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Contemporary Public Space, Part Two: Classification

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ABSTRACT *There are a series of discrete but related critiques of the contemporary public space situation, and it was these that the first part of this paper identified and organized. These drew on different scholarly traditions to highlight the key tensions at the heart of the contemporary public space debate. It revealed that critiques of public space could broadly be placed into two camps: those who argue that public space is over-managed, and those who argue that it is under-managed. This second part of the paper begins by arguing that both over and under-management critiques result in the same end, a homogenization of public space, although these outcomes may not be as stark as many of the critics would have us believe. What is clear is that the critiques reveal a range of public space types and means of classification. These are used in a final section of this paper to suggest a new typology of public space, one based on how public space is managed.*

Introduction

This two-part paper has three objectives. First, in Part One (*Journal of Urban Design*, 15(1), pp. 123–148) an attempt was made to identify the multifarious critiques of contemporary public space and to organize them so that they can be better understood in relation to each other. Two major groups were identified. Those deriving from a concern that public space is being under-managed, leading to: neglected space, space invaded by transportation needs, forms of exclusionary space, greater segregation of societal user groups in space, and to a general retreat from public space into domestic, third and virtual worlds. These were contrasted with critiques derived from arguments that public space is being over-managed, through: forms of privatisation; public space being viewed as primarily a venue for consumption; the spread of invented entertainment spaces; and elsewhere, of scary spaces where crime prevention strategies combined with a heightened fear of crime act to restrict user freedoms. The first part of the paper concluded that although on the face of it divergent, in fact these critiques represent two sides of the same coin. Thus the poor quality of under-managed publicly owned space is contributing to the flight to privately managed space, whilst the spread of over-managed privately owned pseudo-public space is further undermining truly public space, and leading in some localities to critiques of over-management by the public sector in an attempt to fight back.

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In this second part of the paper, two further objectives are addressed. By examining the impact of the trends on the quality of contemporary public space, the paper explores whether we are witnessing the deterioration of public space quality, or simply a natural evolution of public space with an inevitable development of associated management practices. The paper discusses the multifarious typologies of public space that are contained in the literature, many emanating directly from the critiques discussed in Part One. Finally, the paper concludes with an attempt to gauge whether it is possible to establish a new typology of public space based on how public space is managed, and examines how such a typology might relate to the way real landscapes are managed today. The discussion begins with an examination of an overarching critique, that through all the means discussed in Part One, public space is being homogenized.

The Homogenization of Public Space?

Urban public space shapes and is shaped by society—its power relationships, priorities and its fears. Long ago, Edward T. Hall (1966) recognized the significance of culture in increasingly diverse cities while others, notably Loukaitou-Sideris (1996) and Fainstein (2001), noted how contemporary urban public spaces have become increasingly contested and fragmented as those within them compete for spatial identities. The argument goes that as communication between groups is often misunderstood and differences cannot be resolved, users are willing to accept a homogenized vision of urban public space that neither fosters civility nor community. The discussion in Part One of this paper strongly suggests that both under and over-management trends can be a source of this homogenization.

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. As cities increasingly compete for investment at a national and international level, they need to create environments that are seen as safe, attractive and which offer the range of amenities and facilities that their (increasingly white collar) workers, and the tourists that they hope to attract, expect (Madanipour, 2003, p. 224). Elsewhere, where global investment is sparse, abandonment and neglect may be the order of the day.

As was argued in Part One, the new forms of public space are linked to the move to late capitalism and mass consumption. This is significantly different from previous historic periods (see Carmona *et al.*, 2008, Chapter 2), or the economic systems in place at the start of modernism, and can be generically described as 'globalization'. These forms of contemporary public space use symbolism in design as described by Boyer (1994) as a wider part of postmodernism's referencing to history and culture. Symbolism, when combined with entertainment, that can be viewed as populist, as described by Light & Smith (1998), or lacking the public sphere nature of public space as described by Sennett (1990).

Being an important global commodity, the owners and/or managers of urban public space ensure that visitors to public space perceive and interpret it as being safe. Therefore the multicultural and pluralistic nature of public space has meant

that fear of the stranger is now dispelled by management and surveillance. The increasingly contested and fragmented nature of public space has increased this necessity, and, as Madanipour (2003, p. 217) notes: "A combination of the need for safe investment returns and safe public environments has led to the demand for total management of space, hence undermining its public dimension". Moreover, in order that visitors interpret public spaces as safe, strangers are increasingly being removed through the use of semiotic codes in space as described by Goldsteen & Elliott (1994).

Homogenization through Design

The combination of these traits—the focus of many of the critiques in Part One—contributes to the production of Sorkin's (1992) departicularized urbanism or a form of homogenized public space. The management trends, however, are exacerbated by a further impact of globalization, the speeding up of ideas and influences around the globe. Today designers, developers and clients in both the public and private sectors are no longer tied to particular localities, but operate across regions, states and increasingly on an international stage. The result is that design formulae are repeated from place to place with little thought to context.

At the same time, in order to influence the design agenda locally, the public sector has increasingly adopted a range of standards, guidelines and control practices that in many cases merely parrot 'generic' 'globalized' design principles that may or may not be appropriate locally, or which are applied rigidly by de-skilled local government officers, again without thought to context. These pressures to standardize the design process have been extensively documented in the case of British residential (Carmona, 2001) and other (Bentley, 1999) environments, and produce both a homogenized public realm and associated architecture.

There has also increasingly been a reaction to the perceived 'compensation culture', as a result of which public authorities have been attempting to design out any risks in public space as a means to manage their liabilities in case of accidents and other dangers (Beck, 1992). Although recent evidence in the UK suggests that the existence of an actual compensation culture is much overstated, the impact on the design and management activities of local government (and private developers) is not, and has often led to the creation of safe, but bland and uninspiring public space.

It can restrict innovation, leading to more standardized designs and less interesting places ... It is [therefore] easier for those engaged in making decisions about schemes, especially clients, to justify a decision that avoids risk than a decision that uses risk creatively. (CABE, 2007, p. 1)

Decline or Revival?

Arguably, therefore, homogenization is the product of both contemporary design and development processes, as well as of the over and under-management processes discussed in Part One of this paper (Figure 1). On the face of it, the critiques are damning of contemporary public space, but is the situation really as



Figure 1. Homogenized public space, Shanghai

bleak as much of the literature would have us believe? A series of arguments can be marshalled to rebut the critiques.

The 'Its Not as Bad as You Think' Argument

Some authors argue that the reported decline in public space is much exaggerated (Brill, 1989; Krieger, 1995; Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998). Lees (1994), for example, concedes that contemporary public spaces still contain important aspects of urban life, and although many new primarily commercial public spaces lack wider civic functions, it should be remembered that commercial space has always been built into public space and vice versa:

The core of city life—exchanges of goods, information, and ideas—still has a strong grounding in space ... the design, accessibility, and the quality of such urban space can and ought to be criticized, but its existence must be recognized. (pp. 448–449)

Under such arguments, invaded and consumption space may simply be the signs of health and vitality in public space.

The 'Nothing New' Argument

Others argue that public space was never as inclusive, democratic and valued as many commentators would have us believe. Jackson (in Fyfe, 1998), for example, concludes that:

In lamenting the privatization of public space in the modern city, some observers have tended to romanticize its history, celebrating the openness and accessibility of streets. ... Various social groups—the elderly and the young, women and members of sexual and ethnic minorities—have, in different times and places, been excluded from public places or subject to political and moral censure. (p. 176)

For these authors, most public space was always neglected and scary, much of it privatized, and often, to varying degrees, exclusionary.

The 'Not Necessarily Inferior' Argument

Hajer & Reijndorp (2001, p. 15) argue that too much of the discussion about public space has been conducted in terms of decline and loss, something that in their opinion is both unsatisfactory and misplaced. For them, the pessimism of many commentators is founded on an artificial dichotomy that is established in many writings between the centre and periphery, the latter, seen as replacing the former with impoverished forms of space. Instead, they suggest, "if we regard city and periphery as a single urban field then we discover countless places that form the new domains that we are seeking". However: "The urban field is no longer the domain of a civic openness, as the traditional city was, but the territory of a middle-class culture, characterized by increasing mobility, mass consumption and mass recreation" (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001, p. 28).

The way in which 'the market'—the economy, globalization, 'new-liberal hyper-capitalism'—threatens or even destroys the 'authenticity' of the historic meaning of local 'places' has often been a topic of discussion. These viewpoints have little consideration for the creation of scores of valuable new places. The possibility of these being created by 'the market' seems to be peremptorily dismissed. Privatization and commercialization are considered irreconcilable with the concept of public domain, but that discrepancy is less absolute than it might seem. (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001, p. 41)

For them, the fact that something is private rather than public, suburban rather than urban, or civic rather than commercial does not determine either its quality as a place, or its potential role as part of the public realm. The consequence is that we should no longer associate public space solely with the streets and squares of the historic city core, but should instead embrace the new urban network of dissociated places. They conclude that now, as in the past, the quintessential character of public space is determined by those who occupy it, and society has long been fragmented into groups with a knock-on segregation of spatial types (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001, p. 85).

The 'Society (and Space) Is Changing' Argument

These observations are strongly backed by a body of research supported by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. In summarizing this research, Worpole & Knox (2007, p. 4) argue that: "Contrary to conventional assumptions, public space in neighbourhoods, towns and cities is not in decline but is instead expanding". So, whilst concerns are frequently expressed that open and uncontrolled public

spaces have been increasingly privatized and made subject to controls and surveillance, the evidence for this is not widespread, and anyway results from a tendency for commentators to confine their notions of public space to traditional outdoor space in public ownership. Instead, the argument goes, it is important to reframe debates to reflect how people actually use spaces, and the fact that to members of the public, ownership and appearance do not define the value of space, rather the opportunities it provides for shared use and activity.

If this broader notion of public space is accepted Worpole & Knox (2007) argue that despite the tendency towards privatization, opportunities for association and exchange have increased. For them: "Gatherings at the school gate, activities in community facilities, shopping malls, cafes and car boot sales are all arenas where people meet and create places of exchange" (p. 4). Carr *et al.* (1992, p. 343) suggest that new forms of public space are only to be expected as cultures and societies develop and new uses need to be housed. They argue that this is a sign of life, rather than death, an argument that can easily be extended to the new forms of domestic, third and virtual spaces that are so heavily criticized in the literature.

The 'Different Groups Seek Different Spaces' Argument

Reflecting on the new forms of space, Light & Smith (1998, p. 4) suggest that the average American does not want to spend time with strangers, and they cite a range of authors to support this view, including Robert Venturi, who described the plaza as 'un-American'; J. B. Jackson, who observed that American public space is designed for "the public as an aggregate of individuals"; and Roberta Smith who described Americans as consuming public spaces like french fries, "thoughtlessly and without ceremony". They observe that the American public prefers spaces that are entertaining and not collective, educative or political, citing the revulsion of the middle class from the dangerous urban public space of the Modernists, and the increasing competition of other forms of entertainment such as cinema, television and the worldwide web. Instead, they note that large corporations increasingly compete for consumers through "sensation, sentiment and nostalgia" in urban public space, and quote Venturi's description of Disneyland (the quintessential invented space) as "nearer to what people really want than anything architects have ever given them" (Light & Smith, 1998, p. 5).

For others, such commercialized public spaces are at least 'profoundly ambivalent'. Goss (1996, p. 221), for example, examines the waterfront festival marketplaces which have been developed in several American cities since the 1970s, and acknowledges that simulation and nostalgia, as described by Boyer (1993), are used for mass consumption. Yet Goss asserts that there is no longer a general public in such a divided society:

Critics must, of course, consider whether private ownership and the pursuit of profit compromises the claim of festival marketplaces to provide a new model of public space ... however, they are wont to sound churlish ... to blame festival marketplaces for failing to provide equal access to all members of a mythical 'general public'—which does not and cannot exist in an ethnically and class-divided society—and for failing to provide the context for authentic public interaction and transactions—which does not exist in a mass-mediated society—is to repeat precisely

the impossible bourgeois desire for a genuine public sphere that the festival market articulates. (Goss, 1996, p. 231)

The 'Different Spaces Have Different Purposes' Argument

Banerjee (2001) continues the argument claiming that an important function of public space is enjoyment:

The sense of loss associated with the perceived decline of public space assumes that effective public life is linked to a viable public realm ... where the affairs of the public are discussed and debated in public places ... But there is another concept of public that is derived from our desire for relaxation, social contact, entertainment, leisure, and simply having a good time. (pp. 14–15)

For him, reinvented streets and places seek 'to create a public life of *flanerie*' (the activity of strolling and looking) and consumption; and whether it actually takes place in a public or private space does not seem to matter.

The 'Things Are On the Up' Argument

Finally, some have noted an improvement and re-investment or return to the traditional forms of space, with a consequential improvement in the quality of public space and a resurgence in public life. Gehl & Gemzoe (2001), for example, examine 39 public space exemplar projects from across the world, and conclude that:



Figure 2. Reconquered cities, Copenhagen



Figure 3. Reconquered cities, Portland. Source: image S. Tiesdell.

In a society in which increasingly more of daily life takes place in the private sphere—private homes, at private computers, in private cars, at private workplaces and in strictly controlled and privatized shopping centres—there are clear signs that the city and city spaces have been given a new and influential role as public space and forum. (p. 20)

They argue that examples of such reconquered cities can be found across the world, particularly across Northern Europe (Germany, Netherlands and Scandinavia (see Figure 2), and—standing out as notable exemplars in the Americas—Portland in the US (Figure 3) and Curitiba in Brazil.

Classifying Public Space

If nothing else, the discussion above confirms that the nature of contemporary public space is directly affected by the complex socio-economic context within which it is generated, and that results will always be open to interpretation. Public space is a political arena, and in the most extreme cases has been actively fought over by groups with seemingly irreconcilable ideological visions concerning the nature and purpose of public space—a place of free access and interaction unconstrained by the control of commercial and/or state forces, or, a space for particular defined purposes, subject to behavioural norms and control over those who are allowed to enter (Mitchell, 1995, p. 115). But it is too simple to put the nature of public space down to these factors alone. In fact, public space as experienced will be a result of:

- Historical trends and norms that go back to the ancient world.
- The diverse modes of governance, regulation, legal dominion and investment under which space is created.

- Cultural traditions, which vary, even across the Western world.
- Political priorities and the particular lifestyles they support.
- The balance between political and market forces.
- The increasing complexity of public space, and the limitations on professional skills and responsibilities to tackle this.

Therefore, although much of the literature points to a homogenization in the experience of public space, to its physical decline, and to trends in privatization, commercialization and exclusion, it is also true to say that much of the literature comes from a narrow academic perspective, and critiques certain types of public space, whilst not necessarily recognizing the sheer diversity of space types that constitute contemporary cities (Worpole & Knox, 2007, p. 4), or the very different development models that often predominate around the world.

Whether we are actively witnessing a universal deterioration in the quality of public space is therefore an open question. Certainly we have been experiencing an evolution in public space which is adapting to a range of global and local pressures, many of which it has not had to cope with before, and often this has placed extreme pressures on the local experience of that space. Equally there are many examples where public space is coming close to reaching the lofty ambitions held for it in much of the literature: a place of democracy, of cultural and social exchange, and of comfort combined with design innovation.

Management practices have arguably played a key role in each of these contrasting experiences of space and everything in between, an influence (positive or negative) that is set within an increasingly complex landscape of public space types to which management roles and responsibilities both contribute and need to relate. Therefore, in the final substantive section of the paper, typologies of public space stemming from different academic traditions are, first, reviewed in order to, second, determine whether a new typology of public space is apparent, one derived from the critiques of public space and reflecting how that space is managed.

Public Space Typologies

Reflecting the diversity of critiques, many attempts have been made to classify public space according to a range of characteristics. Most notably, these stem from design, socio-cultural and political-economy perspectives.

Design Perspectives

In the urban design literature space is characterized most often by physical type and function. In physical terms numerous attempts have been made over many years to characterize morphological types, from Sitte's (1889) deep and broad squares, to Zucker's (1959) closed, dominated, nuclear, grouped and amorphous squares, to the Krier brothers attempts at more sophisticated typological classifications for urban space (see Papadakis & Watson, 1990). The latter begin to reflect the far more sophisticated typo-morphological analyses of academic theorists such as G. Canigga, M. R. G. Conzen and J. W. R. Whitehand (Vernez Moudon, 1994), although much cruder standards-based highways types and hierarchies persist in informing actual practice (Ben-Joseph, 2005).

The problem with such morphologically-based categories is that types are almost infinite in their complexity. Designed function is more easy to classify, for example Gehl & Gemzoe (2001, p. 87) classify 39 'new' city spaces into five types: main city square; recreational square; promenade; traffic square; and monumental square, whilst Carr *et al.* (1992, p. 79) identify 11 functional types of public space:

- (1) Public parks
- (2) Square and plazas
- (3) Memorials
- (4) Markets
- (5) Streets
- (6) Playgrounds
- (7) Community open spaces
- (8) Greenways and parkways
- (9) Atrium/indoor marketplaces
- (10) Found spaces/everyday spaces
- (11) Waterfronts

Many other function-based hierarchies exist, providing a favoured means to organize management tasks and routines, for example, that derived by the UK's Urban Green Spaces Taskforce (2002, p. 43) where public space is crudely divided between types of green spaces and types of (hard) civic spaces.

Other design-related functional classifications relate to the adaptability of public space in use, and to critiques that much public space is being over-designed (see Part One). Frank & Stevens (2007, p. 23), for example, develop such a typology around the 'looseness' and 'tightness' of space, which they argue are "related conditions, emerging from a nexus of the physical and the social features of a space". Thus loose space is adaptable, un-restricted and used for a variety of functions, ad hoc as well as planned. Tight space, by contrast is fixed, physically constrained or controlled in terms of the types of activities that can occur there. For them, although these qualities are adjustable and relative, existing along a continuum from tight to loose, the new types of space that have emerged are often more restrictive in nature than they have been in the past, and actively discourage the types of unplanned activities that lead to looseness.

Socio-cultural Perspectives

From a sociological perspective, typologies focus on the users of public space and their perceptions of that space. Wallin (1998, p. 109) defines much contemporary urban public space as 'dystemic space', a space of impersonal and abstract relationships, and as a deliberate antithesis to what Hall (1966) classified as 'proxemic' spaces that are controlled by culture. Instead, the dystemic is "a community of strangers" who inhabit public space. This is the world of the shopping mall, television or worldwide web: the culture of capitalism where society is "incessantly kept in a passive, voyeuristic, consumeristic state of mind and emotion" (Wallin, 1998, p. 109). A continuum from dystemic to proxemic might therefore provide a first classification in this category, a classification closely related to many of the contemporary critiques of public space.

Alternatively, Burgers (1999) classifies spaces by their clientele, as a series of landscapes that form the domains of various social sectors or interest groups:

- Erected public space: landscapes of fast rising economic and government potential.
- Displayed space: landscapes of temptation and seduction.
- Exalted space: landscapes of excitement and ecstasy.
- Exposed space: landscapes of reflection and idolization.
- Coloured space: landscapes of immigrants and minorities.
- Marginalized space: landscapes of deviance and deprivation.

The way users engage with space also forms the basis of a typology suggested by Dines & Cattell (2006, pp. 26–31) who use social engagement with space and perception of it as a means to identify five categories:

- Everyday places: the range of non-descript neighbourhood spaces that make up much of the public realm and the everyday venues for interaction.
- Places of meaning: that differ from person to person and that relate to particular associations and meanings attached to particular spaces, both positive and negative.
- Social environments: that through their design and uses actively encourage social encounters between users, both fleeting and more meaningful.
- Places of retreat: that offer a chance for people to be alone with their thoughts or to socialize in small groups of friends.
- Negative spaces: where some experience aspects of antisocial behaviour, including racism and disruptive activities that are often perceived as threatening.

In reality, none of these categorizations are mutually exclusive. Spaces may at one and the same time be everyday, social and places of meaning; just as they may be erected, exalted and coloured. Socio-cultural categorizations tend therefore to be fluid and overlapping, whilst the concern around how spaces are perceived and used profoundly influences public space management needs.

Political-economy Perspectives

Another set of relationships is encompassed in what can broadly be grouped as political-economy perspectives, relating in large-part to questions of ownership and responsibility in society. Gulick (1998, pp. 135–141), for example, defines three types of public space, and claims that many critics are confusing these with each other:

- ‘Public property’: the traditional definition where the government or state formally owns space.
- ‘Semiotic’: made up of ‘spatial identities’ that encourage competition for, and segregation in, urban space (Fainstein, 2001, p. 1).
- ‘Public sphere’: the community space, where citizens can interact socially or politically.

Kilian (1998, pp. 115–116) argues that all spaces are expressions of power relationships as played out between the public and private spheres. He identifies two urban public space types: public space as the sites of contact, and public space as the sites of representation (respectively Gulick’s public sphere and semiotic public spaces), and argues that critics of each type are concerned with public and

private space. He suggests that all spaces are both public and private and contain restrictions, whether of access or activity, explicit or implicit.

Extending these ideas of control, Van Melik *et al.*, (2007) argue that the design and management of public space has in recent years responded to two trends:

On the one hand, a rising anxiety about crime induced people to avoid the public domain of the city and retreat into the private sphere. Yet, the appeal of urban entertainment also grew, inducing people to indulge in fantasy and new experiences outside the home. (pp. 25–28)

For them, these represent two sides of a tendency towards greater control, but produce two distinct types of public space. First, secured public space, characterized by measures to create a sense of safety, through CCTV, enforcement activities and exclusion of unwanted groups. Second, themed public space, which aims to create ambience and stimulate activity in order to attract more people to public spaces, thereby encouraging their self-policing.

A number of typologies reflect these different ideas of inclusion versus exclusion. Malone (2002, p. 158), for example, adapts Sibley's (1995) notion of open and closed spaces to define spaces according to their acceptance of difference and diversity. Thus open spaces have weakly defined boundaries and are characterized by social mixing and diversity (e.g. carnivals, festivals, public parks), whilst closed spaces have strongly defined boundaries and actively exclude objects, people and activities that do not conform (e.g. churches, some shopping malls, schools). The latter are also strongly preoccupied with boundary maintenance and definition.

Finally, Flusty (1997, pp. 48–49) categorizes explicit exclusionary tactics, by distinguishing between five types of space, each designed to exclude to different degrees:

- 'Stealthy space', which is camouflaged or obscured by level changes or intervening objects, and which therefore cannot be changed.
- 'Slippery space', which is difficult to reach because of contorted, protracted means of access or missing paths.
- 'Crusty space' to which access is denied due to obstructions such as walls, gates and checkpoints.
- 'Prickly space' which is difficult and uncomfortable to occupy, for example seats designed to be uncomfortable and discourage lingering, or ledges that are sloped and cannot be sat upon.
- 'Jittery space' that is actively monitored and which cannot be used without being observed.

Like design and socio-cultural typologies, political-economy categories are not hard and fast, and, as the critiques in Part One have shown, do not necessarily indicate private or public modes of management. They do, however, reflect questions of ownership and control with profound impacts on the potential for how public space is managed.

Towards a New Typology

Kohn (2004, pp. 11–12) concludes that the term 'public space' is a cluster concept in that it has multiple and sometimes contradictory definitions. She identifies three concepts to distinguish between spaces: ownership, accessibility and inter-

Table 1. Urban space types

Space type	Distinguishing characteristics	Examples
<i>'Positive' spaces</i>		
1. Natural/semi-natural urban space	Natural and semi-natural features within urban areas, typically under state ownership	Rivers, natural features, seafronts, canals
2. Civic space	The traditional forms of urban space, open and available to all and catering for a wide variety of functions	Streets, squares, promenades
3. Public open space	Managed open space, typically green and available and open to all, even if temporally controlled	Parks, gardens, commons, urban forests, cemeteries
<i>'Negative' spaces</i>		
4. Movement space	Space dominated by movement needs, largely for motorized transportation	Main roads, motorways, railways, underpasses
5. Service space	Space dominated by modern servicing requirements needs	Car parks, service yards
6. Left over space	Space left over after development, often designed without function	'SLOAP' (space left over after planning), Modernist open space
7. Undefined space	Undeveloped space, either abandoned or awaiting redevelopment	Redevelopment space, abandoned space, transient space
<i>Ambiguous spaces</i>		
8. Interchange space	Transport stops and interchanges, whether internal or external	Metros, bus interchanges, railway stations, bus/tram stops
9. Public 'private' space	Seemingly public external space, in fact privately owned and to greater or lesser degrees controlled	Privately owned 'civic' space, business parks, church grounds
10. Conspicuous spaces	Public spaces designed to make strangers feel conspicuous and, potentially, unwelcome	Cul-de-sacs, dummy gated enclaves
11. Internalized 'public' space	Formally public and external uses, internalized and, often, privatized	Shopping/leisure malls, introspective mega-structures
12. Retail space	Privately owned but publicly accessible exchange spaces	Shops, covered markets, petrol stations
13. Third place spaces	Semi-public meeting and social places, public and private	Cafes, restaurants, libraries, town halls, religious buildings
14. Private 'public' space	Publicly owned, but functionally and user determined spaces	Institutional grounds, housing estates, university campuses
15. Visible private space	Physically private, but visually public space	Front gardens, allotments, gated squares
16. Interface spaces	Physically demarked but publicly accessible interfaces between public and private space	Street cafes, private pavement space
17. User selecting spaces	Spaces for selected groups, determined (and sometimes controlled) by age or activity	Skateparks, playgrounds, sports fields/grounds/courses
<i>Private spaces</i>		
18. Private open space	Physically private open space	Urban agricultural remnants, private woodlands,

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Space type	Distinguishing characteristics	Examples
19. External private space	Physically private spaces, grounds and gardens	Gated streets/enclaves, private gardens, private sports clubs, parking courts
20. Internal private space	Private or business space	Offices, houses, etc.



Figure 4. Space types, Greenwich

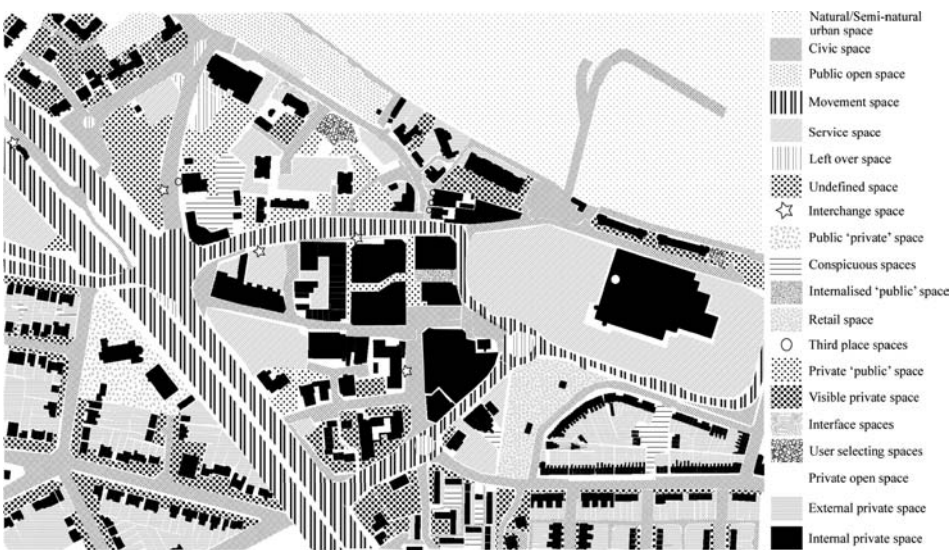


Figure 5. Space types, Erith

subjectivity (whether it fosters communication and interaction), but concludes that a categorization is becoming increasingly difficult, as public and private realms are increasingly intertwined.

Nevertheless, as much of the contemporary public space 'problem' revolves around a failure to understand public space and its multiple dimensions, arguably it may be more by accident than design that public space has deteriorated. With this in mind it is useful to conclude with one further typology that specifically addresses the theme underpinning so many of the critiques of public space: how urban space is managed.

Reflecting the discussion in this paper, and developing Kohn's three-part classification, this new typology uses aspects of function, perception and ownership (from design, socio-cultural and political-economy perspectives) to distinguish between space types. Twenty urban space types are identified in four overarching categories, representing a continuum from clearly public to clearly private space.

Table 1 demonstrates both the wide range of space types that a typical urban area would possess, but also how many of these are in one sense or another ambiguous in that their ownership and the extent to which they are 'public', or not, is unclear. Some of these have always been so, for example, privately owned shops that are nevertheless publicly accessible. Others, for example forms of internalized 'public' space, are relatively recent phenomena, or are simply becoming more dominant in urban areas.

By way of illustration, and based on detailed on-site observation of two different Thames-side town centre contexts in South-east London, Figures 4 and 5 demonstrate how the balance of space types varies from place to place. Each is made up of a patchwork of different public space types and, consequently, different management requirements and responsibilities. In Greenwich, a World Heritage site, the historic urban grain remains largely intact, and although conflict exists between vehicles and people, space remains largely public. There, however, the naval history of the town has left a large number of institutional buildings in grounds, which, despite their public ownership, were once entirely shut off to the public. Today, although open to the public during daylight hours, restrictions on public rights and access remain. Erith, by contrast, offers a fragmented landscape, where private stakeholders have been allowed to buy up and now manage much of the town centre in their own narrow interests. The result is that a traditional market town has become a car dominated and controlled landscape, where the former 'public' parts of the town have been left to decline, and are now eschewed by the local population. No public life of any significance remains in the traditional public spaces of the town.

As this section has shown, public space can be classified in all these ways and more, and changes over time. For example, Lefebvre (1991, p. 39) views public space in terms of a journey from vision to reality and distinguishes between 'representational space' (appropriated, lived space or space in use) and 'representations of space' (planned, controlled and ordered). In this sense, space is seen as a chronology, developing and changing as it comes into existence. Thus space typically begins as a representation of a particular type, with a particular range of uses, but is appropriated over time by other uses and activities. As such the status, qualities of, and responsibilities for, public space will change throughout its life, as potentially will the critiques of it also.

Conclusions

Following the nine critiques of public space presented in Part One of this paper, Part Two began with a tenth overarching critique; that the interrelated over and under-management trends in public space have the potential to homogenize public space, whilst contemporary design and development pressures conceivably act to compound these trends, resulting in a form of departicularized urbanism. Against this view, authors from a diverse range of disciplinary and professional backgrounds have argued that outcomes may not be as stark as many would have us believe. These counter-critiques can be framed as a series of discrete arguments to represent these diverse points of view: from a contention that nothing has really changed and it has always been like this; to arguments that we are actually witnessing a renaissance in the quality of our public spaces; to pragmatic arguments that society is both diverse and changing, that public space will change to reflect this, and that we might as well come to terms with it.

The discussion revealed both the complex and contested nature of public space, but also the tendency for at least some of the literature to over-generalize complex locally situated phenomena, the extent of which (globally) is largely untested. What is clear is that contemporary trends in public space design and management are resulting (over time) in an increasingly complex range of public space types as summarized in the typologies outlined in the final section of the paper. In turn these suggest a further overarching typology with, at its heart, the questions of function, perception and ownership that are so critical to how public space is managed.

Reflecting this patchwork of public space types, the management context is also perhaps more complex now than ever before. Indeed, as the application of the new typology to two town centre locations in London demonstrated, real landscapes demonstrate (to greater or lesser extents) a huge variety of urban space types and associated stakeholder roles and responsibilities.

Although some of the literature takes a relatively sanguine view about the nature and quality of contemporary public space, it remains of great concern that the majority offers a more pessimistic view, arguing that how urban space is managed today is increasingly undermining the 'public' in the concept of public space. In the future, if the critiques themselves are to be consigned to history, then policy makers will need to be more sensitive to the full range of urban space types, and to addressing and overcoming the problems associated with the over- and under-management of public space.

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