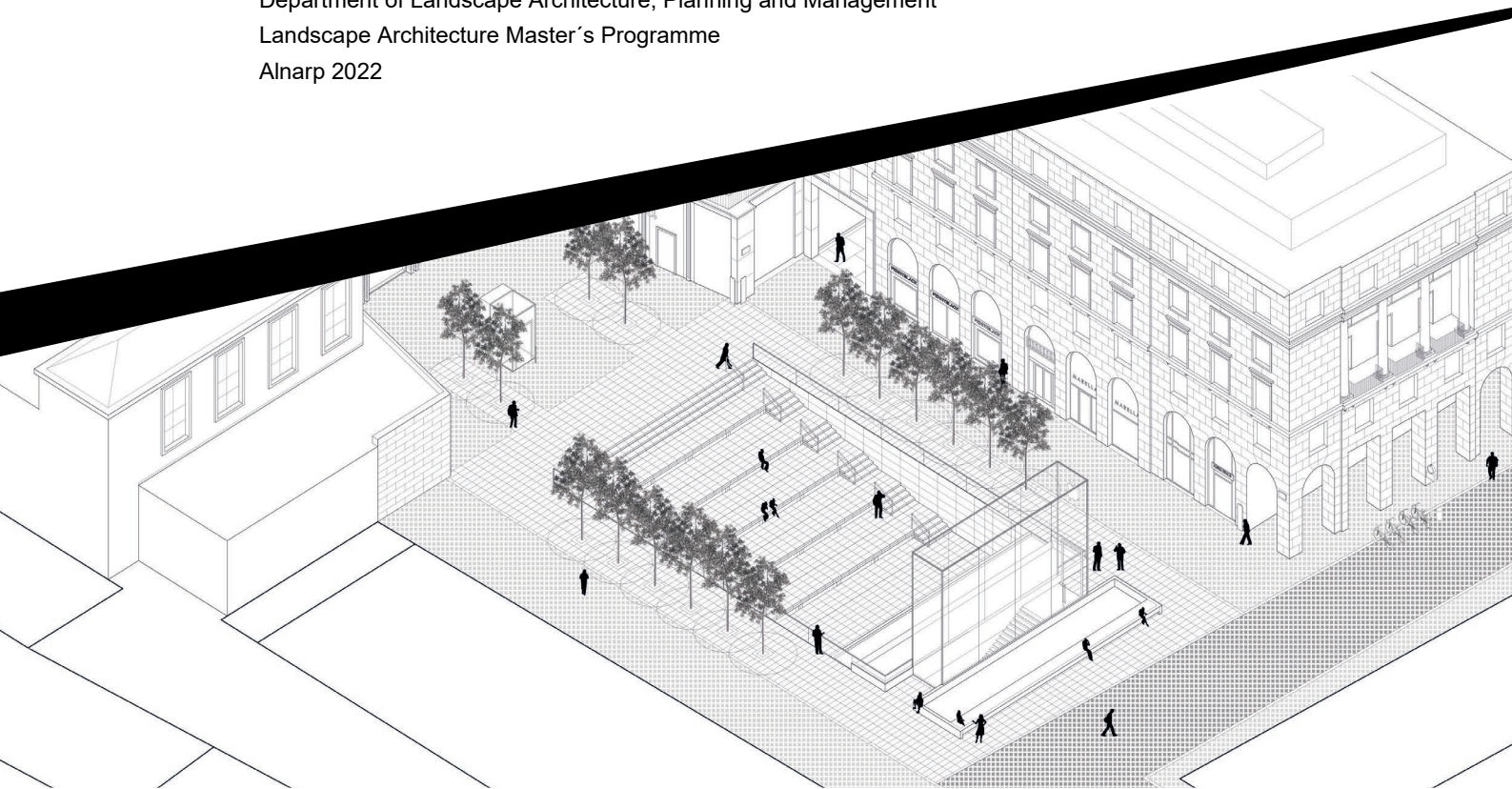
Independent project • 30 hp

Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, SLU

Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and Management

Landscape Architecture Master's Programme

Alnarp 2022



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Credits: 30 hp

Level: A2E

Course title: Independent Project in Landscape Architecture

Course code: EX0852

Programme: Landscape Architecture Master's Programme

Course coordinating dept: Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and
Management

Place of publication: Alnarp

Year of publication: 2022

Cover picture: By the author.

Keywords: Privatization, Public Realm, Public Space, Quasi-public, Public
Domain, The Right to the City, Growth-led planning, Piazza Liberty,
Apple

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Project title:

English: Privatization of Public Space - Apple Piazza Liberty

Swedish: Privatisering av Offentliga Rum - Apple Piazza Liberty

By: Jonathan Eriksson

Thanks to!

Nina Vogel

Terese Svendsen

Michael Stapor

Chris Chau

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Digital copy accessible at thanneriksson.se

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Institution: Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and Management

Title: Privatization of Public Space, Apple Piazza Liberty

Program: Landscape Architecture - Master's Programme (LAM) 120 credit

Course: Independent Project in Landscape Architecture, EX0852

Extensive credits: 30 credits

Supervisor: Nina Vogel

Examiners: Lisa Diedrich (H) & Matilda Alfengård (B)

Publication: Alnarp, 2022



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- Apple Piazza Liberty

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Abstract:

The subject of this thesis concerns the privatization of public space, examining the rapid provision of quasi-public space in our contemporary neoliberal influenced urbanization process. With the objective to examining the consequences of such development for public space and the public realm.

Public space possesses an essential value for society by constitute a material, accessible and social site for the public to occur, a site where public activities and encounters with diversity, and unfamiliar perspectives can take place. The value of public space in society is therefore social and democratic through its everyday processes, constituting society in a self-organised manner, by people and between people. In contrast to this, quasi-public space is criticized to further turn the meaning of contemporary public space to subsidize individual and economic interests, instead of more collective and "common good" interests.

This is studied primarily by investigating how the privatization of public space affects the public realm from the parameters that determine public space quality in relation to privatization: ownership, control, accessibility, usability, and management. These parameters are anchored in theories concerned with the privatization of public space and reflected in 'the right to the city' approaches, which serve this thesis as an analytical framework. Piazza Liberty in Milan, owned by Apple, serves as an actual case to apply and investigate these parameters.

The result of the thesis primarily highlights that the question of privatization is not dogmatic, and the importance to sustain a balance between public and private influence within our publicly accessible spaces, to avoid generating segregation between publicly accessible spaces, which risk to generating a form of quasi-public realm. It is therefore important to apply new policies that primarily secure quasi-public space functioning out from the values associated with public space.

Key words: Public realm, Quasi-public space, Public space, Public Domain, The Right to the City, Growth-led planning, Quasi-public realm

Sammanfattning:

Detta examensarbete behandlar ämnet om privatisering av offentliga rum och undersöker den snabba ökningen av kvasi-offentliga rum i vår samtida nyliberalistiska urbaniseringsprocess. Med syftet att undersöka konsekvenserna av en sådan utveckling både för det offentliga rummet och den offentliga sfären.

Där det offentliga rummet har ett väsentligt värde inom samhället genom att utgöra en materiell och social plats för allmänhetens uppkomst, en öppen plats där offentliga aktiviteter och möten med mångfald kan ske. Värdet av det offentliga rummet i samhället är därför socialt och demokratiskt, genom att i sin vardagliga process konstituera samhället på ett själv organiserat sätt av människor och mellan människor. I motsats till detta kritiserar det kvasi-offentliga rummen för att ytterligare vända innebörden av det samtida offentliga rummet till att subventionera individuella och ekonomiska intressen, istället för mer kollektiva och "goda intressen".

Där denna uppsatts primärt utforskar i hur privatisering av offentliga rum påverkar den offentliga sfären utifrån de parametrar som avgör offentliga rums kvalitet i relation till privatisering: ägandeskap, kontroll, tillgänglighet, användbarhet och förvaltning. Parametrar som är förankrade i teorier kopplade till privatisering av offentliga rum och reflekterade i 'the right to the city' approach, vilket utgör ett analytiskt ramverk i denna uppsats. Piazza Liberty i Milan utgör ett reellt fall att applicera och undersöka dessa parametrar

Resultatet av denna uppsatts belyser i första hand att frågan om privatisering inte är dogmatisk, och vikten av att upprätthålla en balans mellan offentliga och privata inflytanden inom våra offentligt tillgängliga rum, för att undvika att skapa segregation mellan offentliga tillgängliga rum, som riskerar att generera en form av kvasi-offentlig sfär. Det är därför viktigt att tillämpa nya grundprinciper som i första hand säkerställer att kvasi-offentliga rum fungerar utifrån de värderingar som är förknippade med det offentliga rummet.

Nyckelord: Offentliga sfären, Kvasi-offentliga rum, Offentliga rum, Public domain, Rätten till staden, Tillväxt-led planering, Kvasi-offentliga sfären

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Introduction:

Fundamentally in the concept of the public realm is public space, a physical space functioning for social and democratic encounters in society. In recent years, new hybrids of public spaces provided by the private sector have increased, so-called quasi-public space. The rapid provision of quasi-public spaces that are replacing state provided public spaces, opens up questions about the effects this will have on the public realm, when private actors' own interests is influencing the development of the public realm at an even larger scale.

1.

Contemporary urban development:

'Good' public spaces comprise of informal spaces, where uses and common rules can be stretched by the actors, activities and contemporary settings of the space is used in relation to time and in a dynamic process (White, 1980; Stevens, 2007; Dovey, 2016; Sendra & Senett, 2020). Public space with a more informal setting is, therefore, increasingly allowing actors to form the space between each other, to facilitate their current needs and desires. An approach where the space serves its actors, and thereby facilitates the public to govern over their own city's public spaces, which then in its everyday processes fostering citizenship and democracy. This stands in contrast to more programmed space, which is often strongly influenced by formalized agendas that govern the space through ownership, control, accessibility, usability, and management. An approach that frequently falls on those spaces under private ownership and control that operating as if they were public, so-called *quasi-public spaces* (Dovey, 2016). The challenge with quasi-public space is that they tend to introduce more control measures that facilitate the owner's individual interests and idea of society, instead of facilitating public and common 'good' interests. This is a concern that challenges the function and meaning of public space itself (Kohn, 2005).

"Many have argued that global economic changes have meant that urban public space is now recognized as a valuable commercial commodity, and global business in partnership with city governments have re-ordered the historic functions of public space through the production of new forms of public space that bring together those in society who can afford to consume." (Madani-pour in Carmona, 2010, p.158).

Examples of these new forms of public spaces are corporate plazas and parks, such as the example of Apple's "Town Square" stores concept, which are quasi-public spaces that are linked to the development of late capitalism and mass consumption as described by Madani-pour (Madani-pour in Carmona, 2010).

This thesis examines public space from these contemporary phenomena of privatization of public space, how this development is affecting the public realm, and what the consequences are for public space. The studies concerned with the subject of privatization of public space pinpoint that *ownership, control, accessibility, usability, and management* of space are central in debating the consequences of privatization in relation to more traditional public space provision and development (Carmona, 2010; Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Dovey, 2016). Further, 'the right to the city' movement that inter alia proclaim the right to public space, and that these spaces take an important role in a democratic society. As such, this approach reflects an ethical frame for this thesis with a critical lens on contemporary tendencies, that economic interests come before the public. These tendencies favour and offer private actors larger influence over public facilities and amenities. As such, it is interesting to reflect on the revival of a movement from 1960's (the right to the city) that has been given new life today. As Sendra, writes "Both the 1960s and the 2010s have been decades of contestation and activism against imposed order, social control and urban development that exacerbate inequalities and produce alienation." (Sendra, 2020, p.40). This makes the research topic both relevant and important in the contemporary urban development practice and for society at large.

Neoliberal influence on urbanization processes:

In an increasingly globalized world, globalization has allowed many different societies around the world become more networked and interconnected. As the development of the globe moves towards one whole system it has resulted in an increase of flexibility and mobility of capital, a development that enables large capital investment to instantly switch from one part of the globe to another (Dovey, 2016). Hand in hand with well-developed infrastructure systems, new technologies, enlarged digitalization systems and rapid urbanization, physical distances have been reduced or substituted by modern methods and interventions as a sequence of globalization. The progress of globalization progressively interconnects the globe's many societies and therefore generates a great climate for private enterprises. This creates the opportunity for these enterprises to enter the global market, with further opportunities in expanding operation by reaching clients on a global scale. This contemporary development, changing the geographical boundaries and local responsibilities enterprises, traditionally has been bound by varying factors, such as clients, resources, trends, culture, and labour. A development that creates opportunities for enterprises to relocate where production cost is lower and the market is more attractive to generate an increased revenue, which fortify centralization processes. Where, enterprises increased flexibility to relocate makes larger enterprise powerful actors in political and economic relations, especially by generating investment and labour opportunities in society (Dovey, 2016). As a result of this development, in hand with a deregulated market a new form of global capitalism has emerged, namely neoliberalism (Sager, 2011). Neoliberalism is the contrary to social-democratic thinking, there the idea of neoliberalism thinking is that the market should discipline politics (Jessop, 2002; Clarke, 2004; Brown, 2006, in Sager 2011). "The fundamental to neoliberalism thinking is the idea that the markets can replace the public interests" (Dovey, 2016, p. 148). This has generated a competitive climate both between enterprises and between cities (Fainstein, 2010). Enterprises try to attract clients by expanding their markets, cities try to attract enterprises to generate growth, attractiveness, brand their identities, generate investment, and labour opportunities (Dovey, 2016). In this sense, the contemporary urban development primarily in western countries is interlinked with private agencies' expansion in relation to economical investment, profit, and growth.

These conditions and tendencies leave cities in a critical position. The competitive climate between cities to attract private enterprises to establish in their jurisdiction, leads to imbalanced power relations, in which enterprises can claim unsustainable privileges and demands from city authorities e.g., for their expansion or further development. These demands and privileges often goes at the expense of the city's residents and communities, in relation to gentrification, affordable housing and everyday life services (Fainstein, 2010). According to these interdependencies, cities could to some extent be described as a physical product of this expansion of the global market, which interlinks the growth of private enterprises with the growth of cities (Stevens, 2007; Dovey, 2016). One of the underlying interests in, and explanations for, such growth dependencies is based on the potential labour opportunities for the cities' residents as well as the tax revenues received. A potential scenario could be where larger international brands may attract other brands to establish within the city and increase commercial options that generate a higher circulation of capital, that again attract further brands and investors to cluster in the same location to establish new projects. The good commercial conditions increase the supply of brands and linked to policies and development strategies this could increase the city's attraction in relation to e.g., tourism (Fainstein, 2010). This could open opportunities in other branches and benefits the international reputation of the city, generating new investments and increasing property values (Fainstein, 2010). This scenario of these interrelationships may unfold as described and generates increased capital for the city itself, which are necessary to reinvest in infrastructure projects, meet the societies needs and demands, and further enhance this form of growth. As such, city authorities can be caught up in this actual or potential dependent relationship that influences their planning decisions (Dovey, 2016). Development that leaves the fate of cities and its people in the hands of the market, is neither a good strategy or sustainable development for cities and societies.

The larger criticism towards these tendencies and actual conditions is that contemporary urban development in several cities around the globe is strongly influenced by the agendas of private actors, with a foundational vision of growth that is not necessarily interested in achieving the 'common good'. The possibility to influence these dynamics is not only determined by the private actors, but also by the city's own authorities, to balance the investment between economic growth, local needs and desires that favour the citizens and the communities of the city, the common good, and not narrowly focus on

economic growth as a single objective (Fainstein, 2010). There are too many examples of when decision-makers failed to prioritize the public, such as implementing tourist facilities and stadiums over schools and labour-intensive industries, which ignores the actual needs of the city's neighborhoods (Fainstein, 2010). In this contemporary neoliberal development, the state, as a public authority, become weaker in relation to urban development processes and decisions-making; enterprises and private actors, in turn, generate additional influence and power (Sager, 2011). As Lefevre points out, "Decisions are placed in the hands of decision makers." (Lefevre, 2003, p. 188) and as such the development describes a present imbalance of privately steered interest. This actual scenario disturbs the power balance between public and private interests, a balance that is important to preserve, for the development of the public realm and its various functions and uses, as well as its relation to democratic and ethical values. By understanding that the public realm is where 'the public' is organized and represented (Hartly, 1992) and where society is formed (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001), it is also the realm of interference and influence where societies various norms is created (Haberman, 1989). This makes the public realm in our modern societies a focus target for numerous actors, by the possibility to influence and therefore direct the development of society towards one's own ideas and interest. This is both ethically questionable and undemocratic.

In recent years, this has made numerous private actors to stretch their organisation towards the public realm, providing 'public' space that is privately owned (Németh & Schmidt, 2011) or *quasi-public* space (from the Latin *quasi*: as if, almost) (Dovey, 2016). These are developments that have significantly increased the amount of publicly accessible spaces in major urban areas; however, it is debatable how 'public' these spaces really are, the quality of those places, the accessibility of those places, what principles govern such places and what consequences these environments have for the urban and public realm (Németh & Schmidt, 2011). Larger undertakings by the private sector providing forms of quasi-public space, have been criticized of actually privatizing and narrowing the public realm, in the understanding that public space is the physical space in society that possess a significant role in the creation of the public realm. The rapid process of privatization is deranging the balance between public and private, which extends the private influence in these processes. This type of development has been criticized and taken into concern in 'the right to the city' movement coined by the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre's pioneering literature from 1960's (Lefebvre, 1996). Mainly proclaims that the city

and its development belong to its own people, and therefore cities shall not prioritise the market's interests over its own peoples' necessities and desires. By this understanding, 'the right to the city' implies that the people shall possess the right over their own city, in addition to the right to 'good' public spaces (Moroni & Chiodelli, 2014). When the provision of publicly accessible space is increasingly undertaken by the private sector, instead of the state, this establishes. More complex and formalized 'public' space types, in relation to ownership, control, accessibility, usability and management (Dovey, 2016). This may show changes of ownership in these spaces that allows the control over the space with specific rules, restrictions, and regulations, such as use functions, opening hours, etc. set by the owner according to their own objectives (Carmona, 2010). These may reduce the access of these spaces in relation to allowed uses and target groups, and in the worst cases exclude particular groups to access these spaces altogether (Fainstein, 2010; Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Moroni & Chiodelli, 2014). An advancement that often use to be explained from the property owners as necessary control features to maintain order and establish a secure environment (Németh & Schmidt, 2011). Jane Jacobs introduces a different approach that counters this argument, dubbed 'eyes on the street', which is based in fostering access, establishing safety, and promoting 'good' spaces (Jacobs, 1961). There a highly utilized space the people themselves generate a safe environment only by the presence of other people (Jacobs, 1961). This leaves the question of whether increased control measures to these spaces generate a private and a more luxurious retail experience. Carmona (2010) debates that the contemporary development of urban public space is too narrowly focused on private interests in related to consumption, and Sager (2011) asks critically if non-consumption should be a legitimate basis for removing and excluding people from public spaces; thus both authors clearly criticize the tendencies and development that endanger public spaces and their fundamental roles in modern society, that might be taken for granted (Carmona, 2010; Sager, 2011), though are qualities to safeguard and support.

Objective:

This thesis seeks to examine the contemporary phenome of privatization of public space and its consequences in the development of public space and the public realm. The public realm is understood as where 'the public' is organized and represented, or imagined (Hartly, 1992) and as such the ideal of a public realm is a normative concept (Haberman, 1989). The public realm serves as basis for societal practices (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001), and an essential value of such public realm is democracy. This research will be investigating how the privatization of public space affects the public realm out from the parameters that determine the qualities of public space in relation to privatization: ownership, control, accessibility, usability, and management. These parameters are anchored in theories concerned with privatization of public space and reflected in 'the right to the city' approaches and thus serves as an analytical framework. Further, this project includes various knowledge sources such as a literature study, interviews, and a case study, that forms a triangulation of methods, increasing the quality and reliability of the research. As such, the research gains several perspectives and a deeper understanding of the contemporary development of the privatization of public space. The case-study of Piazza Liberty in Milan serves as example of a quasi-public space, owned by Apple, and developed in hand with Foster + Partners. This case is both interesting and relevant as a contemporary example in how a larger enterprise has integrated their organization with the public realm. This approach will likely become more common in the future from increased interest for the private sector to provide new publicly accessible space linked to their own brand and operation.

With this research I want to add further knowledge and reflection on public space in relation to 'the right to the city' endeavour and expand perceptions of how privatization of public spaces is affecting the contemporary development of the public realm.

Question at issue:

How does privatization of public space affect the public realm and what are the consequences for public space?

- What are the consequences in relation to ownership, control, accessibility, usability, and management of public space?
- How will the contemporary development in privatization of public space affect the future of the public realm?

Limitations:

COVID-19: The ongoing COVID-19 coronavirus pandemic is generating several restrictions around the globe and locally, the pandemic itself affects the use of public space from its normative fervency use in a 'ordinary' daily context. This makes public space analyses during the pandemic less accurate in comparisons with 'ordinary' public analyses, but it makes them interesting and important as well in other aspects, perspectives, and values. The pandemic has put people and the society in a most tragical situation that has challenged our lives, lifestyle, and our perceptions of everyday life. The COVID-19 pandemic is the first of its kind in modern time, and therefore also a unique and an important opportunity to study societies and people's changes in both behaviour and responses in relation to the pandemic, to be able to come up with solutions and strategies for contemporary and future crises.

Language, culture, and contextual knowledge: By not knowing the Italian language, important reading in relation to the case Piazza Liberty and Milan could be miscommunicated or be limited out from understanding and access to correct translation. Interviews with Italian speaking persons could also be limited out from language and cultural differences. It could be harder to communicate with political authorities and daily users of the case. There is also little former knowledge of Italian and Milan's culture and planning principals in depth, that could be necessary to reach a greater understanding of the contemporary urban development in Milan, the chosen case, and its process. I still think the project can explore interesting and important new knowledge in relation to the topic that could explain this development in a more general scale that is applies for several western cities and their contemporary development.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this section the concept and meaning of public and private is examined and set in relation to the larger concept of public realm, which forms a basis for the construction of society. This section further explains the function and value of public space in the creation of the public realm. Here Maarten Hajer's and Arnold Reijndorp's concept of public domain expands the discussion of public space and its qualitative meaning in the creation of our contemporary societies, in relation to the progressively development of quasi-public spaces.

2.

Public and Private:

By examining public space in relation to privatization it is necessary to examine the meaning of the term *public* itself, out from its meanings and values in our contemporary society. The term public comes from the Latin *pubes*, meaning adult, and describes the population as a whole, without distinctions (Kohn, 2005). The concept of public is complex, and its meanings varies between different theorists, and therefore make the term problematic and sometimes contradictory to use in a more general sense (Warner, 2002; Kohn, 2005). The opposite to public is *private*, where public could be associated with open and accessible, and where private is associated with enclosed and inaccessible (Kohn, 2005). Private could, as such be described as the distancing from the public. In Michael Warner's essay *Publics and Counterpublics* from 2002, he describes that the conception of publics has become an essential fact of the social landscape, but still, it is hard to say exactly what they are. Warner writes, "The public is a kind of social totality. Its most common sense is that of the people in general. It might be the people organized as the nation, the commonwealth, the city, the state, or some other community." (Warner, 2002, p.49). Both in Warner and Kohn's writings, 'the public' refers to some form of a social totality. Warner also writes that "there must be as many publics as polities", which refers that all groups with a collective identity forms various and unique publics (Warner, 2002). This indicates, that different social totalities such as a community or a city form distinct publics, out from their unique constitution. This also suggests that there are several various publics, but whenever one is addressed as the public without any contextualization it relates to a larger social totality as the people of the nation or even more general (Warner, 2002). In Kohn's writing she is mentioning Jeff Weintraub's identification of dissimilar uses of public and private. Weintraub writes that public and private could relate to the difference between the state and the family (Weintraub in Kohn, 2005), there the meaning of public and private is representing the unfamiliar and the familiar (Sondra & Sennett, 2020). Public and private is sometimes used as synonyms for the state and the market economy (Weintraub in Kohn, 2005). There, the state, in a democratic society, represents the common voice of the people (the public), while the market economy (the private) refers to the private and own interests of enterprises in relation to business, profit, and growth. In the field of political theory Weintraub also mentions that the terms 'public' and 'private' is used to describe the political community that is distinct from the economy, the household, and the administrative apparatus of the state. Finally, Weintraub mentions how cultural critics and philosophers associate the public realm as the arena of sociability, a stage for appearing before others

(Weintraub in Kohn, 2005). By this understanding, the diverse meaning of public common denominator is people itself, that a public is socially constructed in a self-organized process by people and without a clear pre-given framework (Warner, 2002). The public realm is therefore the realm where the public is present and represented; it strives to be open and not enclosed, and therefore including, not excluding. The value of the public is therefore society constructed by people and the encounters between people, which is therefore democratic and relating to the right to present and expression.

"In private we choose our companions according to our preferences and in public we learn to share the world with those who are different."

(Kohn, 2005, p.158).

Hartly describes the public realm as where 'the public' is organized and represented, or imagined (Hartly, 1992 in Mitchell, 1995), and Haberman declares that the public realm is normative (Haberman, 1989 in Mitchell, 1995). In a philosophical discussion the public realm is, as Hajer & Reijndorp states, where the society is formed (Hajer and Reijndorp, 2001). There the public realm serves as the basis for societal practices (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001), and an essential value of such public realm is democracy. By this meaning, the public realm implies that the entire apparatus of social institutions that fulfil a function is within that sphere, such as newspapers, television, parliament, discussion forums (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001), and incessantly in today's internet and social media (Kohn, 2005).

Public space is material and constitutes an actual site, a place for public activities and representation to occur, and therefore public space occupies an important ideological position in democratic society (Mitchell, 1995). Throughout history, public space has played a fundamental role in the functioning and evolution of our cities, and certainly so in Europe (Madanipour, 2009 in Moroni & Chiodelli, 2016). The first notion of urban public space is found in the ancient Greek society, *agora*. Hartley describes the function of *agora* as: "the place of citizenship, an open space where public affairs and legal disputes were conducted ... it was also a marketplace, a place of pleasurable jostling, where judgments, decisions, and bargains were made." (Hartley, 1992:29-30 in Mitchell, 1995). The ancient Greek *agora* was a place for politics, commerce, and spectacle; a space that gather strangers and therefore provided a meeting place for interaction and discussion. The *agoras* function and quality as a meeting place for strangers is a funda-

mental vision and meaning in the concept of public space, as Young describes, "One should expect to encounter and hear from those who are different, whose social perspectives, experience and affiliations are different." (Young, 1990, p.119). Mitchell writes that Young's definition represents a more normative ideal for public space than an empirical description of the ways that public space have functioned in "actuality existing democracies" (Fraser, 1990 in Mitchell, 1995). In this light, public space is a social space that generates encounters between unfamiliar individuals, and in a larger contextualisation public space possesses a democratic value for generating public realms in society. Kohn also writes that public space symbolizes and fosters social relations between inhabitants and possesses a political role by being a place where diverse viewpoints can be expressed in public (Kohn, 2005). The function that public space has in society therefore varies from place, culture, etc. and could possess a few to several functions.

"Public space represents the material location where the social interactions and political activities of all members of 'the public' occur."

(Mitchell, 1995, p.166).

The opposite to public space is private space, a space that possesses a private ownership and are under private control and is therefore influenced by its owners' individual objective(s), which are converse from a public space where its objective is public and collectively formed. Private space is therefore isolated and refruent from the public's direct influence, which limit public interference through private control. Examples of private spaces could be households, individual office spaces, restaurants, commercials, spaces that require some form of membership or payment to be present or dwell within. Space could obviously be public or private in a more strict or loose sense, which often refers to the concept of semi-private and semi-public spaces. The understanding of private space could also fall on the description of 'specialised space' as Moroni and Chiodelli writes. There, the owner of the space has a certain liberty in deciding what types of uses that are more suitable within the space, and what types of uses are less suitable, or not suitable at all (Moroni & Chiodelli, 2015). This relates to the right to own and to control; which is understandable in relation to more personal private spaces as our own household, but questionable at a certain degree in relation to privately owned public accessible spaces, which possesses a collective function and value. This illustrates that the public realm is self-organized out from the collective, the public. The private realm is organized by us as individuals and does not have to interfere or

answer to other individuals that differing from ourselves. Private space, therefore, does not necessarily adjust by public opinions or interference. It is yet important to clarify that the public realm is influenced by private actors, and as Moroni and Chiodelli writes that it is the interaction between public and private spaces that provides the generative force of the city itself (Moroni & Chiodelli, 2014).

"... in the absence of private spaces like cafes, shops, restaurants, etc., the quality and quantity of public ones do not suffice on their own to guarantee vitality and attractiveness."

(Moroni & Chiodelli, 2014, p. 53).

In an increasingly complex environment where public and private space is increasingly intervened (Kohn, 2005), it makes it harder to differentiate if spaces are public or private. In general, the ownership of space is defining if it is public or private, but ownership is not alone in this distinction. This creates forms of hybrid spaces between public and private, that grants public access, although the space ownership is private. Dovey entitles these hybrid spaces as 'quasi-public space' and writes, "... 'quasi-public' space is defined as privately controlled spaces that operate 'as if' they were public." (Dovey, 2016, p. 157). There are several terms that are frequently used as quasi-public space (private-public space (Carmona, 2010), privately owned public spaces (POPS), social spaces (Kohan, 2005), and collective space (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001), Pseudo-public space) that indicate similar meanings. These different, but equivalent, terms in general describe a publicly accessible space with a private ownership and control instead of a public, state-owned, and controlled space. Typical examples of quasi-public spaces are, for example, shopping malls, arcades, corporate plazas/parks, gated communities, and private parks (Dovey, 2016). However, in recent years, the provision of public space has been increasingly undertaken by the private sector (Németh & Schmidt, 2011). Quasi-public space has therefore taken many new forms, such as corporate courtyards, to pocket parks, to festival marketplaces (Németh & Schmidt, 2011). This development has made it harder to distinguish quasi-public space from state-provided and -managed public spaces, which has led to more complex ownership patterns in cities (Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Dovey, 2016). Quasi-public spaces often fall under the discussion of privatization of public space, but privatization possesses different forms and, in general, indicates the transformation of ownership and shifting control from public to private (Chiodelli & Moroni, 2014). Dovey writes that there is no simple critique advocating that all forms of privatization

are problematic, many quasi-public spaces add amenities and vitality to the city; the larger critique in relation to privatization is more focused on how privately-owned publicly accessible spaces replicate public space such as shopping malls, gated communities, and corporate plazas (Dovey, 2016). There, the replication in relation to control is problematic out from the vague understanding of one's actual rights as a user in these quasi-public spaces (Dovey, 2016; Carmona, 2021), which challenge the quality of the space by influencing accessibility and usability. These spaces facilitate and operates for its owners' agenda and indicates that these forms of privatization are erasing solidarity and privilege the individual interest and not the collective. In relation to accessibility, gated communities are directly restricted for the unfamiliar, and shopping malls and corporate plazas is excluding undesirable people as street-people and people not contributing to profitability. By this sense, the distinction between public and private becomes a distinction of social class (Dovey, 2016). The critique on privatization is mostly focused on these three types of quasi-public spaces, but in the contemporary development of our urban environment more traditional public space typologies is incessantly converting through privatization processes into quasi-public space. A more general concern, as Németh and Schmidt highlights is in exactly how public these quasi-public spaces really are, and if the management of these spaces tend to prioritize private interests over broader social concerns (Németh & Schmidt, 2011).

"Privatization is a subtle and incremental process through which the private market appropriates everyday urban life."

(Dovey, 2016, p. 158).

In the literature *In Search of new Public Domain, Analysis and Strategy* by Maarten Hajer and Arnold Reijndorp from 2001, the authors investigate and define the strength and the characteristics in public places that we recognize as qualities, in an attempt to specify the success factors in these places. Fundamental in their literature is the term '*public domain*', and questions considering what characteristics defines 'good' public space and to what extend can good public space be artificially created. There, Hajer and Reijndorp define a public domain as a place where exchanges between different social groups is possible and actually occurs (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001). Hajer and Reijndorp stress the value of this quality, which serves them as 'guiding ideal', and state, "It is a perspective from which we want to analyze the existing public space, because no matter how often lip service is paid to the objectives

and desirability of a public domain, places only rarely seem to actually function in this way." (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001, p. 11). By this understanding, public domain is an extension of the concept of public space but entails additional requirements. These are requirements which indicates the place to possess a positive value, a setting that fosters this type of exchanges between people with different social understandings, and that these exchanges actually occur (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001). It is important to point out that the question of exchange is not narrowly referring to just physical interaction. It also relates to the process in how one experiences a space with others, which naturally generates reflections about the people you share it with by witness the happiness (or suffering) of others and, to some degree share it (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001; Kohn, 2005). It is a quality that rarely is permanent and embedded within a space, the concept of public domain is therefore bound to chronological aspects and the place temporary setting. Therefore, a place is rarely classified as a public domain permanently, solely during the certain time the place generating these forms of exchanges between different people with different social understandings (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001).

Hajer and Reijndorp (2001) indicate that places with shared values, like those mentioned above, could also be found beyond traditional urban public space, such as streets, parks, and squares. This also includes spaces that are not public in the strict sense, for example privately owned and managed spaces can still function as public domain (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001). The concept of public domain therefore frees itself from any simple distinction between public and private. The authors claim that today's discussion of public space is too narrowly focused on these traditional urban spaces, though should relate to the drastically changing urban societies in recent decades, both socially and spatially speaking (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001). In Moroni and Chiodelli, the writing signifies that the borders of what counts as a place for interaction are being redrawn (O'Neal in Moroni & Chiodelli, 2014), and imply that they now also take place in virtual spaces online (Sisk in Moroni & Chiodelli, 2014).

"We actually have no standard by which to ascertain the quality of public space. Moreover, a great deal of potential public domain is simply ignored. Politicians and other policy-makers seem as yet unconvinced that these will be the most important strategic questions for the coming years."

(Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001, p.14).

"the right to the city":

Because of global economics, the growth of cities is strongly connected to the growth of private enterprises, which affects the development of the public realm in reflecting the increased interest of private claims and investments. Many have argued that the development of the urban realm has revealed that urban public space is a valuable commercial commodity, where global enterprises, in partnership with city governments, have withdrawn from the historical function of public space (Madanipour in Carmona, 2010), being an open, accessible space for exchange, with social and democratic values. There, the owners of quasi-public spaces possess the possibility to exclude undesirable people that not contributing to profitability from being present within these spaces. This commodification of public space addresses those in society that can afford or can take part of such a commodification process and a consumption lifestyle (Carmona, 2010). The critical part of this development is that public investment and regulations would produce exclusion, inequity, and homogeneous outcomes and support those already well off (Fainstein, 2010). These development, in general, lead to a loss in quality as market valuations rule such places. Madanipour writes that it is the competitive climate between cities for investment that puts pressure on city governments to create attractive and safe environments that generate amenities and facilities for the tourists and professionals they hope to attract (Madanipour, 2003 in Carmona, 2010). The narrow focus by city governments to follow the markets interests redraw the balance between public and private influences, there private actors are incessantly influencing the public realm towards the market interest. The strong focus on commodification will direct public and private investment to benefit the market in prioritizing tourist facilities and stadiums, and ignoring civic desires and needs (Fainstein, 2010). This is the consequence of the pressure city governments has today in relation to the competitive climate between cities to generate investment (Madanipour, 2003 in Carmona, 2010). There, Carmona declares that the cities that do not follow or succeed to follow this development by and for the market, as well as generating global investments, often meet larger socio-economic challenges and, in the worse case, end up as abandonment (Carmona, 2010). This contemporary development of privatization of public space in relation to commodification leaves the fate of cities and its people in the hands of the market, which neither is a good strategy or a sustainable development for cities and societies.

Public space has always constituted a fundamental role in the functioning and evolution of our cities, especially in Europe (Madanipour, 2009 in Moroni & Chiodelli, 2014). Throughout history, public space is described as a democratic and social space, a place for encounters

and interaction with diversity (Carmona, 2010). Public space provides a stage for discussion on public and civic matters, for organising debates, demonstrations, protests, etc. (Kohn, 2005; Moroni & Chiodelli, 2014). In response to our modern society and the contemporary urban development practiced publicly accessible space under private ownership and control, quasi-public space has become a primary means of procuring new publicly accessible spaces in many cities (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2011; Dovey, 2016). There, the private sector's increased claim in providing publicly accessible space challenges the essential values and fundamental functions of public space. Therefore, public space possesses an important role in fostering democracy by providing opportunities for political speech and dissent. A function and value that is often limited within privately owned publicly accessible spaces, by narrowly not suit its owners' perceptions or interests (Kohn, 2005). Here Kohn is criticizing the privatization of public space in the sense that it narrows our sensibility by diminishing the opportunities to encounter difference (Kohn, 2005). Quasi-public spaces, in this light, are largely restricted in relation to the right of free speech and of being a political place where different viewpoints can be expressed, values which are essential in the concept of public space (Kohn, 2005). By this understanding it is vital to examine how private interests regulate or even erase people's right to their own cities and questions people's very existence by excluding them from being a part of the public realm.

Quasi-public space is a specialized space that regularly influences the public realm with commercial and profitability interests instead of cherishing civic needs, desires and the common good. The privatization of public space fosters this development by producing quasi-public spaces, in the sense that privatization indicates the transformation of ownership and control from public to private (Chiodelli & Moroni, 2014). In general, all quasi-public spaces are often criticized of being a product of privatization, but it is important to note that there is a diverse form of privatization processes driven by different forces in society. There, commodification, gentrification, and quasi-public space could be seen as different forms of privatization processes and results. Carmona highlights that the rapid provision of quasi-public spaces indicates a 'public-isation' of private space, converse to the privatization of public space (Carmona, 2021). There, Carmona implies that several new quasi-public spaces have been developed on former private properties, which are inaccessible for the public to utilize and access. Therefore, several quasi-public spaces are in the process of transformation from private, publicly inaccessible spaces to private, publicly accessible spaces, which indicates a public-isation of private space instead of a privatization of public space (Carmona, 2021). This implies that the

amount of publicly accessible space is increasing by the private sectors' larger undertaking in providing new quasi-public spaces, which could be argued in enlarging the public realm. Still, the concern Németh and Schmidt exposes, in exactly how public these quasi-public spaces really are, and if the management of these spaces tend to prioritize private interests over broader social concerns remains (Németh & Schmidt, 2011). A vital question, regardless of being a process of privatization or public-isation, is understanding that both processes result in the creation of quasi-public space. This is a general concern related to quasi-public space, a concern that expands in the understanding that several quasi-public spaces are provided by developers and property owners in exchange for floor area ratio (FAR) bonus, thus their management priorities are often financial rather than social (Németh & Schmidt, 2011). An arrangement that minimizes the quality of those spaces and generates dead and hardscaped spaces instead of active and diverse ones (ibid.). Amanda Burden, former director of New York City Department of City Planning in her TED talk "*How public spaces make cities work*" from 2014 commented, "For developers they are ideal, there are nothing to water, nothing to maintain and there are no undesired people to [be] worried about." (Burden, 2014). This indicates that some quasi-public spaces are not designed to be accessible and utilized by people firstly, which is the opposite of an ideal public space. Obviously both public and quasi-public spaces are designed and managed differently, which makes it impossible to simplify space quality and value narrowly by falling under the category of either public or quasi-public (Moroni & Chiodelli, 2014; Dovey, 2016). Several city governments like New York, London, and Hong Kong, to name a few, offers forms of FAR bonus agreements in exchange for new publicly accessible space and management provided by the private sector (Carmona, 2021). These agreements' vary from different city governments helps them provide and maintain new publicly accessible spaces, which is often a large financial burden. There, private capital funds and provides a large amount of publicly accessible spaces. This type of funding arrangement both benefits the private sector in larger investment at high valued properties, and in exchange the public is provided with more publicly accessible spaces paid by the private sector. Such construction could be understood as solid, but can be considered as being a process of privatization and commodification with an unknown understanding of its long-term consequences, both in quality and in the development of the public realm. In an interview with Jesper Skiöld from the exploration office (Swedish: exploateringskontoret) at the City of Stockholm, Skiöld describes that Stockholm possesses former experiences of various commodification processes, where the municipality sold development projects as properties and real estate' etc. to the pri-

vate sector. In exchange, the municipality offered private developers bonuses and forms of discounts to provide different services in hand with their development. Skiöld describes further that this type of exchanges and negotiations comes with short terms benefits for the municipality but nearly always generating long-term consequences for the city. Therefore, Stockholm no longer offering this type of exchanges to private developers (J. Skiöld, personal communication, 04 May, 2021). Today Stockholm municipality puts the same quality requirements on private developments as state developments and collaborates closely with various private actors within the municipality's developments. Skiöld also declare that the Swedish plan and building law (Swedish: plan- och bygglagen, PBL, 2010:900), overview plan (Swedish: översiktsplan, ÖP) and detailed plan (Swedish: detaljplan, DP) functions to sustain quality and fundamental rights within the planning process and the development of the built environment at large (J. Skiöld, personal communication, 04 May 2021).

Both Carmona and Németh and Schmidt have done empirical studies considering this type of distinction between public and quasi-public spaces. Their studies primarily indicate that the distinction between public and quasi-public is not a dogmatic question (Carmona, 2021). In Németh and Schmidt's study they propose a conceptual model with the objective to identify publicness, there the results indicate primarily on a different in applied control and management measures between public and quasi-public space, additional features that control behaviour within those spaces (Németh & Schmidt, 2011). Carmona primarily criticizes quasi-public spaces of being over- or under- managed/controlled, having faint communication in what uses are approved within these spaces, and what rights one, as a dweller, possesses within these quasi-public spaces (Carmona, 2021). In summary, both Carmona and Németh and Schmidt declare new policy recommendations that proclaims larger responsibilities and requirement on the private sector in develop new quasi-public spaces (Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Carmona, 2021). These suggested requirements and responsibilities would ensure a higher standard in quality and a larger long-term responsibility by the private sector.

"... whilst privately owned and managed spaces remain a legitimate and often valued part of the diverse mix in many cities, it will be important to ensure that urban areas do not become over-dominated by them and that ultimate control of the public realm of our cities is not ceded to private interests ..."

(Carmona, 2021, p.28).

Core components to investigate public space qualities in relation to privatization:

Public space possesses fundamental value for society, by being the material and social site which constitutes an actual space where all members of the public occur (Mitchell, 1995), and therefore a space for public activities to take place (Stevens, 2007). Its function in society possesses liveability, sociability, and political relevance (Moroni & Chiodelli, 2014), and therefore facilitates people with various everyday necessities (Kohn, 2005). The fundamental value of public space is, therefore, democratic, and social by being a space for everyday necessities and public activities, which generates encounters and interactions with diversity (Carmona, 2010). Public space, in this sense, facilitates the common good and generates democratic and social processes that are fundamental in the creation of the public realm and for society (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001). The value of public space for society is vital, and therefore it is important to maintain public space to obtain and function from these values, and remain as a space operating for the common good rather than individual interests.

Ensuring that public space continues to function and operates from this value is a contemporary challenge in the context of an increased commodification and privatization process of public space. It's therefore vital to safeguard the quality of publicly accessible space to operate out from this fundamental value, and especially for quasi-public space (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007). By theoretically investigating public space, and in particular, the consequences of the privatization process of public space, some core components that influence the qualities and formation of public space need to be introduced. First, there is *ownership* that is debated and taken in consideration in the question of privatization. The concept of ownership itself only declares if the space is either owned by the state (public) or by a private actor or agency (private), which makes ownership of space the core distinction between private space and public space. Ownership, in this regard, is a crucial factor that determines the control measures the owner can apply within the space (Moroni & Chiodelli, 2014). The second concept is *control*, which relates to the power to direct the space to operate from the owner's objective and interest. The dimension of control is therefore vital in relation to quality, by its capability to regulate access and encourage/discourage use (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2014). The third concept is *accessibility*, which refers to the openness of the space

and the right for one to be present. Therefore, accessibility relates to questions concerning equality, in that a space being public implies on being present, a fundamental distinction between the concept of public and private. The fourth concept is *usability*, that embraces both the uses and the users of public space, which functionalities the space possess and offers to achieve a utilized and diverse space. Usability itself is a central aspect in the debate of successful space (Carmona, 2010; Nemeth & Schmidt, 2014), which makes the usability of a space a crucial component in examining the quality of public space. The fifth and the final concept is *management*, which could be seen as an extension of the concept of control, but in this context refers to aspects in relation to up-keep, programming, and the preservation of the owner's idea of the space.

These five concepts, *ownership*, *control*, *accessibility*, *usability*, and *management* represent the core components to investigate public space quality in relation to the privatization of public space. None of these components alone could examine the possible shifts in public space quality in relation to privatization; however, the interplay between these components can act as an analytical lens that displays the changes of quality in public space. The next five sections will unfold each of these components and examine their values and meanings in relation to public space and the creation of the public realm.

Ownership:

“... ownership determines the source and nature of control over access, and over behaviour within the space” (Chiodelli & Moroni, 2014, p. 53).

Fundamental in examining public space quality in relation to privatization is to examine the concept of ownership, there ownership is firstly defining the question in who owns what? and to the right to own. With the concept of ownership, the owner possesses external rights over her/his properties and therefore can establish additional control over her/his properties than people without ownership. Ownership as an individual right is crucial in the contemporary society, particularly in relation to domestic life, where ownership is the fundamental aspect that establishes our household as a private space, isolated from the public and its influence. In relation to the privatization of public space, ownership is crucial in that privatization itself indicates an ownership and control shift from public to private, and by allowing public access, it results in it being a quasi-public space. Therefore, the question of who owns what is crucial in the discussion of privatization of public space, and the question of what ownership implies? In this sense, the owner is restricted with various responsibilities over and within his/her possessions. Spaces that are less public or entirely private are unrestrained, with less responsibilities, such as our individual domestic spaces. However, with publicly accessible spaces, ownership comes with certain responsibilities in relation to control, accessibility, and management. The owner or operator of publicly accessible space must secure certain fundamental societal needs and requirements, justified by the public sector and various institutions. Such needs and requirements varies between city governments and countries, and sometimes completely is missing; but how does this influence public space? Fundamentally, ownership define if a space is either public or private, where public could be associated with including and private with excluding, the concept of a public space with a private ownership is contradictory in the concept of public space itself. Ownership itself does not say much about the actual quality of the space, insofar that the private sector often possesses larger capital resources than the public sector, and therefore privately owned publicly accessible spaces possess more lavish features (Dovey, 2016). As well by ownership, the owner possesses the possibility in influencing the space and therefore also the public with their own interests. Ownership is therefore the fundamental source of control over accessibility and usability and steer the choice of applied management measures (Moroni & Chiodelli, 2014).

Control:

“Rights to presence, action and appropriation may be guaranteed but only under private control” (Dovey, 2016, p. 158).

If the change of ownership from public to private is the primary process of privatization, control is another dimension of privatization (Kohn, 2005). Ownership is the source that determines over the nature of control over accessibility and usability within a space (Moroni & Chiodelli, 2014). The dimensions of control in relation to privatization and public space quality is therefore referring to the question: who is in control, and by which means? As stated in the previous section, the owner of such space possesses external rights over his/her own properties, which gives additional or full control to operate the space out from his/her individual interest. Control, therefore, relates to the authority of putting individual interests in front of others or the public's, which is the very meaning of private ownership, to specialize the space out from one's individual interests (Moroni & Chiodelli, 2014). Nemeth and Schmidt divide the concept of control into, hard (or active) control and soft (or passive) control (Loukaïou-Sideris & Banerjee in Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007). Hard control involves the use of surveillance cameras, private security guards, and measures that discourages or restrict certain activities and inappropriate behaviours. Soft control focuses on more symbolic techniques, such as access restriction and measures that passively constrain undesired uses and users. Examples of these include: small-scale urban design measures, the removal of public restrooms or food vendors that might attract undesirable users (Nemeth & Schmidt, p. 285, 2007). Nemeth and Schmidt further divides control into four approaches to controlling publicly accessible space: Laws and Rules, Surveillance and policing, Design and Image, and Access and Territoriality (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007).

Accessibility:

“Public space is in essence a space that is freely accessible for everyone: public is the opposite of private” (Hajer & Reindorpln, 2001, p. 11).

In the discussion of accessibility, in the context of this research, the question of who has access, and who does not, is vital. The previous concept of control is crucial in relation to accessibility, through its influence over inclusion and exclusion. Public space is, in essence, a space that is freely accessible for everyone (Hajer & Reindorpln, 2001), but regardless of intentions the degree of accessibility is influenced by more practical and individual aspects as well. Therefore, when examining accessibility, one should consider both the judicial and the practical dimensions (Kohn, 2005). The concept of accessibility could therefore be understood in various ways and in different forms, for instance spatial accessibility and visual accessibility (Carmona, 2011). There, spatial accessibility refers to the possibility to be physical present within the space, and visual accessibility is limited to the visual experience of the space (Carmona, 2010). Dovey describes accessibility in relation to movement, where access is about how we move around in the environment, to the connections between where we are, where we are going, and where we must be (Dovey, 2016). Accessibility therefore relates to what is between us and our desired destination, there access resistance could be material, physical, and mental, and therefore also highly individual or contextual. What counts as an inaccessible space is up to one's interpretation, out from what the individual experience as barriers or obstacles. Therefore, access could be restricted/reduced by payment, membership, community, or various active/passive control measures. These measures could be used as control or management strategies to exclude undesired people to access or being present within the space, often and narrowly to facilitate safety and a positive experience of the space, by their idea of 'desired users'. The contemporary and active question of safety has resulted in a more surveilled environment, due to the 11 September 2001 attacks in the United States; the presence of the military has increased in the urban environment, and in later days surveillance cameras and patrolling safety guards patrolling actively in several crowded publicly accessible spaces (Dovey, 2016). These tendencies could be seen in increased access for those challenging safety issues, but decreased access for 'street people' by introducing a larger formality in the urban environment. The question considering accessibility therefore relates to equality as well, where the introduction of more control measures within public space, and especially in quasi-public space, tends to narrow its publicness, and moves towards a more defined, specific, and desired target group selected by the space owner. This, hypothetically, in hand with time, will lead to a segregation between publicly accessible spaces, jeopardizing a fundamental value of public space: to generate encounters between a diverse people.

Usability:

“... places are not consumed or diminished when others enjoy them. In fact, in many public places, their value actually increases when a critical mass of strangers congregates” (Kohn, 2005, p. 151).

The concept of usability treats both the users and uses of a space, and is affected by the previous concept of control, with its specific measures that influences the users in what type of uses that are more suitable within the space. There, the fundamental question in examining usability is to look at the use functions of the space. The functions of a public space are firstly developed within the design of the space, there the design itself programs the space for specific uses and users (Dovey, 2016). The actual design of the space can either encourage a more formal use or informal use of the space, which leaves the user with the opportunity to personally interpret how to utilize the space. This also relates to how the space is controlled and managed, and the space's cultural context and influence, where similar spaces or elements could have diverse cultural meanings and therefore differs in functions. Another dimension to examine usability, in relation to control, by looking at who defines the use. The ownership of the space determines over control, and therefore the owner possesses the control of selecting specific methods and strategies that direct or indirect influencing the interpretation of the space in relation to usability. Nemeth and Schmidt's listing of features that either encourage or discourage use is an example of how specific features can affect usability (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007). The question, who is using the space and who is not, is vital, in that the actual user of the space defines its uses and functions as much as the uses and functions that is not represented in the space. This relates to larger questions considering the contextual conditions of the space as well. An important aspect is that usability is interlinked with control measures as Nemeth and Schmidt clearly defines within their approaches to controlling publicly accessible space: laws & rules, surveillance & policing, design & image and access & territoriality (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007). This indicates that usability as well as accessibility is affected by various features, programmed by the space owner's private opinions in which uses they as individuals find suitable or not suitable within the space.

Management:

“The conventional wisdom is that management practices in privately owned public spaces are more exclusionary and less transparent and accountable than those in publicly owned spaces.” (Németh & Schmidt, 2011, p. 6).

The concept of management is a widely interpreted concept, which can imply anything from maintaining the space in relation to up-keep of vegetation or other maintenance, to the programming of the space. In this sense, management is an important concept in relation to the operation of the space, especially over time. There, the possible applied management strategies, and responsibilities, varies between public and private space by different prerequisites when it comes to objectives, resources, jurisdictions and laws. The concept of management could also be interpreted as an extension of the concept of control, by being comprehended as a strategy to maintain the owner's idea of a space over time. But differing from control, it primarily indicates on the space's up-keep tasks, which is primarily post-built aspects. Therefore, by examining management it is important to investigate what the objective and resources the responsible actor possesses, to decide if the actor is a suitable and stable actor to both own and manage the space from a long-term perspective. Some actors are using programmes in the operation of their spaces, which implements planned or more recurrent activities, events or uses within the space. As such, a programme could be used as a management strategy, to maintain the space to function from the owner's interest. Who is managing the space, in this sense, is central to the concept of management. It is also important to understand that state-owned space could also be managed by private actors, which partly could be seen as a form of privatization.

Carmona also highlights another aspect of management, that publicly accessible space is either over- or under-managed. Where over-managed spaces frequently fall on private owned and managed space, and under-managed spaces frequently falls on state owned and managed publicly accessible space. There, Carmona describes that publicly accessible space owners either implement too few or too many control features, which is described by Carmona as a critical aspect with management (Carmona, 2010).



Methodology:

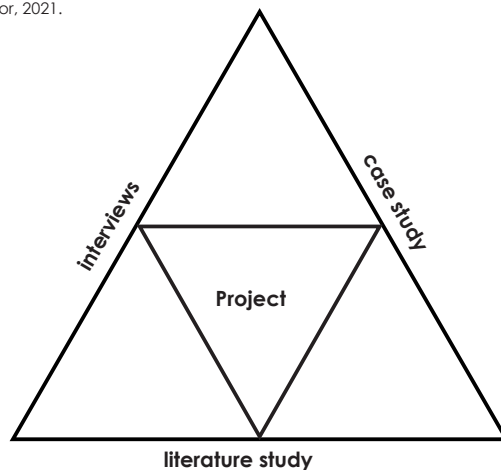
In this chapter the analytical approach and chosen method for this research is presented.

3.

Methodology:

To be able to answer the primary questions of the thesis, the chosen methodology will elaborate on the case-study approach, the analytical lens, and particular data collection methods used within this study. The data collection is comprised of a literature study, interviews, and observations of Piazza Liberty, the site for the case study. The literature review consists of a background investigation of existing writing on the subject, to achieve a larger understanding and knowledge of the subject and enables the ability to place its findings in a larger context to reach wider perspectives. Both unstructured and semi-structured interviews will also be used, to reach and provide both wider perspectives and reflections on the literature, and more practical perspectives related to the subject. The case study of Piazza Liberty will act as a real-world location to apply the analytical framework to. These chosen methods are suitable in relation to the research objectives and create a triangulation of methods that improve the reliability and validity of the research and its findings.

Figure 02, Triangulation of methods.
Diagram by the author, 2021.



Data collection methods:

Literature Study: The literature study consists of former writings and studies about privatization of public space that developed from without *The Right to the City* movement from 1960s. There, Lefebvre's key writing *The Right to the City* from 1964 form a foundation of reflections and questions that this thesis is anchored within. That follows Stefano Moroni and Francesco Chiodelli interpretation that; "the right to the city is first and foremost a right to public space" (Moroni & Chiodelli, p. 51, 2014). Moroni and Chiodelli's article *Public Space, Private Space, and the Right to the City* from 2014 become a more contemporary writing related to issues framed in Lefebvre's *The Right to the City*, and enlightened the importance of the interplay between public and private space in generating urban and public vitality (Moroni & Chiodelli, 2014). The examination of concepts like the public, public realm, public space and quasi-public space, and Maarten Hajer's and Arnold Reijndorp's concept of public domain widens the debate between the function and value of public and private space. Later, in the distinction and examination between state provided public space and quasi-public space, related to quality, Németh and Schmidt's *The Privatization of Public Space: Modelling and Measuring Publicness* from 2011 becomes a key reading in understanding the rapid provision of quasi-public spaces and ideas in how to investigate the quality of public space. These four readings form the primary foundation of this thesis and research. Figure 03 on the following page illustrates the thesis investigation process in relation to theories and concepts.

Interviews: The objective to include interviews within the research is to reach broader perspectives and expertise on the contemporary phenomenon of the privatization of public space.

The first interview is a semi-structured interview with Stefano Moroni (24 March 2021) professor in planning at the Polytechnic University of Milan, and author to the article *Public spaces, Private Spaces, and the Right to the City* with Francesco Chiodelli, which is defined as a key reading for this thesis.

The second interview is also a semi-structured interview with Jesper Sköld (04 May 2021) who works at the exploitation office at the City of Stockholm. This interview gains relevance by getting answers in how a municipality relates and works with the development and consequences of privatization, which brings more practical perspectives to the theoretical ones.

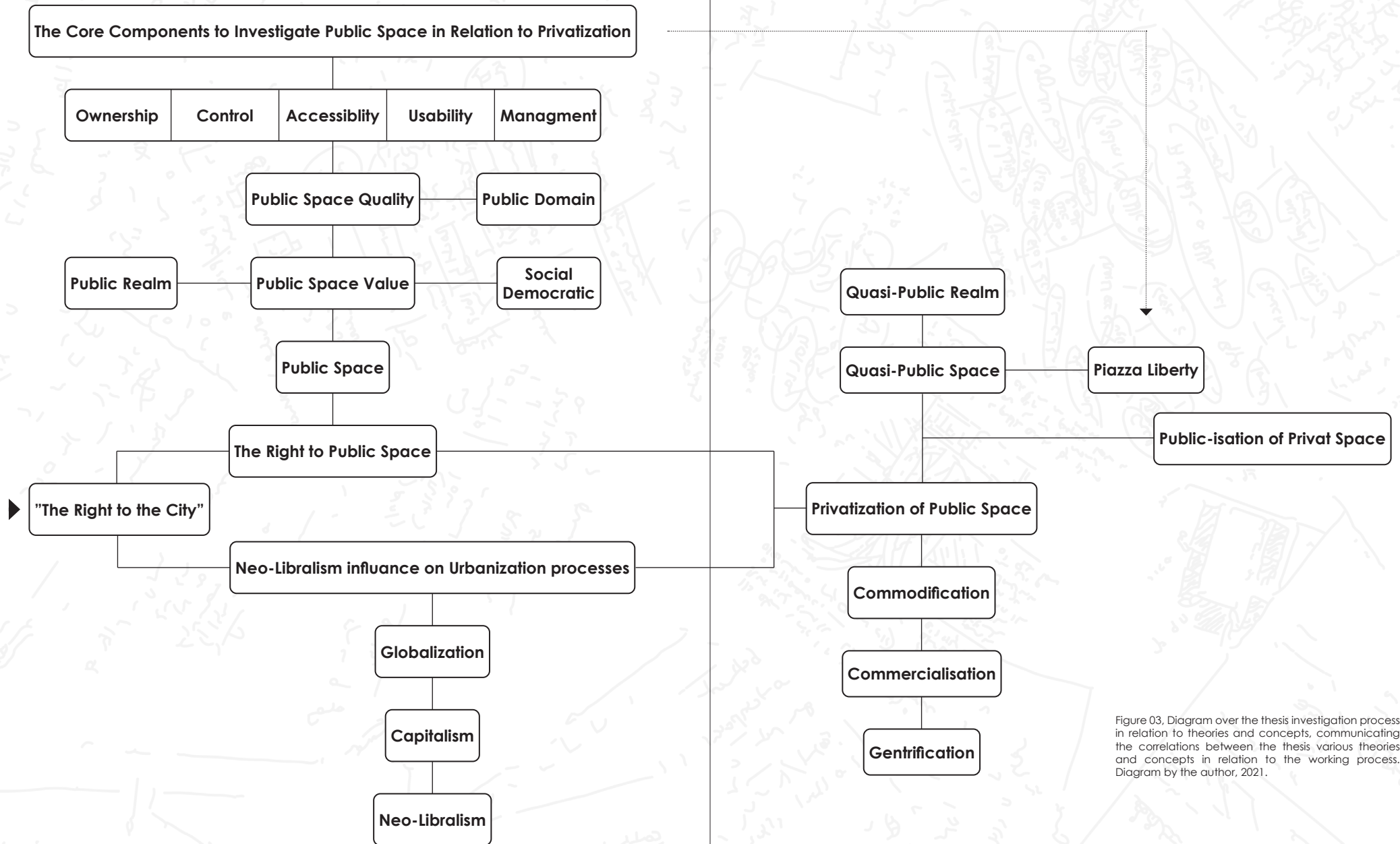


Figure 03, Diagram over the thesis investigation process in relation to theories and concepts, communicating the correlations between the thesis various theories and concepts in relation to the working process. Diagram by the author, 2021.

Case Study: Piazza Liberty

Piazza Liberty in Milan, Italy was chosen as the case study. This site is interesting to examine by being a clear case and example of a quasi-public space. The case findings will therefore be relevant to similar quasi-public spaces, and more specific the 'town square stores' concept of Apple Inc., which possesses the potential to become a common concept for other brands to follow in the future. Therefore, it is highly relevant to critically examine Piazza Liberty in the lens of public space quality and its effect on the public realm, to gain a larger understanding of this increasingly common type of publicly accessible space. The case study is based on several case visits and observations that have generated an extensive material, containing notes and photograph documentation from the case.

Observation: Through observation, a larger understanding of the specific space is achieved, and by several observations a more complex understanding of the spaces dynamic and everyday setting could be grasp and obtain (Stevens, 2007). The understanding of Piazza Liberty is based on several case visits, fulfilled by both shorter visits circulating within the piazza for approximate 10-15 minutes, observing its dynamic and temporal setting, and two arranged observations with longer stays within the piazza. This is to get a deeper understanding of its everyday setting, actors, and structure. During all my observations occasions, notations and photographs was collected.

Photography: Through photographic documentation it's possible to capture the expression of the space, as well as its common and temporary everyday situations. This results in communicative material, which represent my own understandings and experiences within the space. As a tool, photography allows one to go back to the site, after one's own visit by capturing selected aspects of the space on photo. It contains information that wasn't grasped during the occasion when the photo was photographed. Photography, therefore, becomes a good data collection method, especially considering the frequent lockdowns in Milan due to the pandemic, which has limited the possibility to more frequently visit Piazza Liberty.

Drawings: Drawing is a fundamental working method of the architectural and planning profession, both as a communication tool but also as a process in understanding space. There the process of producing drawings generate further understanding of a space, initially in its pure physical form and dimension, but then the process makes one reflect upon the space fragments and elements, and therefore results in a deeper understanding. Therefore, the production of drawings, in hand with case visits and observation, results in a comprehensive material in understanding a space and its life. Drawings are also a fundamental communication tool to get people with no perception or experience of the space to understand its form, life and potential. Unlike photography, drawings have the potential to isolate itself from dynamic influences, and represent the space pure physical elements, fragments, and design.

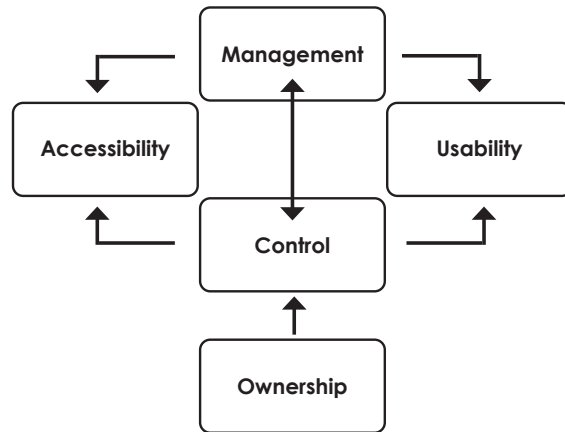
Observations:

21/09-2020 (Monday:15:55)
 21/09-2020 (Monday: 17:05)
 28/09-2020 (Monday: 16:50)
 08/10-2020 (Thursday: 12:00-17:00)
 05/12-2020 (Saturday: 17:15)
 27/02-2021 (Saturday: 16:20)
 24/04-2021 (Saturday: 15:50)
 12/06-2021 (Saturday: 15:45)
 09/07-2021 (Friday: 22:00)
 17/07-2021 (Saturday: 15:10)
 22/08-2021 (Sunday: 00:06)
 12/09-2021 (Sunday: 13:00-19:06)
 09/10-2021 (Saturday: 14:43)
 28/10-2021 (Thursday: 16:28)
 17/02-2022 (Thursday: 18:11)
 02/04-2022 (Monday: 17:22)
 09/04-2022 (Saturday: 14:00)

Analytical Approach:

The research will investigate how the privatization of public spaces affects the public realm out from the parameters that determine public space qualities: ownership, control, accessibility, usability, and management. These parameters are anchored in theories concerned with privatization of public space and reflected in 'the right to the city' approaches and thus serve this project as an analytical framework.

Figure 04, Core components to investigate public space in relation to privatization. Diagram by the author, 2021.



The diagram indicates the correlations in hierarchy between the different concepts that forms; the core components to investigate the qualities of public space in relation to privatization. Ownership is the foundation to control, where control is determined over accessibility and useability. Management is an extension of control which maintains control over accessibility and usability over time. Accessibility and useability are therefore the components that representing the outcome of the actual space; where there ownership, control, and management are more underlying components that define the space structure, impact inaccessibility and useability.

There is no component that is more important than the other in the investigation of public space qualities in relation to privatization, it is the correlation and interplay between these components based on this understanding that determines the actual quality of the specific place on a structural level.

Case analysis: out from the core components to investigate public space quality in relation to privatization:

The case analysis of Piazza Liberty is conceived from the analytical approach, described above. There each component will be analysed individually from a few approaches anchored within questions and theories who treats the specific component in relation to privatization.

Ownership will be investigated by examining the owner, operation, objective, and responsibilities. Control and management will be examined from three out of four of Németh and Schmidt's defined control approaches: laws and rules, surveillance & policing and design & image (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2007). Accessibility will be investigated by examining users, design & image, opening hours & restrictions. Usability will be investigated out from users, use functions and design & image.

Below are the questions each component will be primarily tested within the analysis of Piazza Liberty.

Ownership:

Owner: Who is the owner?
 Operation: What is the owner operating??
 Objective: What is the objective with the ownership?
 Responsibilities: What responsibilities comes with the ownership?

Control:

Laws & Rules: How does laws and rules retain control within the space?
 Surveillance & Policing: How does surveillance and policing retain control within the space?
 Design & Image: How does the design and image of the space retain control?

Accessibility:

Users: Who has access and doe's not?
 Design & Image: How does the design and image of the space limit or ensure accessibility?
 Opening hours & restrictions: The space opening hours and restrictions such as payment or membership requirements etc.

Usability:

Users: Who is using the space and who is not?
 Use functions: What are the use functions?
 Design & Image: How does the design and image of the space encourage or discourage usability?

Management:

Laws & Rules: How are the laws and rules of the space formed for the space?
 Surveillance & Policing: How is surveillance & policing applied to the space?
 Design & Image: How does the design and image of the space manage the space?

CASE STUDY

This chapter will present the chosen case study for the thesis: Piazza Liberty in Milan. Starting with a short description of the context of Milan's urban development process and introduce Apple's relevance for this work. The chapter ends with an analysis of Piazza Liberty from the core components to investigate public space quality in relation to privatization.



Figure 05. The city of Milan with Piazza Liberty marked, the case for this thesis. illustration by the author, 2021.

4.

Milan:

The chosen case-study for this thesis, Piazza Liberty, is located in Milan, Italy. Milan's urban development has largely fallen under neo-liberal influence, where its consequences have been described earlier in the introduction. Milan has succeeded to established itself as a global city, and possesses the role as a capital of fashion and design globally (Granata, 2015). This role benefits the city and its enterprises to increasing economic investment, and therefore also expands labour opportunities within the city, etc. Simultaneously, such relation interlinks Milan's development and growth with private influence and capital over time, which makes the city dependent on the market to sustain and maintain this momentum over time.

Apple:

As mentioned in the introduction, strong globalization and digitalization processes have allowed several enterprises to grow beyond local, regional, and national levels and become mega enterprises, operating on a global scale and market (Dovey, 2016). This development has made enterprises become powerful economical actors and therefore also influences the urban development process, which tends to further distance development from cultural and local responsibilities, and prioritize individual interests towards profit and growth.

Apple is one of the largest enterprises in the world and possesses around 500 retail stores in over 25 countries (Statista, 2021). Back in 2016, Apple launched a new store concept, which transforms their stores into 'town square stores', which introduce additional functions and services to the retail outlet, with the ambition to provide a physical gathering space for the Apple community (Olmstead, 2017). Apple's town square stores extend from the normative retail store concept by adding qualifications beyond the contemporary retail store's role within the city, by integrating and developing publicly accessible space in hand with their new retail stores. Apple is expected to provide new town square stores and have earlier announced their vision to transform all their existing stores to such town square stores (Olmstead, 2017). These stores have proven to be successful in profitability and as an effective branding strategy, but Apple has also met criticism and even resistance in the process during the establishment of new stores. This started in the development of Apple's first town square store at Union Square in San

Francisco in 2016, where the construction site was met with both protests and vandalism. In 2018, Apple planned to establish a new town square store in Stockholm at Kungsträdgården, where Apple bought the restaurant TGI Fridays' existing property (Sju Sekel 1) for 129 million Swedish kronor (Engström, 2019). Within Apple's discussions and planning phases with the municipality local complaints and protests arose, claiming inter alia that Apple's presence would be a brutal commercialization of the locally and nationally beloved public park (Stjernberg, 2019). The local resistance was arranged under the name 'Rädda Kungsan' or 'Save Kungsträdgården' in English, organised by the urban environment group Alternativ Stad (Alternativstad, 2021). Apple's plans were then transformed into a larger political question, where an even larger consultation was held during the summer of 2018, gathering politicians, professional experts, and a number of civic voices, to make a legitimate decision. The outcome from the municipal council did not grant Apple the building permit. Unpleased by the decision, Apple retaliated by raising the property price of the plot to 200 million Swedish kronor (71 million more than their purchase price), for an eventual buy-back request from the City of Stockholm (Engström, 2019). Apple also announced that they will not be looking for a new possibility to establish a town square store in Stockholm, because of their unpleasantness with the municipality (Orange, 2018).



Figure 06. Render of Apple's store in Kungsträdgården, Stockholm. Render by Courtesy Apple/Foster + Partners, 2021.



Figure 07, A few Apple towns square stores within the world.
Photos by Arch Daily, 2021; Apple, 2022.



Figure 08, Piazza Liberty in Milan .
Photo by the author , 2020.

Piazza Liberty:

Piazza Liberty is a mid-size piazza located in the centre of Milan in connection to Corso Vittorio Emanuele II, one of the city's main commercial streets. In the same district lies the street Via Monte Napoleone that is classified as one of the world's most expensive streets containing luxury brands as Louis Vuitton, Bvlgari, Prada and Dolce & Gabbana to name a few. This indicates the larger commercial focus within Piazza Liberty's context, of which they themselves are a part of.

Piazza Liberty was built after the Second World War in 1943. Before the war, a Milanese theatre stood on the site, but was destroyed in a bombing during the war. In the construction of Piazza Liberty, a cinema hall was created below the piazza, Apollo Spazio Cinema that opened 1959. The cinema is part of a traditional culture in Milan, where it is seen as a historical cinema that holds on to this traditional Milanese culture (La Repubblica, 2015). Until 2012 the piazza was automobile dominant and served as a parking lot. In 2012, the Milan municipal council decided to pedestrianize the piazza, which followed with a major renovation that finished in 2013. Back then, the vision for Piazza Liberty was to make it more accessible to the people with the piazza's existing attractions such as the Ferrari shop and the former hotel. The plans were then that the piazza could become a centrale open space to host events (il Giornale, 2012). However, it did not take long after the pedestrianization of the piazza for Apple to target Piazza Liberty with their plans to transform it into one of their new town square stores; where Apple started to negotiate in a future buyout of Apollo Spazio Cinema's localities with Platea, the former property owner (La Repubblica, 2015). In this process, both the employees and the community of Apollo Spazio Cinema were criticizing the municipality of Milan and the property owner that the decision-making only falls between a few individuals in relation to ownership. The employees claim that culture is a common and public good service that fosters citizenship, and therefore the citizens and the cultural institutions should not be excluded from these decisions (la Repubblica, 2015). Shortly after, Apple purchased the property from Platea, and with that, Apollo Spazio Cinema's existing localities. The decision meant the end of the historical, 58-year old cinemas present at Piazza Liberty. In 2017, Apple started the redesign and construction of the new Piazza Liberty, which was inaugurated 26 July 2018.



Figure 09, City map over Milan center, public space.
Drawing by the author , 2021.

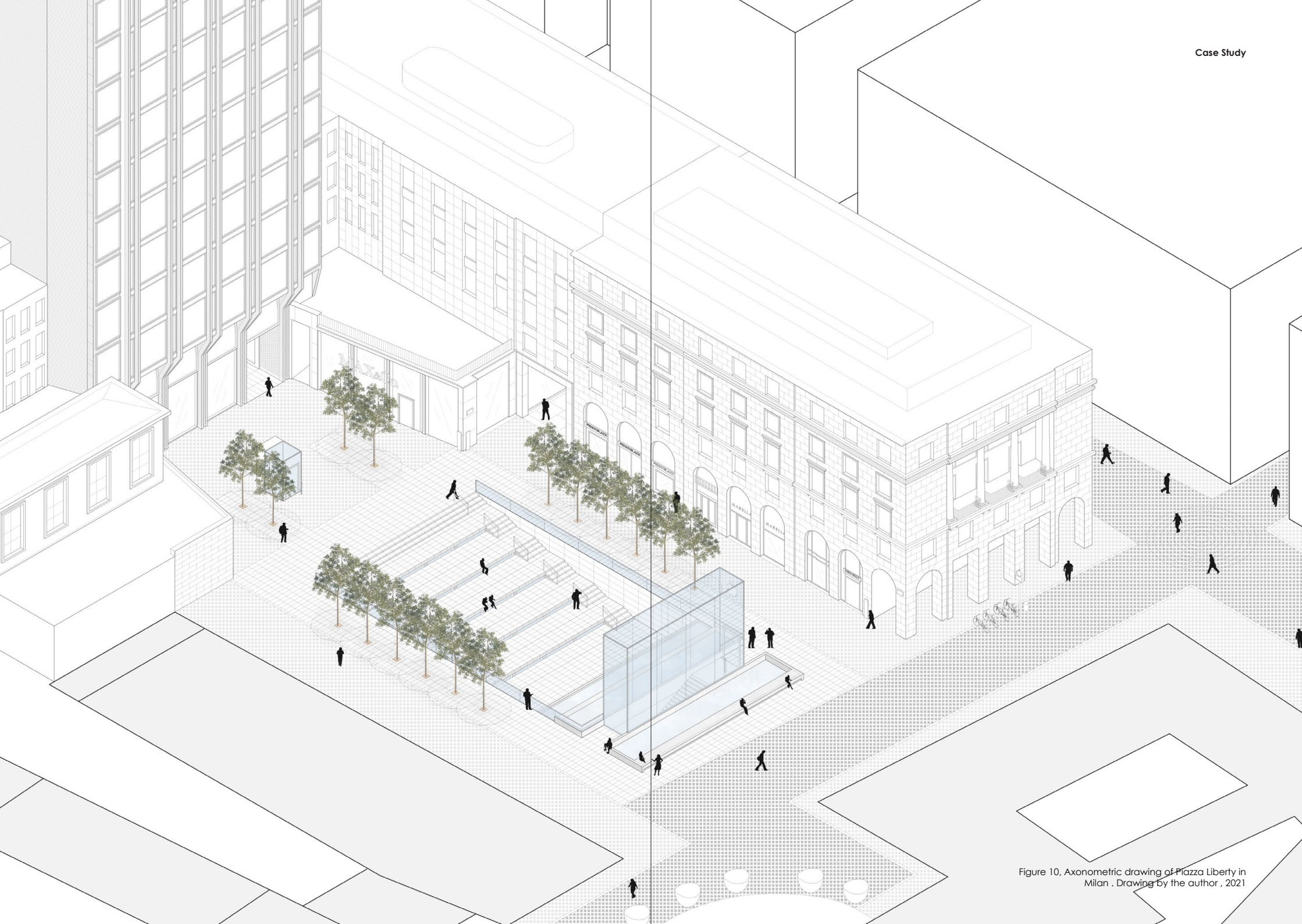
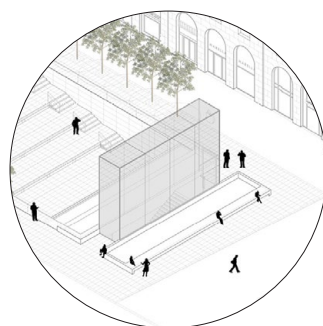
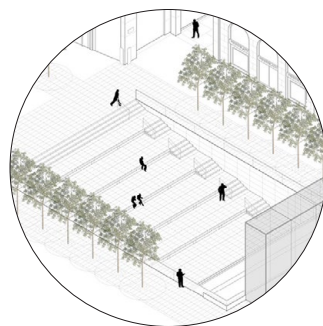


Figure 10. Axonometric drawing of Piazza Liberty in Milan . Drawing by the author , 2021



Fountain

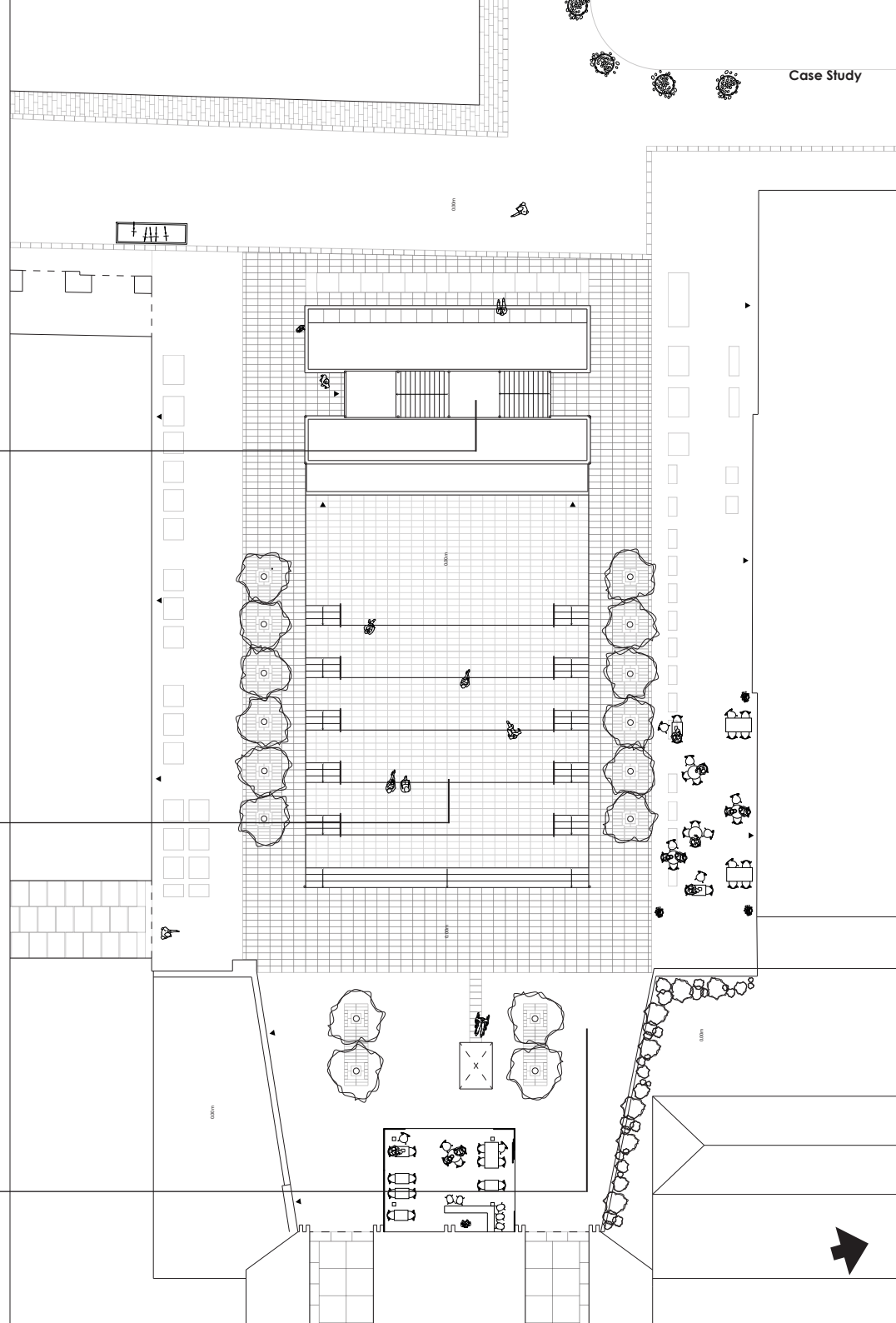


Elevated Steps



Back

Figure 11, Site-Plan and Visualizations of Piazza Liberty in Milan. Drawing by the author , 2021.



Ownership:			Case Study
Control:			
Owner:	Apple bought the property with its premises from Platea in 2015, and today possesses the ownership of Piazza Liberty in Milan. This neither indicates a privatization nor public-isation process, in that the ownership of the property went from one private actor to another private actor (Carmona, 2021).	Laws and Rules:	Piazza Liberty does not possess any signs of specific rules or laws for visitors to follow within the piazza. However, there is a sign that indicates: Piazza del Liberty - Spazio Privato (English: Piazza Liberty - Private Space). Nemeth and Schmidt describe the presence of signs within publicly accessible space as a feature that discourage or controlling use (Nemeth & Schmidt, 2014). The lack of defined and clear rules, as Carmona criticizes, gives the users little understanding of their actual rights within the space, and in hand with other control measures, such as security personnel, could function as a strategy to reject undesirable people from the space (Carmona, 2010); such that can be applied in Piazza Liberty.
Operation:	In 2010, Apple launched their new town square store concept with the vision to create a gathering space for the Apple community (Olmsted, 2020). Their objective with Piazza Liberty is commercial but also symbolic, by representing the Apple brand within Milan, which makes Piazza Liberty another influential actor within Milan's realm.		
Objective:	Apple operatinges themselves within Piazza Liberty, through their town square store, selling products, offering service, arranging workshops and events both inside the store, but also outdoors within the piazza. This makes Apple a commercial actor with economical and marketing interests.	Surveillance & Policing:	There are both surveillance cameras and safety guards within the piazza, which actively observe the visitors/users of the space. This indicates that ones rights to presence and dwell within the piazza is guaranteed but only under private control (Dovey, 2016). There is also often present police or military observing Corso Vittorio Emanuele II from Piazza Liberty's adjacent street Via S. Paolo.
Responsibilities:	Apple's operation at Piazza Liberty is governed by the laws and regulations of the municipality of Milan, national laws and regulations, as well as to Apple's own global corporate policies.		
		Design & Image:	The placement of the fountain at Piazza Liberty makes it a defined street space with clear entrances, instead of being an open space integrated with the adjacent street. The placement of the fountain therefore separates the street from the piazza, which results in a more private space in its spatial form. This design feature simplifies the ability to control who is entering and is located within the piazza.

Management:

Laws and Rules:

There are no signs within the pizza that indicates management measures or advocates a particular use within the piazza, which facilitate management.

Surveillance & Policing:

Through Piazza Liberty's surveillance features, Apple's idea, and objective (intended image and uses), of the piazza is maintained actively, by regulating alternative uses only, through patrolling and monitoring the piazza.

Design & Image:

The minimalistic and largely hard scape design of Piazza Liberty requires minimal maintenance and up-keep, where the primary task would be to maintain the trees seasonal and clean the larger glass surfaces as the fountain and the store consists of.

Apple's own presence within Piazza Liberty interlinks the Apple brand with the place and its image, which makes it important for Apple to maintain a positive image of Piazza Liberty. This makes it partly understandable, from Apple's perspective, in them actively applying control and management measures within Piazza Liberty. In that people's positive or negative associations with Piazza Liberty could indirectly affect the Apple brand. Piazza Liberty also possesses a space program administrated by Apple, which frequently invites various local artists and performers to the piazza and arranging workshops within the Apple store. This management strategy maintains the sense of place within the piazza by fervently hosting temporary amenities and makes the piazza an interesting dynamic space within the city. This strategy also generates a lot of activity within the virtual realm, in the contemporary visual culture, which makes it relatively 'instagrammable'.

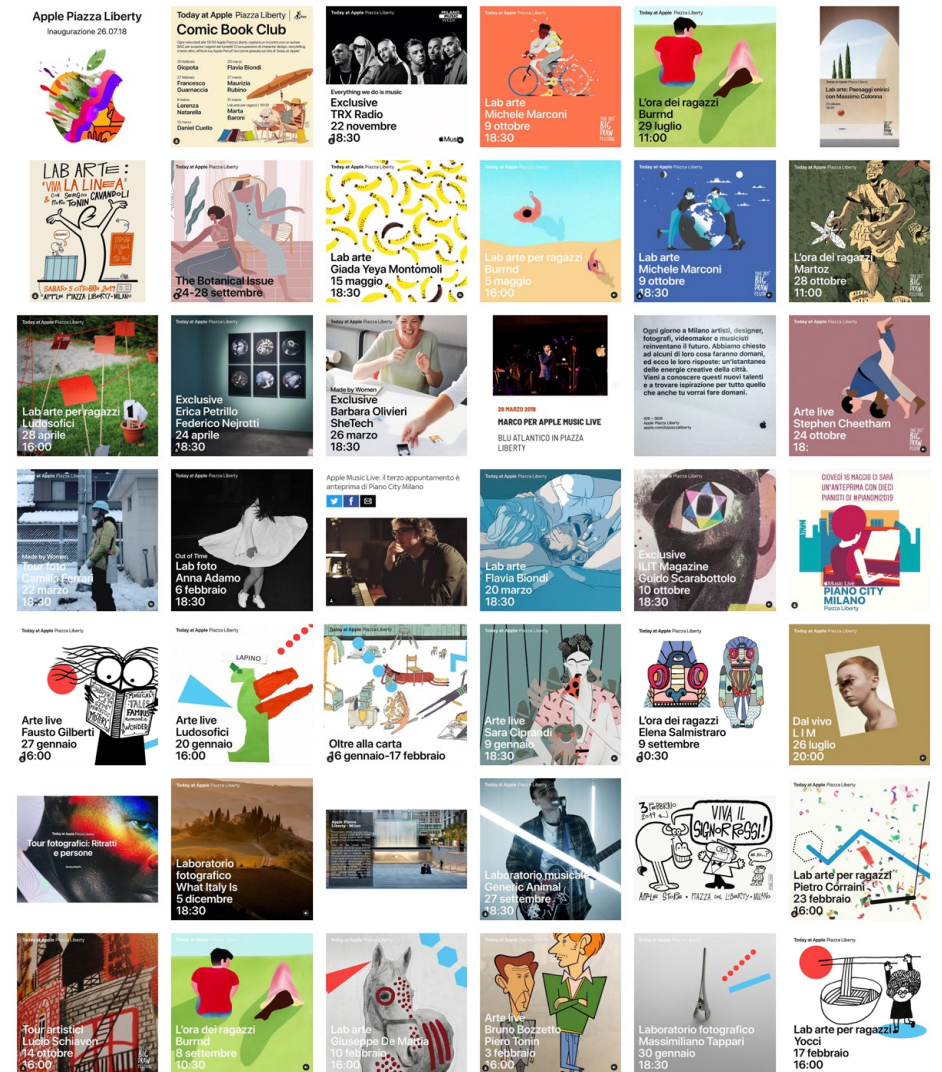


Figure 12, Images of events related to Piazza Liberty's space program. Images by Apple Piazza Liberty, 2021.

Piazza Liberty during COVID-19:

Ownership: Due to the pandemic, the municipality of Milan, in hand with the Italian government, regulated the use of public space nationwide, which has affected Apple operated Piazza Liberty during the pandemic.

Control: Apple amplified additional control measures at Piazza Liberty, such as temperature checks, to secure that the people access and utilize the space are not infected with, or presenting symptoms of, coronavirus. Obstructions were used within the piazza to separate dwellers and customers, by organizing queues systems to enter the store. Pavement markers were also implemented to facilitate social distancing within the piazza (Observations, 2021).

Accessibility: Outside visits, in general, were limited by national restrictions, which was affected and steered by the regions situation in relation to spread of infection, also the restriction to wear face mask both outside and inside was steered nationally. Within Piazza Liberty, Apple temporarily required people both entering the outdoor elevated steps, or the store, to undergo a temperature control.

Usability: The usability of Piazza Liberty during the pandemic was steered by national restrictions of lockdowns, and was affected by the regional spread of infection, which steered the possibility for stores to stay open. The final bottom steps of the elevated steps within the piazza were blocked from publicly access and was instead transformed to an 'outdoor operation zone', an extension of the Apple store, located below the piazza. This zone allowed Apple to receive and assist customers with simpler errands, due to the restrictions limiting the number of people staying within the store at the same time.

Management: Apple had increased the number of security personnel, and due to the temporary outdoor operation zone, store personnel was present within the piazza. Piazza Liberty's space program had to temporarily stop due national restrictions and is yet to be reactivated.



Figure 13. Photos of Piazza Liberty, related to the coronavirus pandemic. Photos by the author, 2021.

Discussion

This chapter will present and critically discuss the thesis' key findings under the topic: The future of the public realm, within the subheadings; privatization of public space, public space quality and towards a quasi-public realm.

5.

Public Space Quality:

The objective of this thesis has been to achieve further understanding on the privatization of public space, to examine its effect on the public realm, and its consequences for the quality of public space. This study's findings are based on theories, interviews, and a case analysis, which has progressed into a more comprehensive understanding of the subject. It has also resulted in further reflections and questions on critical aspects of the subject of the privatization of space.

Initially, this thesis agrees with former theorist and researcher on the subject, indicating that the question of the privatization of public space is not a dogmatic question (Carmona, 2010; Dovey, 2016). Through history, the normative critic towards privatization primarily proclaims its consequences for the public realm by incessantly introducing private influence within people's everyday life. There, one could argue that the subject of privatization was treated on a more philosophical and societal scale, primarily criticizing the shift of a rapid globalization process and neo-liberalistic influences within the urbanization processes. Nowadays, the subject of privatization of public space is treated more from an empirical approach and applies its critique towards publicly accessible space in general. This has generated the understanding that several state-provided spaces lack the functions and values that we fervently criticize quasi-public spaces as lacking. A critical view and understanding advocated, especially in Hajer and Reijndorp, on the concept of public domain, is that it is both relevant and interesting to critically debate to what extent publicly owned space offers those public domain qualities (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001).

Initially in this debate, neither private nor public ownership is possible to conceptualise into one universal meaning. However, where there is only one state providing publicly accessible space within the city, there are several private ownership constitutions with various operations, objectives, and resources, generating complex ownership pattern with various qualifications (Dovey, 2016). The consequences, as Burden points out, is that for some private owners a hard and dead space is ideal (Burden, 2014), while for others it's more important to provide an attractive and vibrant space. Perhaps by ethical reasons, or more likely of being beneficial even for the owner's operation and objective as well. This implies that quasi-public space can possess various meanings within a city, and implement different influences directed out from its owner's objective and operation. One could argue that the subject of privatization has been treated on a more philosophical and societal scale, primarily criticizing the shift of a rapid globalization process and neo-liberalistic influences within the process of urbanization.

By this line of arguments, one could argue that quasi-public space as concept is unreliable and therefore an uncertain strategy for cities to provide new publicly accessible spaces from. This is supported by Skiöld's experiences with the City of Stockholm, where he describes that by leaving the city's development of fundamental everyday services to the private sector without larger insight may come with short-term benefits, but often results in larger long-term consequences for the city (J. Skiöld, personal communication, 04 May, 2021).

In contrast, state-provided publicly accessible space attempts to serve the public with a space for everyday necessities and desires, where the target group is the city itself, and its inhabitants without distinction. Though these spaces intend this in concept, in several cases, it fails to provide it in practice (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001). From this understanding, it's simply not possible to proclaim that state owned space is more likely than privately owned space to possess the quality of being a public domain, generating exchanges between different people with various social understandings.

What one can say however, is that publicly owned spaces within democracies strive to achieve this quality in concept and by nature, and at least facilitate people with a non-pre structured space, which gives people the possibility to establish this quality between themselves. While quasi-public spaces tend to replicate themselves as sites where different people can interact, but in contrast to publicly owned spaces they strive towards specialization and self interest. This makes them contradictory both to their own concept and in relation to their ability to obtain the quality of public domain contrary to their first objective.

Quasi-public realm:

The understanding that the public realm is the realm where the public is present and represented, which strives to be open and not enclosed, therefore including, not excluding. The value of such realm is a society constructed by people and the encounters between people, or the value of the public is democratic and relating to the right to attend and express one's self. This value is threatened by the private sectors larger undertaking of providing new publicly accessible space, that tends to influence the public with individual interests instead of collective ones. This is a disturbing development by understanding that our publicly accessible spaces reflect the public realm and society at large. The development of introducing more privately owned and managed spaces within the urban realm could be seen as a process of influencing the public with increasingly influential ownership of the space and individual interests. This development, in context of a neo-liberal market, without regulations risks disturbing the balance between public and private interest within the urban realm, which would also risk generating a form of "quasi-public realm." The quasi-public realm would indicate that society is less constructed by people and the encounters between people, and is to a larger degree influenced by individual interests in relation to economic profitability and growth. This is often done by incessantly influencing the public with their own interests, and replacing the need for operating publicly accessible spaces with individual interests instead of collective ones.

Kohn and Carmona state that quasi-public spaces are contradictory and cannot be seen as equal to public space (Kohan, 2005). It is therefore important to not take public space and its value for granted (Carmona, 2010). The consequences of such development for public space would reduce its democratic value at large. Therefore, the process of expansive or unregulated privatization of public space could be seen as a de-democratization process (autocratization) on a city level. This development would generate segregation between publicly accessible spaces, and in long-term within society as well, by in its everyday process obstructs people to encounter others who possesses a different social understanding than oneself. With this understanding, it's important to maintain a balance between public and private influences within our publicly accessible spaces to avoid these critical consequences and securing the notion that people themselves govern their own urban development process. Through avoiding quasi-public space being the dominant publicly accessible space type in our cities in the future, cities can avert the risk of generating a form of quasi-public realm.

Related to the consequences of an unregulated privatization process of quasi-public space, and as a hypothesis to Sendra's reflection, "Both the 1960s and the 2010s have been decades of contestation and activism against imposed order, social control and urban development that exacerbate inequalities and produce alienation." (Sendra, 2020, p.40). One could question if this balance between public and private influences on the public already has been deranged.

Public space structure:

In writing this thesis, I would strongly argue that there is a greater lack of understanding of our various public space structures within the planning and architecture professions in the contemporary. We frequently address all publicly accessible space of being public space, with a little understanding of its space structure, and actual function and values in its everyday setting. Therefore, we must increase our knowledge about our cities various public space structures, and by doing so I believe the quality of our publicly accessible spaces at large will increase.

Piazza Liberty during COVID-19:

Apple's applied control measures due to the COVID-19 pandemic, tells us something about the differences between private and state owned and managed space. By the different applied measures as responses to the pandemic between Piazza Liberty and other public spaces within Milan. Apple's responses diverge by implementing measures such as security personnel, obstruction, and temperature control to name a few. While state provided publicly accessible spaces did not apply any active control measures on site during the pandemic. Instead, regional and national restrictions and regulations were applied, which also applied in Piazza Liberty. The differences in responses could hypothetically highlight the differences in resources between Milan municipality (state) and Apple (private), or Milan municipality's lack of mandate to implement this form of measures as diminishing people's freedom, which could be seen as an oppressive act. Nevertheless, Apple's applied control measures could be criticized as diminishing people's freedom but could also be understood as a necessary measure to minimize the spread of infection. Still, their actions expose the owner's power to direct the space to benefit individual interest in front of more collective ones.

Therefore, Apple's responses at Piazza Liberty during the pandemic is an example where a private owner is securing its own needs before collective ones, by rearranging parts of Piazza Liberty to safeguard their own operation. Instead of expanding people's possibility to access publicly accessible spaces, and spending time outdoors. Apple's measures are partly understandable by the pandemic's most critical impact on everyday life at large, but imagine, if a majority of publicly accessible spaces within a dense city, were implemented with similar measures as Apple within Piazza Liberty established. It would be critically detrimental in an already critical situation, not least for the people rely on these places daily. This reflection is worth sharing, not as criticism to Apple's applied measures within Piazza Liberty, but as an observation to learn from. It says a lot about the value of 'good' public spaces, but also about the alarming possibilities with privatization and private ownership of public space.



Figure 14. Photos of Piazza Liberty, related to the covid-19 pandemic. Photos by the author, 2021.

9.

Conclusion:

PUBLIC SPACE

OWNERSHIP

PRIVATIZATION

COMMODIFICATION

PUBLIC REALM

CONTROL

GLOBALIZATION

QUASI-PUBLIC

MANAGEMENT

COMMON GOOD

PUBLIC DOMAIN

PRIVATE

USABILITY

THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

PUBLIC ACCESSIBLE SPACE

DEMOCRATIC SPACE

ACCESSIBILITY

PUBLIC

Conclusion:

This thesis primary objective was to raise questions about the consequences of a rapid privatization process of public space, and for examining public space quality and its impact on the public realm. Its results and findings indicated as previous research that the subject of privatization of public space is not a dogmatic question, and therefore this thesis by itself does not answer to its own defined issues. However, the thesis contributes to further reflections and perspectives useful for further research on the subject to assume from.

In conclusion, privatization processes, regardless of form, result in the production of quasi-public space, which is criticized to influencing the public with more individual interest in the narrow objective of sustaining economic profitability and growth, instead of sustaining more collective and common good interests. The owner of privately accessible space tends to implement additional control measures to secure their vision and image of the space. Through this critique, the privatization of public space is further directing the means of contemporary public space towards larger commercialization, which supports Madanipour's quote that this thesis was introduced with. Where quasi-public space also tends to implement additional control measures within the urban realm, an enlargement of this public space type would risk contributing to segregation and polarization between publicly accessible spaces, and therefore within society as well. This development stands in contrast to the ideal image of public space and the public realm, an ideal image where public space actually functions as open space that fosters citizenship, diversity, vitality, and generates exchanges between different people with various social understandings, therefore possessing a positive value for society, both social and democratic. Privatization of public space tends to limit these processes and instead restricts the public realm to establish more independently between people, and therefore increases the risk to generate a form of quasi-public realms. A realm where the people, the public, is incessantly removed from opinion and public influence, a realm which fosters a de-democratization process. This highlights the risk of an unregulated privatization process of public space, and its possibility to become a de-democratizing process (autocratization). In its everyday process, this decreases people's ability to encounter diversity through different people with different social understandings.

In relation to the question: What are the consequences in relation to ownership, control, accessibility, usability, and management of public space? **Ownership:** Privatization of public space implements more complex and diverse ownership structures within the urban realm, where there is only one state providing publicly accessible space within a city there is several private actors with various objectives and resources. **Control:** Quasi-public space tends to implement additional control measures within their govern space then state provided and managed spaces. **Accessibility:** Quasi-public space is specialized space with a defined objective and target group; therefore, it doesn't strive to be completely open. Though, accessibility is highly individual and therefore hard to generalize. **Usability:** As mentioned, quasi-public space is specialized space there its control and management measures direct uses and users, quasi-public space therefore stands in contrast to informal space. **Management:** Within quasi-public spaces management strategies are more commercial guided with the primary objective to maintain the brand or the commercial experience in relation to the businesses established within the space.

With this understanding, it's important to create greater policies for private actors that provide, own and manage publicly accessible space. Policies that secure publicly accessible space to functioning for common good, social, and democratic values. The private sector has larger resources, which makes private actors' interest to develop publicly accessible space an effective strategy to provide new publicly accessible spaces. It's therefore necessary to introduce new policies that secure quality within quasi-public space in relation to space structure. I believe the defined core components to investigate public space in relation to privatization, within this thesis, could be a useful foundation. These policies must act to secure fundamental rights for residents of cities and sustain a balance between public and private influence within the city's publicly accessible spaces and therefore within the public realm as well.

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7.

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List of interviewees:

Stefano Moroni: 24/03-2021: Professor in planning at Politecnico university in Milan, and author of the article *Public Spaces, Private Spaces, and the Right to the City (2014)* with Francesco Chiodelli.

(Video call)

Questions:

Free conversation within the subject of privatization of public space.

Jesper Skiöld: 04/05-2021: Unit manager at Stockholm's exploration office.

(Video call)

Questions:

Does Stockholm municipality allow private actors to develop or manage new publicly accessible spaces?

What type of requirements does Stockholm municipality put on the private sector to develop and manage new publicly accessible spaces?

Does Stockholm municipality use any exploration bonuses (FAR) in exchange for the private sector to develop new publicly accessible spaces in hand with their developments?

How does Stockholm municipality safeguard "quality" in new publicly accessible spaces developed by the private sector?

Interviewer on all occasions: Jonathan Eriksson

Figures:

Figure 01. drawing by the author, 2021

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Figure 10. drawing by the author , 2021

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Figure 12. photos by Apple Piazza Liberty, 2021

Figure 13. photos by the author , 2020

Figure 14. photos by the author , 2020

**“The urban phenomenon can only be comprehended as a totality,
but its totality cannot be grasped.”**

(Lefevre, 2003, p.186).

Thank you for reading!

Abstract:

The subject of this thesis concerns the privatization of public space, examining the rapid provision of quasi-public space in our contemporary neoliberal influenced urbanization process. With the objective to examining the consequences of such development for public space and the public realm.

Public space possesses an essential value for society by constitute a material, accessible and social site for the public to occur, a site where public activities and encounters with diversity, and unfamiliar perspectives can take place. The value of public space in society is therefore social and democratic through its everyday processes, constituting society in a self-organised manner, by people and between people. In contrast to this, quasi-public space is criticized to further turn the meaning of contemporary public space to subsidize individual and economic interests, instead of more collective and “common good” interests.

This is studied primarily by investigating how the privatization of public space affects the quality and the public realm from the parameters that determine public space quality in relation to privatization: ownership, control, accessibility, usability, and management. These parameters are anchored in theories concerned with the privatization of public space and reflected in 'the right to the city' approaches, which serve this thesis as an analytical framework. Piazza Liberty in Milan, owned by Apple, serves as an actual case to apply and investigate these parameters.

The result of the thesis primarily highlights that the question of privatization is not dogmatic, and the importance to sustain a balance between public and private influence within our publicly accessible spaces, to avoid generating segregation between publicly accessible spaces, which risk to generating a form of quasi-public realm. It is therefore important to apply new policies that primarily secure quasi-public space functioning out from the values associated with public space.

Key words: Public realm, Quasi-public space, Public space, Public Domain, The Right to the City, Growth-led planning, Quasi-public realm

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