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Public space

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Contents

The entirety of all urban spaces that are generally accessible and usable by the general public are referred to as public space. Public spaces fulfil important economic, social, ecological, cultural and political functions and are designed and developed by a large number of stakeholders. They are subject to a constant change in function, use and significance.

1   Terms and definitions

All the areas in a municipality that are accessible to the general public are referred to as public space. This comprehensive understanding contrasts with various more limited understandings of the term, which result from individual areas of responsibility, disciplinary approaches and/or normative settings. According to this, the term *public space* is primarily or exclusively used in relation to

- urban spaces comprised of built structures,

- open-air public spaces (▷ *Open space*),

- certain types of space (square, park, etc.),

- urban spaces primarily used by pedestrians,

- land owned or managed by the local authority,

- spaces that are freely accessible to everyone at any time.

If one or more of the above characterisations are applied, varying proportions of the actual spaces used by the public of a city are excluded from consideration. It has been pointed out that in practical terms there are various far-reaching regulations for access and use virtually everywhere, and where this is not the case, the spaces can be dominated by certain groups and others can be excluded (cf. Glaze 2001). The limitation of municipal areas to the legal context of ownership also entails a considerable reduction of public space, because the local authority only has direct and exclusive access to some, not all, of the public spaces in a city (▷ *City, town*).

In contrast to the view that focuses on sub-spaces, the extended understanding of the term is based on the overall system of public spaces and their usability. This is similar to an approach used by Gianbattista Nolli for mapping Rome in 1748 (Pianta di Roma): in the map, all areas that were in principle accessible, i.e. which could be used by the city dwellers, were white. This included many inner courtyards, passages and even the Pantheon. If the spatial usage patterns of various groups of city dwellers are traced today, superimposing them results in a comparable picture. In order to render the meaning of this broad definition more precise and to distinguish it from more narrowly defined terms, this is also described as 'urban spaces that can be used by the public' in German-speaking countries.

Besides the reference to use, this extended expression is also well suited in reference to the activities of local urban and open space planning. From this perspective too, streets, paths, squares, green spaces and other open spaces form a context that as such requires consideration and ▷ *Planning*. Such a comprehensive understanding of public space is now also beginning to gain international acceptance: 'Public space (broadly defined) relates to all those parts of the built and natural environment, public and private, internal and external, urban and rural, where the public have free, although not necessarily unrestricted access' (Carmona/de Magalhães/Hammond 2008: 4). Orum and Neal also express a very similar view (2010: 1): public spaces are all urban areas that are open and accessible to every member of urban society, though they add: 'in principle though not necessarily in practice '.

2   Functions of public space

Public spaces connect and provide access to cities, form their internal structure, provide for the spatial mobility of people within the city, for transport and for the consumption of goods, etc. Public space forms a backdrop for social life and is where the variety and diversity of urban society is visible, and it is where tolerance, integration or exclusion also become visible. They are places to spend time in, they offer opportunities for encounters and for diverse cultural, sporting and other leisure activities. Last but not least, they offer space where political ideas can be represented, opinions can be formed and demonstrations can be held.

The fact that public space fulfils many functions and can provide comprehensive benefits for the city and society is also visible internationally: 'Public space […] has the potential to influence a wide range of benefits: as a stage to encourage social cohesion and interaction and build social capital; as a venue for economic exchange and element in determining economic competitiveness and investment decisions; as an environmental resource and direct influence on energy use; and as an important contributor to the liveability of urban places and influence on the health and well-being of local populations' (Carmona/de Magalhães/Hammond 2008: 7 et seq; cf. also Tonnelat 2010: 1). Some of these aspects are discussed in more detail below.

2.1   The image of the city: functions that form identity

Public spaces form the basic framework or 'layout' of cities. They can often be identified at first glance from a bird's eye view or on the city map. But even where there was no such formative design in the respective urban history, there are individual streets and squares that give the city its identity and can make it unique (▷ *Cityscape*). At the same time, they are often constant elements of the urban structure and last for long periods of time, even in times of serious decline such as natural disasters or wars. Therefore, they also carry meanings, memories and stories; they merge into the image of a city and can become part of the collective memory.

'What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of a city? Your streets. If the streets of a city are not interesting, the whole city is not interesting; if they are boring, the whole city is boring' (Jacobs 1963: 27). The state of public spaces and the life that can be seen in them significantly shape the image that residents and visitors have of a city. Accordingly, streets and squares were already the focus of attention in the literary descriptions of cities in the Middle Ages. Even today, images of public spaces, especially squares and streets in central locations, play a special role in the images of cities, and are used intensely in city marketing, for example. Examples of this are Times Square in New York, Trafalgar Square in London, and Pariser Platz with the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin.

What also characterises the importance of public spaces is that they are used culturally in a variety of ways. This not only applies to the location of art objects, but also the design of the spaces and their significant elements as well as their use – for example for campaigns, as locations for performances, productions and (temporary) installations (cf. Beeren/Berding/Kluge 2013). Efforts to promote (urban) building culture therefore not only focus on a city's squares and parks, but also on their use as places for campaigns and interventions.

2.2 Space for life in the city: Social functions

The social functions of public spaces are diverse:

- As part of the continuum from private to communal to spaces that can be used by the public, they shape the socialisation and appropriation processes of adolescents. Hazard-free and stimulating spaces for children to roam are therefore an important objective of open space and of ▷ *Urban planning* oriented towards the needs of children.

- These spaces can offer all groups in the city opportunities to spend time, meet others and do activities together, provided that the spatial organisation and design allow this. Therefore, the principle of *design for all*, which takes the place of planning geared towards individual groups (suitable for the elderly, designed to be accessible to the disabled, etc.), is increasingly becoming more important.

- Public urban spaces offer the opportunity to perceive the variety and diversity of the urban population and enable strangers to encounter each other. As such, they offer significant potential for coming to terms with social diversity. However, it is still largely unclear whether and how this can be taken into account through spatial planning.

- In public spaces, however, social tensions, reservations and exclusions are also visible. This can also lead to individual groups of users perceiving them as places of insecurity or fear and avoiding them. Avoiding anxieties and increasing the feeling of security are therefore also objectives in (re)designing squares, parks, etc.

2.3 Health, climate, environmentally friendly mobility: Ecological functions

A health function was attributed to public (green) spaces as early as the beginning of the 20th century, in the strategies of open space policy. Ventilating the city and improving the health of city dwellers were important aspects at that time, and are still important today.

With the global focus on ecological issues and the orientation towards the overarching objective of sustainable development (▷ *Sustainability*), urban open spaces have gained additional importance. Practical impacts were found in numerous projects linking urban and open space development as well as in efforts to strengthen environmentally friendly ▷ *Mobility* by offering high-quality networks of footpaths and cycle paths. Keeping some areas clear which influence the urban climate, as well as designing open spaces in a climate-compatible, ecologically adapted way are gaining new attention due to climate change (▷ *Climate protection*; ▷ *Climate change adaptation*).

2.4 Public space as location factor: Economic functions

Streets and squares were central requirements for the emergence and economic development of cities. In several ways they still are today: their transport function continues. The sale and consumption of goods have largely shifted to the buildings on the edge of public spaces. However, these contribute significantly to the location value and, conversely, benefit from the intensity of trade at their edges.

In view of the great importance attached to location in the real estate sector, the public spaces that define the location, whether they are streets, squares or parks, are of considerable importance as a location factor. The value of real estate is therefore significantly influenced by the presence and condition of public spaces. Neglected spaces or spaces with heavy traffic can cause people to move out of the area, thus leading to a reduction in property values. Conversely, the upgrading of public spaces can contribute to increasing the attractiveness for certain uses and thus the location value of property ($\triangleright$ *Real estate sector*). This has also led to the fact that public spaces are increasingly being used as a stimulus for investment and, particularly in projects for the reuse and conversion of existing sites, investments in high-quality public (open) spaces often mark the beginning of development. They should shape the image of the location and trigger corresponding private investment.

The spaces used by the public are also economically important in one direct respect: income can be generated there. This applies to private landowners and increasingly also to local authorities and other public stakeholders. With the granting of special rights of use for outdoor catering, for the display of goods and decorations in front of shops, for markets of all kinds, but also for advertising on scaffolding and storefronts, local authorities are now generating considerable sums. This is not always well received by the population and can lead to complaints about public spaces being blocked or overused, or the distortion of the cityscape through large-format advertising (cf. Berding/Kuklinski/Selle 2003; Lehmann 2008; Manderscheid 2004).

2.5 Public space as core competence: Policy functions

Public space was and is always associated with politics: this comprises places for political speeches, meetings and demonstrations. The freedom to express political opinions is an indicator for the public sphere of a given place.

At the same time, public spaces are particularly suitable for highlighting the intentions and effectiveness of local political actions. The maintenance and development of public spaces are thus becoming something of a core competence of local policy. In this regard, local policymakers can demonstrate unmistakably what they are capable of for three other reasons:

* The distinction between areas that can be built on and areas to be kept clear is a central area of regulation for spatial planning at the local level (especially through $\triangleright$ *Urban land-use planning*).

* A large proportion of the spaces that can be used by the public is owned by local authorities, which opens up wide-ranging options for designing those spaces.

* In the design of the spaces that can be used for public purposes, it becomes clear whether and how the numerous interests, needs and possibilities of an urban society are taken up and implemented.

However, municipal planning and policies cannot determine and shape the development of public spaces alone. Two thing have become clear: on the one hand, the parts of the system of public spaces are at the disposal of many stakeholders, and on the other hand, the functionality and usage of urban spaces largely depend on

- private investment (in developments along the edges of public spaces, in shops and locations that are attractive destinations),

- activities of civil society (culture, leisure) and last but not least on the

- the usage behaviour and location preferences of city dwellers (cf. Whyte 1980: 18: 'use begets more use'; Kingwell 2014: 213). In this respect, the public spaces in cities are also the result of cooperation and 'co-production' in a comprehensive sense.
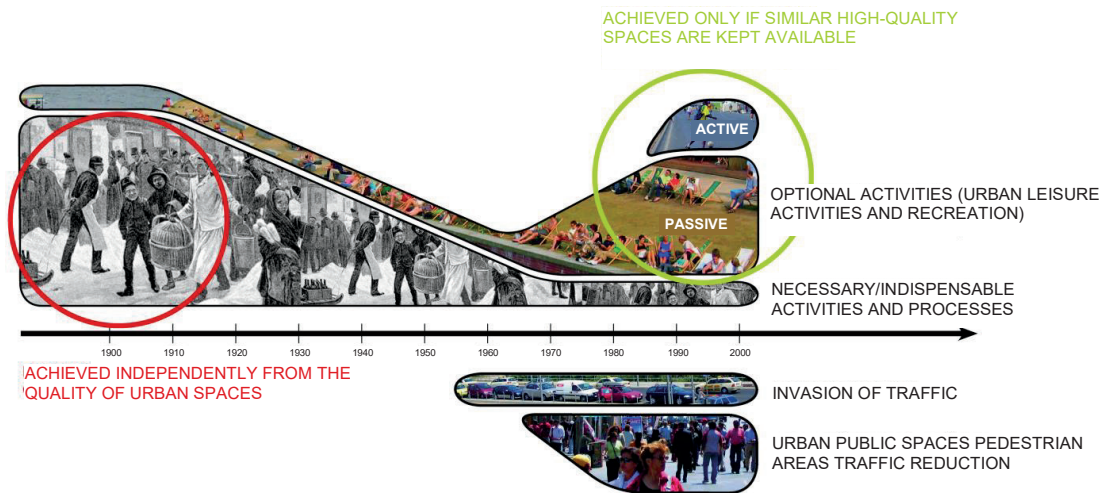
This is also expressed in various programmes of action at federal and state level, which are expressly geared towards cooperative approaches to action.

2.6   Functional change

The functions described here should not be understood as constants. On the contrary, their relationship to one another is constantly changing. This change is driven by economic, social, political and technological developments and takes place partly continuously and partly in surges. This can be traced from the time when the city was first founded up to today.

For a temporal and thematic excerpt focusing primarily on inner-city areas, a description by Jan Gehl (Gehl 2010: 376) illustrates these change processes (see Fig. 1): Looking at the time span from around 1900, i.e. after the beginning of industrialisation in Europe and the associated urbanisation process and before the mass motorisation of urban traffic, to around 2000, it becomes clear how the weighting of 'necessary' and 'optional' activities in inner-city squares has changed. At the beginning of the 20th century, the focus was still on uses that essentially served traffic, transport and the handling of goods, while idleness, strolling and lingering for its own sake were clearly not a priority; at the end of the 20th century, this relationship radically changed. Today, no one *has* to go to the city's squares, though one can. According to Gehl's central message, using such spaces is 'optional'. Goods can be purchased both on the Internet and on the spot in the city, and there are locations and opportunities elsewhere for all forms of relaxation and idleness. If people go to squares, parks and promenades in the city, according to Gehl, it is because these are attractive places. The 'quality' of both the design and the use is today of greater importance than it was 100 or more years ago.

Figure 1: Changes in the character of public life during the 20th century

ACHIEVED ONLY IF SIMILAR HIGH-QUALITY SPACES ARE KEPT AVAILABLE

ACTIVE

OPTIONAL ACTIVITIES (URBAN LEISURE ACTIVITIES AND RECREATION)

PASSIVE

NECESSARY/INDISPENSABLE ACTIVITIES AND PROCESSES

ACHIEVED INDEPENDENTLY FROM THE QUALITY OF URBAN SPACES

INVASION OF TRAFFIC

URBAN PUBLIC SPACES PEDESTRIAN AREAS TRAFFIC REDUCTION

Source: Gehl 2010: 376

In addition, reference is made to a parallel development that had a significant impact on the use of urban spaces: the 'invasion of personal mass motorisation' – and the counter-effect it triggered in the form of pedestrian zones, traffic reduction, etc. This discussion, however brief, gives an impression of the dynamic relationship between urban space and urban society, which is constantly changing and constantly generating new challenges.

3   Academic discourse

3.1   Public and private spheres in urban space

With regard to the question of what constitutes a public space, there are very different, but mutually complementary answers. According to Hannah Arendt (1960: 56 et seq.), a 'public space' arises from the 'simultaneous presence of countless aspects and perspectives'. Jürgen Habermas (1971: 107) focuses on the 'principle of general access': 'A public sphere from which specific groups would be *eo ipso* excluded was less than merely incomplete; it was not a public sphere at all.'

While these notions speak less of physical than of social places and spaces, Hans Paul Bahrdt expressly refers to the 'modern city' in his deliberations on the public sphere. The social relationships to be found there are characterised by 'incomplete integration'. Under these conditions, the public sphere only arises 'where communication and arrangement come about through a specific stylisation of behaviour' (Bahrdt 1998: 93).

The diversity of perspectives, accessibility and specific types of behaviour are still considered the essential characteristics of the public sphere. Space itself was not or was only marginally an issue in this context. It was not until the end of the 1980s that cultural studies and social sciences began to amplify the aspects of spatiality and spatial relations which underpin social life. Under

the influence of the *spatial turn*, ▷ *Space* was no longer viewed solely as a physically defined 'container' in which people meet, but as an expression of social relationships and human activities (cf. also de Certeau 2006: 345).

Space and society therefore interact. On the one hand, space is both a mental and physical as well as a symbolic construction (Lefebvre 2006: 336) and the 'emergence of space [...] a social phenomenon' (Löw 2001: 263 et seq.). At the same time, the spatial dimension is significant for the actions of social stakeholders (Schroer 2008: 132) and the constitution of society (Gebhardt/ Reuber/Wolkersdorf 2003: 16). This discussion within the social sciences led to the realisation that the public use of urban spaces is not a given, but rather results from complex interrelationships and is therefore subject to constant change.

And there is another respect in which earlier approaches have been refined: while urban life was initially conceived in terms of the polarity between the public and privates spheres, today we assume that there are transitions between and superimpositions of these spheres. First, as early as 1983, Fester, Kraft and Metzner developed a distinction between urban open spaces in terms of their 'social spatial characters'. In this view, there was a correspondence between structural and spatial constellations on the one hand and behaviour on the other, but besides the public and private open spaces, the focus was also on those spaces that could be used jointly – as well as the interfaces between the various types of space (such as 'semi-public space'), which the authors viewed rather sceptically.

This differentiated consideration of open spaces is still important for planning practice, for example in building settlements. At the same time, however, the assumption that specific types of behaviour can be assigned to specific types of space is increasingly being questioned. Thomas Ebers (2014: 5) states: 'Today, the public and the private spheres can no longer be thought of as mutually exclusive' The supposed distinctness of the characters of social space contrasts with the considerably multifaceted everyday life of users of the space. Not only is behaviour in public spaces that was previously described as private increasing, but behaviour in different types of urban space is also very different depending on the context of use and the social environment. Rauterberg (2013: 48) summarises this by stating that most people lead a non-polarised life, a life full of transitions. The spread of mobile communication technology has also contributed to this development: the parallel presence of the smartphone user in urban space and on social media creates a 'bi-locality' (David/Junghans 2011), combined with correspondingly ambiguous behaviour in the physical space.

This also references a further discussion which has been ongoing since the late 1990s: sceptics fear that digital technology poses a threat to the social functions of urban spaces (cf. also Rötzer 1995) and that the functions of public space could be relocated to the privacy of the home (Schubert 2010: 187). However, representatives of the younger generation in particular do not share this scepticism: 'Contrary to the prophecies of cultural pessimists, the Internet does not make public city life extinct or even lead to the decay and the end of public urban space, but rather evokes a lively and multi-layered renaissance of public space in the European city' (David/Junghans 2011).

3.2   Use and usability

As mentioned at the beginning, the standard postulate of unconditional accessibility for public use often does not correspond to reality. In addition to various prerequisites for access and behavioural regulations, the use of such spaces itself is also socially selective. Social groups are attracted to public spaces for different reasons and have specific preferences and needs for using them. In studies, social sciences have also shown that members of social groups seek closeness to one another and strive to differentiate themselves from other groups as much as possible: 'In fact, nothing is further from you and nothing is less tolerable than people who are socially distant, but with whom you come into spatial contact' (Bourdieu 1991: 32). The deliberate delimitation and exclusion of 'weaker' groups by 'stronger' groups is just as prevalent in public urban spaces as the '(voluntary) dominance of identifiable groups' (Wehrheim 2010: 288 et seq.).

The different demands for open spaces by individual groups have been analysed in detail in a number of empirical studies. As early as the 1920s, a pioneering study by the psychologists Martha and Hans-Heinrich Muchow showed the special way in which children perceive and appropriate their environment (Muchow/Muchow 1935). Studies investigating similar questions followed, which referred to various other groups of users (cf. Bochnig 1984; Erke/Eubank-Ahrens 1983; *Wüstenrot-Stiftung* [Wüstenrot Foundation] 2003). In this context, reference was also made to gender-specific differences in terms of appropriating space and being present in space (cf. also Spitthöver 1989): There are fewer girls in public spaces than boys, they behave more defensively in places not specifically designated and are disproportionately represented in playgrounds – and are more likely than boys are to be driven away by others, for example older children and adolescents.

Use and usability are also influenced by other factors, such as competition with other uses. This applies e.g. to stationary and moving traffic (cf. Feldtkeller 1995), which not only takes up space, but also represents a potential hazard for old and young people and can create barriers in the system of public spaces that are difficult to overcome.

In addition, ▷ *Demographic change* also affects the importance and use of public spaces: as the proportion of older people grows, issues of safety, accessibility and mobility are becoming increasingly important. At the same time, the requirements for the use of public spaces are becoming more varied, as society becomes more ethnically and culturally diverse. In addition, the clearly noticeable decline in population figures in some regions (▷ *Shrinking cities*) leads to both decreasing pressure on public spaces and a changing structure of use with decreasing social control (cf. Nagler/Rambow/Sturm 2004; Overhageböck 2009).

3.3   The diversity of stakeholders and governance in public space

The discussion about planning public spaces was initially aimed exclusively at the local authorities and their actions. This was based on the assumption that public spaces are owned by the local authority and are designed, maintained and if necessary, regulated in their use. This picture of the sole and comprehensive responsibility of local authorities required correction based on historical facts: there have always been other stakeholders, may it be churches or private stakeholders, which have publicly used urban spaces (cf. Kostof 1993; Bernhardt/Fehl/Kuhn et al. 2005).

However, only more recent research has shown how great the diversity of stakeholders actually is and how complex the overlapping of responsibilities in public spaces can be.

If one makes a comparison according to the degree and type of influence of various stakeholders on public spaces, the result is a highly heterogeneous picture that can vary greatly from space to space. For example, stakeholders can have ownership rights or usage rights, while others regulate the space, i.e. determine how and by whom it can be used. Other stakeholders can also be responsible for the structural condition and the appearance of the design. If one looks behind the scenes of publicly accessible spaces in this distinctive way, each urban space shows a specific 'fingerprint', which is its own stakeholder profile. In many spaces there are complex superimpositions and overlaps of responsibilities, and the public sector is often only one voice out of many. The complexity of influences and interests is therefore a hallmark of inner-city public spaces, the planning and development of which requires extensive coordination and balancing processes (cf. also Berding/Havemann/Pegels et al. 2010).

These findings make it clear that what is established for ▷ *Urban development* as a whole also applies to public urban spaces (cf. also Selle 2005): Many stakeholders are active in their own way. If local authorities want to be able to act, they have to establish links with and among these stakeholders and develop cooperative strategies. Accordingly, in practice, there is a wide variety of forms of such 'local governance' of urban spaces used by the public.

4 The tasks of planning

Urban spaces used by the public have been and still are a central field of action for urban planning and policy. This is laid out in the building line planning as well as urban land-use planning and is also expressed in recurring efforts to adapt public spaces to changing requirements.

4.1 A look back: Public space as a field of action in planning policy

In the 1950s and 1960s, it was primarily the central areas of many cities that were adapted to the growing motorisation of traffic, which led to significant changes in the appearance and use of public spaces. As a reaction to this 'automobile invasion' (Gehl 2010) and the associated 'misappropriation' of public spaces (Feldtkeller 1995), pedestrian zones and other areas where cars were prohibited were created in inner cities at the same time. In the 1970s and 1980s there was also a stronger focus on the residential environment, especially in residential neighbourhoods close to the inner city. Upgrading streets, squares and green open spaces was meant to contribute to the stabilisation of neighbourhoods (▷ *Neighbourhood/neighbourhood development*) as a whole.

From the mid-1980s, many cities and regions began developing networks of open space and green area (green belts, green ribbons, green bands). In so doing, attempts were repeatedly made to strengthen the connections with the spaces used by the public in the inner city (▷ *Open space concepts, regional*). It was also during this time that the focus of urban renewal shifted away from areas dating from the Wilhelminian period and toward the settlements of the 1950s and the large settlements of the 1960s/1970s. Here in particular, efforts were made to renew the

often functionally depleted and neglected squares and green spaces in the densely populated settlements – yet, as it turned out, with only limited success in many places. Later demolitions, such as those undertaken in the course of urban redevelopment, significantly intervened even further in the built fabric and changed not only the density, but also the structure of open space in the affected districts as a whole.

The 1990s saw a surge in the construction of new buildings, generally no longer taking place on the outskirts, but rather as ▷ *Inner Development*, focusing on areas formerly used for industry, infrastructure or barracks. In so doing, there were attempts to learn from mistakes made in the 1970s by paying close attention to public spaces from the start. In both residential and commercial areas, a decisive consideration is also that high-quality public spaces can influence the value of the new areas and stimulate investment.

In recent years, inner cities have moved back to the top of local agendas (▷ *Inner city*). The main trigger here is the structural change in the ▷ *Retail trade*, which leads to the weakening of central locations, mainly in small and medium-sized towns. To compensate for this, cultural and leisure functions in particular are being strengthened. Programmes at federal and state level flank and support this change in the inner cities. What they have in common is a cooperative approach: they endeavour to actively involve all relevant local stakeholders.

The strengthening of the function of public spaces and the redesign of squares, street spaces, etc. have not been limited to inner cities. Neighbourhood squares have also become the subject of urban policy and planning, in some cases in multi-year programmes. Various cities have also tried to formulate development strategies for the entire public space in response to highly regarded foreign examples (Barcelona, Lyon, etc.).

4.2 Current challenges

There is currently no uniform picture of the situation with public spaces: while there are laments about functional losses and empty spaces in some places, in other places there is talk of overuse. Such differences are not only visible in comparisons of large-scale areas, but can also be observed in some small areas within individual cities. Demographic trends, the changes in the retail trade mentioned above and changed user interests (sport, free time, major events) have different impacts in this regard.

Despite this heterogeneous starting position, there are also overarching tasks: the endeavour to ensure city-friendly traffic is a constant challenge (▷ *Urban traffic*). The change in the *modal split* in favour of pedestrian and bicycle traffic is of great importance. At the same time, new solutions are sought for the shared and equal use of areas by different types of traffic and transport (*shared space*, meeting zones).

This divergence in the tasks and resources of local authorities can now also be seen as constant. While the number and extent of the areas designed and maintained for the public are increasing, in particular due to the large-scale conversion of former infrastructure, trade or military sites, the funds available for this are decreasing. In order to remain able to act, current expenses (maintenance, etc.) are being significantly reduced in many places and private co-financing is increasingly being raised for the redesign of public spaces (▷ *Municipal finances*).

In addition, the spectrum of planning tasks has new emphases. These include

- the need to address the consequences of climate change by keeping areas with a significance for urban climate open, a changed approach to design and planting in squares and streets and promoting climate-friendly forms of mobility, etc.;

- the change in the composition of the population, signalled by the keyword *diversity*, which is not only visible in public spaces, but also begs the question of how diversity and difference (must) affect the use and design of public spaces;

- temporary and performative approaches to the development of public spaces, referring to temporary uses and activities in squares and streets, the informal acquisition of brownfield sites (▷ *Brownfield site, derelict/vacant site*), strategically implemented temporary uses, etc.;

- the insight that the development of public spaces is to be understood as a permanent task.

4.3   Cooperative development

Many stakeholders are involved in the development of public spaces. Undoubtedly, the major responsibility falls on the local authorities because they usually have the largest share of ownership of areas in cities which are used by the public and the necessary planning and regulatory powers. Nevertheless, the structural development, maintenance and use of the space depend on the activities of many other parties involved and last but not least, various financial sources must be accessed. An approach to designing such spaces based on cooperative and participatory processes are therefore increasingly the standard in dealing with public spaces (▷ *Cooperative planning*).

The interaction of different stakeholders begins at the municipal level: as a rule, many different agencies, public companies and others are responsible for public spaces. Coordinating them is therefore one of the first tasks in shaping the process. The more recent understanding of the tasks involved has increasingly resulted in the tendency to bundle competencies for public spaces or to create clear contact persons for the coordination and management of public spaces on the part of the local authority.

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