FAMILIAR STRANGERS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY TO UNDERSTAND THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF CONTEMPORARY PUBLIC SPACES OF SRI LANKA;

with special references to two selected public spaces in Sri Lanka

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Declaration

I declare that this is my own work and this dissertation does not incorporate without acknowledgement any materials previously submitted for a Degree or Diploma in any other University or Institute of Higher learning to the best of my knowledge. Moreover it does not contain materials previously published or written by another person except where the acknowledgement is made in the text.

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Certification

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Synopsis

The idea of public space has been extensively discussed and debated by Architects, Sociologists, Urban Planners, Anthropologists and other Researchers for a long time. Public spaces play a particular role in the social life of urban areas, whether as memorable, accessible, or meaningful places. However, the idea of "city as a community of strangers" is not new.

The intention of this study was to explore the predominant understanding that the urban people are less friendly and helpful than their rural counterparts by exploring the adaptive response behavior and the level of friendliness of both urban people and their rural counterparts to act more helpful and friendlier to strangers at public spaces. During the literature reviewed, it was revealed that very little literature was available and not specifically examined and documented on the level of friendliness of both urban and rural people and their behavioral response to explicit demands in daily lifestyle at public spaces. Based on the literature reviewed, research questions and the research objective was formulated. Two urban & rural public spaces were selected based on criteria developed after formulating a working definition. A System overload theory formulated by Stanley Milgram (1972) to explore the adaptive responses of people and Reisman's (1983), friendliness scale were applied to analyze the qualitative data collected from 30 conveniently selected respondents while 45 strangers at both selected public space were observed closely by applying participatory and non-participatory observation techniques.

The study shed light on the major concerns of planners to create public spaces in both rural and urban areas, by analyzing the usage of the public spaces, the perception of public spaces by users, adaptive response behavior of the user to explicit demands, level of friendliness of the people at public spaces. As a conclusion, the study emphasized that the urban people are less friendly than their rural counter parts to some extent at public spaces studied in this research. Further, it has revealed that the urban people were always respond carefully to strangers as per the Reisman's self-explanatory statements tested while rural people are opposite of that and they always wanted to engage with strangers. Suggestion were made to study other public spaces based on the major findings and reviewed literature, as well suggestions for future research opportunities.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Introduction to the Chapter

This study was undertaken in response to a research proposal submitted to the partial fulfillment of the requirements of Master of Science Degree in Town & Country Planning offered by the Department of Town & Country Planning of University of Moratuwa, Sri Lanka.

Chapter one introduces the research background, problem statement, objectives, limitations and significance of the research as well as the study process.

1.2   Background

Recently, an incident occurred at the "Galle face Green" a well-known public space in Colombo, which is an eye opener for the planners to take an in-depth analysis to understand the ever increasing urban anonymity. The incident took place at the Galle face Green in the heart of Colombo, was "a young women who slept for nearly two days at the Galle face Green without any assistances or help from the passersby". At the end of the drama, she was taken into the care of a politician from the outskirts of Colombo, who accidently visited the "Galle face Green" for some other reason. However, they were shocked to understand that this young woman was not attended by anyone who passed her at a well-known urban public space, which even has twenty four hour security. Although, it may perceive as a random event occurred in a crowded city with less social responsibility, it is an eye opening incident for everyone in the society to study why these things are occurring in public spaces in contemporary Sri Lanka.

Therefore, this study attempts to explore the predominant understanding of that the urban people are not friendlier and helpful than its rural counterparts through

examining the adaptive responses and friendliness of urban people to act as strangers to the people and its rural counterparts to act more helpful and friendlier to strangers at public spaces.

The analyzed data and the body of information, knowledge on social phenomena of urban and rural people, and how they use and respond, their level of friendliness, how they used and perceive public spaces, shall provide a platform to Spatial planners, Sociologist and Architects for future public space planning in the Country.

1.3   Problem Statement – "We are Strangers in our own space"

Traditionally, popular stereotypical understandings of rural and urban, are that the urban areas are relate to a town or city that is freestanding, densely occupied and developed with a variety of shops and services while rural areas are more complex and multidimensional. Furthermore, a culture of impersonal and anonymous relationships has been used to describe urban people while rural areas are characterized by a more personal and intimate web of social relationships. In addition, it assumed that the city dweller's mentality is shaped by overloaded demands from the environment they uses for their daily lifestyles. Therefore, city dwellers are not able to respond positively to each and every event occurs in the city or public place which they also could take part. Furthermore, there is a predominant understanding that the rural people are friendlier and helpful than its urban counter parts and willing to help even the strangers.

However, it is not examined and well documented on level of friendliness of both city and rural people's and how they respond to explicit demands in their daily life at public spaces. Therefore, carefully designed study may able to reveal the level of friendliness and the adaptive responses of both urban and rural people to respond to strangers at public space.

1.4   Importance of understanding familiar strangers

There are several definitions to introduce "Strangers". The popular definition is that *anyone* that we do not know is a stranger, while "Familiar stranger" is first defined by Stanley Milgram in 1970s' as those individuals who do not know each other, but share common attributes such as interests, occupation, location etc. For an example, people whose meeting at the bus halt, urban park or jogging track, or even at religious places find familiar faces, but they do not know each other or not even speak. However, if they have not seen the same person next day or at next time at the same location, it immediately notices by the person who observed. Further, if the same person seen in somewhere else observed person tend to recognize their faces. For healthier functioning of the society, strangers, familiar strangers and non-strangers plays vital role. However, for functioning of such social phenomenal, careful planning of cities and its public spaces, especially the public spaces which provides platform to perform such required functions of the society. Inadequate understanding of such social behaviors may increase gaps of the already prevailing individualistic impersonal life of urbanites (Milgram, 1970).

1.5   Objective of the Study

The objective of this comparative study is to examine the predominant and popular understanding of that the urban dwellers are less friendly than their rural counterparts. This was explored by investigating the level of friendliness of urban people to act as strangers while their rural counterparts to act friendlier and helpful to strangers at public spaces.

1.6   Specific Objectives of the Study

- To determine why the people at urban public spaces are not helpful and friendlier than its counter parts in rural public spaces in Sri Lanka
- To explore the level of friendliness of both urban and rural people, to act friendlier and helpful to strangers at public spaces in Sri Lanka.

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- To determine the factors which influence the behavior of both rural and urban people in attracting them to public spaces

The study aims to achieve the objective and specific objectives by observing the public spaces both at rural and urban areas such as parks & community gathering places.

1.7   Limitations of the Study

Limitations of this study are twofold. Firstly there are several conflicts and concerns for planning of public spaces across different disciplines such as political, environmental, economic, social or cultural. However, this dissertation more focuses on social behaviors of the humans in terms of their adaptive responses; friendliness and social phenomena such as familiar strangers which could emerge in public spaces and investigate public spaces through human lens.

Secondly, studying the human behavior and adaptive responses to explicit actions at particular public space is a complex issue engaged with personal, social and identity of place. This study also focuses more on level of friendliness and the adaptive response behaviors of the city dwellers to act as strangers and its rural counterparts to act as friendlier and helpful to strangers at selected public spaces at both urban and rural settings. Therefore, the result of this study is not necessarily applicable to other public spaces in the country.

Moreover, this dissertation draws heavily on the following three classical theoretical works of American Journalist Jane Jacobs (1967) *Life and Death of Great American Cities*, the urban social interaction theories of German Philosopher and Sociologist George Simmel (1903 [1969]) *the Metropolis and Mental life* and system overload theory of Stanley Milgram (1970)*the experience of living in Cities*. In terms of the research methodology this study draws on a combination of Stanley Milgram (1970) empirical research, which is based on field observation.

Furthermore, the author applies Reisman's (1983; 1989) work to explore the factors of friendliness. According to Reisman, there are four types of factors that are required to construct the friendliness behavior, namely self-concept, accessibility, rewardingness and alienation which is popularly known as SACRAL.

1.8   Contribution of the Study

Knowledge generated from this study would immensely assist the urban planners, to develop "*public spaces which truly encourage friendliness for its users*". Further, this research filled a knowledge gap in the field of urban sociology and clarifies the role of social behaviors such as familiar strangers, friendliness and helpfulness that plays vital role in creating relationships between location and people's behavior. Analyzing these relationships add insights into and complement the application of new urbanism theories and practices, which could lead to further studies to improve the public spaces in contemporary Sri Lanka.

Furthermore, there has been an increasing concern over the years in Sri Lanka, to improve the design and management of public spaces, aimed at fostering social interactions. In reality, public space is the ground of the interest of many diverse groups.

Studying the inter-intra action of people visiting public spaces, understanding the stimulating factors of these diverse groups is vital for understanding, how public spaces provide opportunities for social interactions such as creating enabling environment for more friendlier behaviour and how far it valued by them.

Understanding the relationships between public spaces and specific behaviour of its users may help the planners, architects and urban designers to create more inclusive public spaces. Moreover, it is important in terms of planning point of view, as there are many contemporary public spaces and new user community is emerging in Sri Lanka.

1.9   Study Process

The research was carried out in four stages, preparation of synopsis, and review of background literature review, fieldwork, and data analysis.

During the first stage, it was to narrow down the research topic, read relevant academic materials, design the detailed research process, select appropriate methodologies, design observation guided and interview question lists and a questionnaire.

During the second stage, the researcher searched for background information related to public space and social dynamics such as familiar strangers on the Internet and read additional references.

During the third stage, the researcher conducted face to face interviews, on-site observation at the selected both urban & rural and public spaces.

The major tasks in the fourth stage were to analyze the data and other materials, and to write the thesis. Simplified comparative quantitative analyzing techniques were applied to explore the level of friendliness of the city and rural dwellers (Fig 1.1).
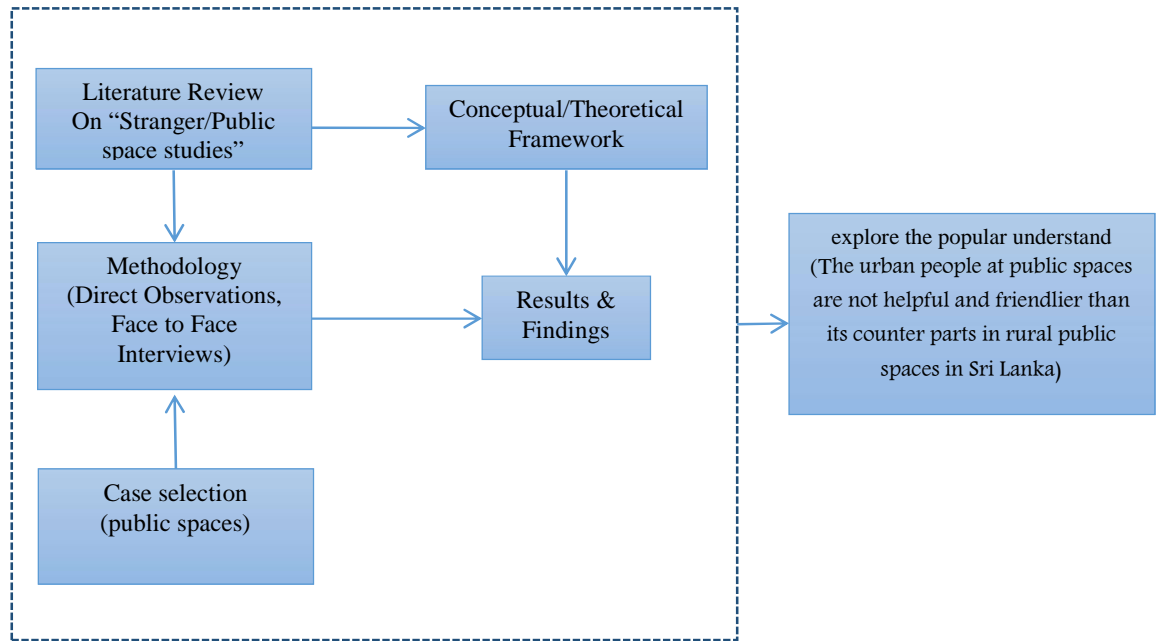
Fig. 1.1 Study Process

1.10   Conclusion

In this chapter, the author has indicated the rationale for studying social dynamics in public spaces. Additionally, these sections provided a brief introduction into concepts such as familiar strangers. Further, this chapter provided the problem statement and objectives. Finally this section provided the limitations of study. In addition, this chapter highlights the importance of studying social dynamics such as "familiar strangers and friendliness behaviors of people" for the creation of live public spaces in the country as at present certain knowledge gaps that exists in understanding the social behavior such as familiar strangers is required for a healthier functioning of cities and its public spaces.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   Chapter Introduction

The literature review includes the information gathered to scrutinize the research problem of this study. Information from various journals, conference proceedings, research dissertations, empirical studies, essays, and the World Wide Web were searched to critically examine the research problem. Although there is an extensive array of literature on urban public spaces, relatively lower numbers of systematic studies were conducted on social dynamics such as familiar strangers and friendliness behavior of people in contemporary urban planning in the world.

Based on literature review, this chapter summarized the context of the dissertation. The concepts and definitions of Public space, urban public space, sense of belonging, third place, and social phenomena such as familiar stranger and the factors of friendliness behavior. Further, it provides the system overload theory and the Reisman's method of analyzing friendliness which is also applied in this research study.

Moreover, it has noted that, most of the studies focused and conducted in Western and European cities cannot be easily adapt to the Sri Lankan country context. Therefore, to understand the concepts and theories pertaining to this research study were carefully selected and reviewed.

2.2   Concepts and Definitions

2.2.1   Public Space

The idea of public space has been extensively discussed and debated by Architects, Sociologists, Urban Planners, Anthropologists and other Researchers for a long time.

Today's definition of space is originated in the ideas which came from the eighteenth century, when the society was considered more as a "commercial realm".

Over the past decades, the academic debate on public space has been somewhat two faced, with researchers generally expressing one of two concerns. First set of academics has described public space as a "socially open and accessible space where meeting and interaction occurs, tolerance for diversity is enhanced, democratic values prevail, and art, theatre and performance take place" (Madanipour, 2014). Concurrent with this ideals, a number of other academics express a "sense of loss or nostalgia about public space being eroded and hence under threat" (Atkinson, 2003; Mitchell, 1995, 2003; Sennett, 1978). According to Low and Smith (2006), The Greek agora is often portrayed as a true public space in ancient time, but even there large parts of the adult population, including women, long-term aliens and slaves, were denied full citizenship and consequently had no right to participate in its political life. Therefore, it can conclude that the definition of public space that prevailed even in ancient Greece was rather narrow.

According to Madanipour (1996), Public space acts as an arena for strengthening civic society. For him, public space is a "public realm" where people share and carry out functional and ritual activities and a ground for politics, religion, commerce, sport, etc. Madanipour also mentions about the public spaces as places that regulate interpersonal relationships with others and provide a link with previous generations by the experience of the same place. This provides the permanence of public space. The shared experience, such as rituals, performances and public opinion etc. bring out a sense of personal continuity of public spaces as places of remembrance and of personal associations. In the urban life, public spaces have continuously reflected the complexities of their cities' cultural, social, and economic contexts (Madanipour, 2010).

Public spaces play a particular role in the social life of urban areas, whether as memorable, accessible, or meaningful places. According to Young (1990), live public spaces in urban areas are a fundamental feature of cities and represent sites of

sociability and face-to-face interactions. Ideally, they are the places that are accessible to everybody and where differences are encounter and negotiate (Young, 1990). Besides, their physical attributes may also indicate particular meanings to the people, having a significant impact on people's perceptions, interactions and activities (Canter, 1977).

In contrast, Tibalds (2003) argues that, people may feel attached to both the social and physical aspects of public spaces. Therefore, these spaces may be places for socializing, hosting the greatest number of people's interactions.

2.2.2 Urban Public Space

Creating urban public spaces which enhance the ability to meet the people of the neighborhood to meet face to face in public space is one of the important factors. Urban public places which help shape community attitudes that provide a continuity from past to present, that may often cater to ordinary life, but essential for everyday functions, that help in establishing their community's identity become significant to the neighbors and achieve a level of social value and meaning (Lofland, 1998; Johnston, 2005). Johnston adds, that these are places that "are accessible to the public and offer the possibility of repeated uses to build up associations and value to the community of Users".

Though, recent researches on public spaces reveal that some urban public spaces are currently experiencing a decline in their physical design and in their role of providing an environment for socialization process and social interaction (Carmona, 2010). One of the main critiques that Carmona (2010) mention in his article "*Contemporary public space: critique and classification*" (Carmona, 2010) relates to the phenomenon of "invaded space", resulting from the loss or lack of social function.

The public spaces were used not only for exchange of goods, but also for variety of unplanned and recreational activities (Laurie, 1976). Apart from the scholarly definitions, an intense debate has emerged among western scholars. Scholars such as

Lofland (1973), *Sennett* (1977), and *Brill* argue, that western social life has become more specialized, leading to a largely privatized society. In contrast to this argument, *Fisher* (1981) and *Glazer* and *Lilla* (1987), observe that there is an appetite for experiencing public space among western society.

Jane Jacobs, in her classic study of American neighborhood life, has argued that the city streets and their resources are the key to a neighborhood rich in community life (Jacobs, 1961). However, she further stated that the public spaces can be contested places, sites of division as well as social cohesion, of negative as well as positive engagement. Successful public spaces stress the dramatic qualities of personal and family life. They make visible certain tragic, comic and tender aspects of relationships among friends, neighbors, relatives or lovers.

According to Montgomery (2003), when a public space opens up, people tend to experiences it through regular stop, sit, eat, play and try to sense the place. However, this may be not true, when the same place is more crowded or dilapidated. Or else, the commoners who used the place may have force to move from "the public space" to another as it may no longer cater their requirements. Public space in city performs many functions, not only as meeting & resting and relaxing places, but also in helping to define the built environment, providing spaces for local traditions and customs such as festivals and carnivals, and representing meaningful identity (Montgomery, 2003).

According to Gehl (1987), arenas and ideal public spaces coordinated with culture, features and social needs which are appropriate with environmental conditions can be seen as undeniable values in today's desirable urban spaces. Society escape, reluctance of people to socialize and social assistance, challenging behaviors and their indifference to public arenas, consequences of fast life, successive migration and the instability of living in specific locations on one hand, and lack of appropriate public spaces and places on the other hand, intensifies the need of planning and building.

At present, it is believed that high quality and positive urban life in public spaces are necessary conditions for society, so that people can get benefit from social interactions.

2.2.3 Sense of belonging

According to Sociologists, a sense of belonging and emotional attachment is along with an ability to influence and fulfill, certain needs is required to achieve sense of community in a neighborhood and to define it as "Community" rather than "group of people" (McMillan and Chavis, 1986). It is suggested that association of people, places and events contribute a sense of familiarity and belonging to a "Community" (Hester, 1984; Oldenburg, 1991). However, sense of community is a complex phenomenon that contributes many factors to build a "community" in neighborhood.

Hester (1984), opposes that, in neighborhoods, places significant to the community are usually "public and ambiguously owned privately" and, among many others are likely to be favorite spaces, streets, sidewalks, store fronts, alleys, parks and so on. His research suggests that these places achieve sense of "Collective symbolic ownership" (Hester, 1984, 1993). As Hester suggests, because these places often appear to be ordinary, their loss is realized only when their existence is threatened or when they no longer existed (Lofland 1998). Often these are small businesses or informal community gathering places in the neighborhood and are what urban Sociologists Ray Oldenburg (1998) termed as "third places".

2.2.4 Third Place

The urban Sociologists Ray Oldenburg defines a third place as a place of refuge other than the workplace where people can regularly visit and commune with friends, neighbors, co-workers and even strangers. Often third places are cafes, coffee shops, teashops, bars, pubs, restaurant, community centers, and general stores and so on Ray Oldenburg (1998). Urban public place can become favorite third place for its neighborhoods as their community gathering places.

The people valued third place as destination to meet people, friends, and even strangers. Repeated visits to these places, people may become familiar strangers and eventually they may interact each other and establish a community. However, Oldenburg research has also resulted, in some case the choice of these third places as community gathering place was based length of residency in the area, class they belongs, attitudes of the neighbors so on.

Further, Oldenburg's research observations and interviews reveals that the new residents in the neighborhood rarely mentioned that the old bar that was a favorite community gathering place of the longtime residents of the researched neighborhood, as was suggested by one of the respondent.

2.2.5   Friendliness behavior of People

It was mentioned at the beginning that friendliness is akin to welcoming and positive attitudes towards others (Aaker, Banet-Martinez, & Garolera, 2001). However, being friendly is slightly different from being friends. According to Porter (2009) the difference between friendliness and friends, is that friendliness is considered as an attitude towards others that one can perform it to everybody, whereas friendship requires mutual relationship that implies expectation from one and another. As stated before, the intensity of friendliness in every culture is different.

As for friendliness, it is defined by Reisman (1983) saying that "friendliness is a construct or dispositional tendency or attitude that implies kindliness, cordiality, and goodwill". Reisman also added that friendliness is also "a belief or feelings that people have about themselves, as well as to overt behaviors, such as smiling, greeting, and cooperating".

At the same time, friendliness is also related to wellbeing (Gill, 2008) when a place have more friendly people a children wellbeing can be improve and through that the children will receive more social support.

In contrast, according to Milgram (1972), if the same person seen in somewhere else people tend to recognize their faces, However typically they are not friends, but they are more likely to become friends, as explained by Milgram. They look familiar to us and they share some common characteristics (such as interests, occupation, location etc.) with us. The meaning of 'familiar stranger' is subjective, and highly dependent on the observations of the individual, describe this phenomenon as co-location.

2.2.6 Familiar Strangers

In the early 1970's, Stanley Milgram performed a small study to investigate a phenomenon he called 'Familiar Strangers'. Milgram defined a familiar stranger as someone who is observed, repeatedly for a certain time period and without any direct interaction. Familiar strangers are common throughout our urban existence: for example, commuters that recognize at the bus stop or the old man who walks his dog in the morning. It is a hypothesis that familiar strangers are in fact an emergent property of the movement and temporal patterns of any modern city.

Despite the outward appearance of chaotic motion, the behaviors of urban inhabitants possess strong temporal, spatial and intentional patterns. For example, travelling to work in the morning (rush-hour being a common manifestation of this behavior) meeting friends at a cafe or picking up the children from school.

Deeper, contextual connections may also exist between those who frequent certain areas, such as where there are clusters of specific service industries or the stratification of retail outlets (e.g. budget stores often occupy different areas to those store that cater to fashionable or niche markets). In addition, if they have not seen the same person next day at the same location, it immediately notices by the person.

2.3   Relevant Theory

2.3.1   System Overload Theory; The experience of living in Cities. Milgram, S. 1970

Among contemporary Social Psychologists, Stanley Milgram describes the system overload theory in his famous essay on "The experience of living in Cities" (1970) as a system's inability to process inputs from the environment, because there are too many inputs for the system to cope with. When overload exists, adaptation occurs. This means systems must set priorities and make choices. City life as people experience it, creates continuous set of encounters with strangers, familiar strangers and friends and the resulting is "adaptations" to these countless encounters. Overload usually deforms daily life on several levels, interrupting on expected role performance, and evolution of social norms, intellectual functioning, and the use of facilities.

Georg Simmel also pointed out that since, urban dwellers come into contact with vast numbers of people each day, and they conserve cognitive energy by becoming conversant with a smaller number of people than their rural counterparts do and by maintaining more artificial relationships even with these associates.

2.3.1.1 Adaptive Responses

Milgram (1970) highlights six main types of adaptive responses of New Yorkers to overload situations in their daily life. 1) First is the allocation of less time to each inputs; 2) adaptive measure is disregard low priority inputs. For an example, urban citizen may disregards drunk or sick on the street as he purposefully navigates through the crowd; 3) redrawn the boundaries in certain social transactions, so that the overloaded system can shift the burden to the other party in the exchange; 4) city dwellers increasingly use unlisted telephone numbers to prevent individuals from calling them; 5) the intensity of inputs is diminished by filtering devices, so that only weak and relatively superficial forms of interactions with others are allowed; 6)

specialized institutions are created to absorb inputs that would otherwise swamp the individual (Milgram, 1970).

In conclusion, according to Milgram, the external demands on city dwellers lead to a state of system overload, one result of which is the screening out of incentives that are not essential to the satisfaction of one's personal needs. This leads to a disregard for the needs and demands of non-relevant others, in particular, those of strangers.

2.4   Relevant Research Studies

The idea of the "city as a community of strangers" is not new. Since the rise of the modern industrial metropolis in western world, theorists such as Simmel, Jacobs, and Lofland have pointed out that the main characteristic of urban life is to be surrounded by strangers who will remain as strangers. Yet at the same time, one has to share resources and live together with these strangers and relate to their differences in some way or other (Simmel 1969; Lofland 1973; Jacobs [1967]). Friendliness behaviors of the people were explored by limited scholars in the world. However, for the purpose of this study, Reisman's studies on types of factors (1983; 1989) of friendliness behavior of people were explored in the study.

2.4.1   The Metropolis and Mental Life, Simmel, G. (1969 [1903])

Until pretty recently, most of the world's population didn't live in cities, and so their contact with strangers was limited, mostly to the roads and the marketplaces. So, it's important to start with the fact that the ways in which strangers relate in public are both historically and locally contingent. Significant things happen when someone talk to strangers, they are interrupting the expected narratives of daily life, shifting perspective, forming unexpected connections.

According to George Simmel (1969 [1903]), the stranger is not, "the wanderer who comes to day and goes tomorrow, but rather a person who comes to day and stays tomorrow, he fixed within a particular spatial group, or within a group whose

boundaries are similar to spatial boundaries. But his positioned in this group is determined, essentially by the fact that he is not belonged to it from the beginning, that he imports qualities in to it, which do not and cannot stem from the group itself (Simmel, 1969 [1903])".

Simmel was primarily focus on consequence of massive rural-urban migration for contemporary European cities at the turn of the twentieth century. In contrast, some scholars, for example Sandercock (2003) argues that the global flows of people and culture have produced new demographic realities for western cities. 'Complete Strangers' continues to arrive from elsewhere and even in great numbers, and their 'integration' presents series of problems for urbanites and the urban theory. The arrival of stranger is perceived as a threat to an existing 'socio-spatial' and 'socio-temporal sense of place and identity'; a disruption is to 'taken for granted categories of social life and urban space (Sandercock, 2003).

2.4.2   The Death and Life of Great American Cities, Jacobs, J (1967)

Jane Jacobs have demonstrated how the functioning of the city streets can build trust between strangers. Further, Jane Jacobs (1967) describe that "cities should able to handled strangers" in her famous book on *The Death and Life of Great American Cities.* Jacobs describes, out of several unimportant repeated interactions of everyday life, a sense of trust between strangers is built up over time. Waiting together at the bus stop, walking leisurely at Public Park, exchanging small talk in the corner store, it is these kinds of interactions through which people become "familiar strangers" to each other. Jacobs states that "the sum of such casual, public contact at a local level is a feeling for the public identity of people, a web of public respect and trust and a resource in time of personal or neighborhood need "(Jacobs, 1967. Pp67). She also has argued that the city streets as public space and their resources are the key to a neighborhood rich in community life (Jacobs, 1961). However, she further stated that the public spaces can be contested places, sites of division as well as social cohesion, of negative as well as positive engagement. Moreover, she also highlights that the public space as a "good" sustained by "public characters" such as vendors, agents etc.

However, Social geographers and urban sociologists such as Blokland and Ray (2008) have convincingly shown that such public familiarity is indeed a lot harder to find today than a few decades ago (Blokland 2005). Urbanites have become more mobile and their patterns of daily life are less synchronous, decreasing their opportunities for repeated interaction. One of the main critique about the public space is, it's often lack social diversity such as the one that can be found in historical and dense streets.

2.4.3   World of Strangers: Order and Action in Urban Public Space. Lofland, L. 1973

According to Scholar Lynch Lofland, highlights in traditional human societies, the stranger was a threat, to be disarmed at once by an act of force or by a ritual of hospitality. Under no conditions could a stranger be ignored or taken for granted. Yet in all great cities today, human beings seem to live out their entire lives in "a world of strangers." How did it become possible for millions of people to do this? How is city life possible? The unique value of A World of Strangers lies in Lofland's expert use of rich historical and anthropological sources to answer these questions. She demonstrates that "a potentially chaotic and meaningless world of strangers was transformed into a knowable and predictable world of strangers by the same mechanism humans always use to make their world livable, it was ordered."

Lofland offers a brilliant analysis of the various devices used at different times in history to create social and psychological order in cities, concluding with an analysis of the contemporary city, in which the location of the encounter between strangers has come to replace personal appearance as a means of evaluating others.

Lofland also describes how city people initially learn and then act upon the ordering principles dominant in their society. Lofland, suggests that cities, in particular public spaces within cities such as streets, leisure spaces, involve perpetual encounters between people who are not personally known to each other, although they may be known through forms of visual identifications and recognition (Lofland, 1973).

Partly this concern with public life involves a consideration of urban space and cities as "a world of strangers".

2.4.4 Reisman's studies on factors of Friendliness (1983; 1989)

Although there are limited studies that fully explore on friendliness, Reisman's studies on types of factors (1983; 1989) of friendliness were also used in the study. According to Reisman, there are four types of factors that are required to construct the friendliness behavior, which is also popularly known as SACRAL (Self-concept, accessibility, rewardingness and alienation);

1. **Self-Concept:** As self-concept includes self-esteem, which is the personal judgment of own value (Zastrow & Kirst-Ashman, 2010).
2. **Accessibility:** When a person believes he/ she is a friendly person within the friendship status, this person provides emotional support to his/ her friends, such as attention, respect, and comfort with less or the absence of competition (Peterson, 2009; Stern, 1994). These types of support are considered as accessibility or giving behavior.
3. **Rewardingness:** Physical and/ or material rewarding is more often considered as rewardingness.
4. **Alienation:** It has to do with "personal beliefs about acceptance and rejection" while Urick (1977) described it as a notion that comprises of "feelings of powerlessness to affect one's environment and being separated from the values and norms of one's society".

The above four types were explored through 40 statements or rather a self-explanatory questions about a person's friendlier attitudes towards others.

2.5 Similar studies in the Asian Region

Although research studies on public spaces and their behavior at public spaces in terms of planning point of view is limited in the Asian context, the following study

conducted by scholar Mateo-Babiano highlights in the streets of Manila, Philippines was reviewed as follows.

2.5.1 Street Space Sustainability in Asia: The Role of the Asian Pedestrian and Street Culture. Mateo-Babiano, I. 2007

Scholar Mateo-Babiano highlights that the three-point approach to pedestrian space management should be considered. These are namely, (1) overall Ecology, referring to the external, physical environment as well as the social context where an individual lives and moves. Ecology influences individual behavior, types of interaction and thereby street culture.; (2) Cultural aspects, referring to spatio- historical adaptations, indicates the need to extend the time element not only of the present but also the effects of elements of the past on present use. Socio-cultural consideration becomes an integral part in the planning, design and implementation process; and (3) the consideration of the street user, both its needs as well as its behavior.

Climate and geography highly influence people's way-of-life and behavior. Thus, Asia, a forest-based region, with its diverse and organic environment and food and shelter availability, influenced the development of a distinct street culture which is different from its Western desert-based counterpart. Among its inhabitants, it encouraged a healthy respect for and harmony with the natural environment, a strong belief of equality among beings, equity and lack of hierarchy as seen in how Asians utilize space treating it as an equalizer among the various classes and among transport modes. The street should also be diverse, equitable and sociable reflecting equal opportunities for users and uses as well as encouraging socialization and interaction with smaller individual bubble.

Cultural ecology is related to the ecological context or the physical environment molded people's socio-cultural adaptations. These adaptations are manifested in settlement formation, religion, trade, food gathering, transport, language and behavior, among others. Asian streets are culturally sensitive allowing ritual celebrations for particular animist deities conducted on the streets. The presence of

various shrines found along sidewalks in various Asian cities (i.e. Bangkok, Tokyo, Vietnam) is a manifestation of the need for a sacred space for religious exercise.

A user-centered approach to space design and management refers to basing management strategies on needs and desires of users and how these can be physically manifested. When individuals interact in a common space, (i.e. pedestrians, vendors in an urban space) shared knowledge and meaning are produced.

The three-pronged points of ecology, culture and users served as a viable model towards the management of pedestrian spaces as it departs from previous emphasis on single issue studies and places emphasis on the environment, spatio-historical context and the user.

2.6 Summary of Theory and key concepts and assumptions

The concepts, theories and relevant research studies in relation to public space, friendliness and stranger studies were reviewed and summarize as shown in table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Summary of Key concepts and Assumptions of the related studies reviewed.

#	Theorist	Year	Key concepts/Assumptions
1	Georg Simmel	1903 [1969]	• Consequence of massive rural-urban migration for contemporary European cities – "Strangers"
2	Jane Jacobs	1967	• Emphasis on the people presence in sidewalks for social interactions – "Strangers"
3	Stanly Milgram	1970	• Familiar strangers – someone who is observed, repeatedly for a certain time period and without any direct interaction • System overload theory – "identified six adaptive responses to countless social

#	Theorist	Year	Key concepts/Assumptions
			encounters"
4	Lynch Lofland	1973	• Public spaces within cities such as streets, leisure spaces, involve continuous encounters between people who are not personally known to each other – "World of Strangers"
5	Oldenburg	1989	• The third place for urban spaces such as cafes, parks, malls, streets, recreational places etc – "Public Space"
6	Francis Tibalds	1992	• Attention to human scale in urban environment and promotion of communal space in cities – "Public space"
7	Richard Sennett	1970 [2000]	• Everyday exposure to differences; • Suburbanites are people who are afraid to live in a world they cannot control
8	Leonie Sandercock	1998	• Complete Strangers (Stranger/outsider/foreigner)
9	Reisman's studies	1983 [1989]	• Friendliness: Self-Concept, Accessibility; Rewardingness, Alienation (SACRAL)
10	Mateo-Babiano, I. 2007	2007	Asian streets as a pedestrian space; • Ecology, culture and its users

Source: Author, 2015

2.7   Conclusion

This chapter introduced the key concepts related to public space, urban public space in western and European countries, the history of urban public space as well as the role that urban public space played in social interactions in contemporary European cities. Moreover, it discussed the public spaces within cities such as streets, leisure spaces which can host continuous encounters between people who are not personally known to each other. Despite the large amount of research on urban public spaces in

Western and European cities, there is not much literature on public space and its social phenomena. Moreover, most of the early studies on both rural and urban public spaces and social phenomena such as friendliness, familiar strangers and stranger cities mainly focused on human behavior in Western and European cities.

The available literature also focuses on its social relationship with physical attributes. Most of the domestic research consists of general descriptions of contemporary public spaces or the introduction of foreign experience, and there is no comprehensive research on popular understanding which this research focuses based on primary data at both rural and urban areas. These studies do not contribute in understanding the popular argument of this study. Although several studies were conducted on physical aspects of urban public spaces, very little Sri Lankan literature were found on urban public space in terms of its social aspects such as the popular understanding that urban people are not friendlier as its rural counterparts.

One of the key knowledge gaps identified through the literature review is that there is absence of studies dedicated to understanding the popular argument that rural people are friendlier and helpful while urbanites are not. Further, absence of studies in the Sri Lankan context also reduces the understanding of this popular argument. The insufficient research on both urban and rural public spaces and its social phenomena in Sri Lanka, in part, reflects the difficulty of obtaining reliable data and investigating public spaces firsthand.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1   Chapter Introduction

This chapter describes the research design, research questions, conceptual framework, data collection and the analytical methods applied in the research study. This research study is primarily based on subjective matters. Therefore, mainly qualitative approaches were applied. The chapter also describes the criteria used for the selection of study locations for this research study and selection of respondents are described, followed by data collection method, methods of data analysis, unit of analysis and the limitations of the research data collection were also discussed.

This research was designed by reviewing existing literature on public spaces conducted in Western and European cities. It reviewed concepts concerning strangers in cities, public spaces, urban public spaces, and the theories related to familiar strangers and studies related to friendliness behavior of people. Based on this discussion it formulated its research questions and derived research objectives. Based on the review, a conceptual framework was also designed and appropriate research methodology was adopted. Descriptive analysis techniques were applied to analyze the interviews and the observed information on selected public spaces in Sri Lanka (Refer figure 3.2).

3.2   Research Questions

As reviewed in literature and the popular and traditional stereotypical differences between urban and rural people suggests that the city dwellers are not helpful and friendlier as their rural counter parts. According to the literature review, the rural utopia, presents happy, healthy and problem-free images of rural life safely nestling with both a close social community and a contiguous natural environment. Moreover, it was also worth researching why city dwellers unwilling cater to certain demands

while some demands are willingly catered to during their routine social life. Furthermore, literature indicates that the demands of rural folks surroundings are less compared to the demands of city dwellers on their urban surroundings. The literature further suggests, if the demands are limited, the people are able to respond without catering to the demands selectively. However an aspect which is not clearly examined in these studies is what are the factors that make urban people to act more like strangers and make rural people act friendlier at respective public spaces: is it the surrounding physical environment of the public place or the natural social behaviour of the humans?

The above questions mostly remain unanswered by many empirical studies. Although, there are several studies conducted in Western and European cities with regard to the social dynamics such as *Familiar Strangers* (Stanly Milgram, 1970), *Social Distances* (Park, 1924; Wirth, 1938), *Civil Inattention* (Goffman, 1963), *Friendliness (*Amanda Ong, Erny Feberina, Monica Walet, 2012), and Reisman's (1983;1989) studies to explore the factors of friendliness. Author has understood that, very little or no studies conducted in Sri Lanka with regard to the above questions in terms of planning perspective as there are several urban and rural public spaces which are emerging in contemporary Sri Lanka.

3.3   Conceptual Framework of the Study

The conceptual framework is developed after going through the most relevant concepts and theories related to public space and familiar strangers (Fig 3.1). Although, there are several studies related to "Strangers in Cities", the selected author was considered most relevant to this study in view of the particular theory. This research study was influenced by the work of Stanley Milgram who researched similar aspects in Western and European Cities.

3.4   Methods

To achieve the specific objectives described in Chapter One, the author explored various research approaches and methods. After exploring the suitable research method, the author broadly adopts the combination of qualitative and quantitative research methodology for this research study. Therefore, incorporation of both qualitative and quantitative research approaches helped to construct a model that not only opened the possibility of investigation of purely social aspects with regard to the concept of familiar stranger at public spaces, but also made it possible to compare the friendliness of the urban dwellers and rural people at different contemporary public spaces in Sri Lanka.
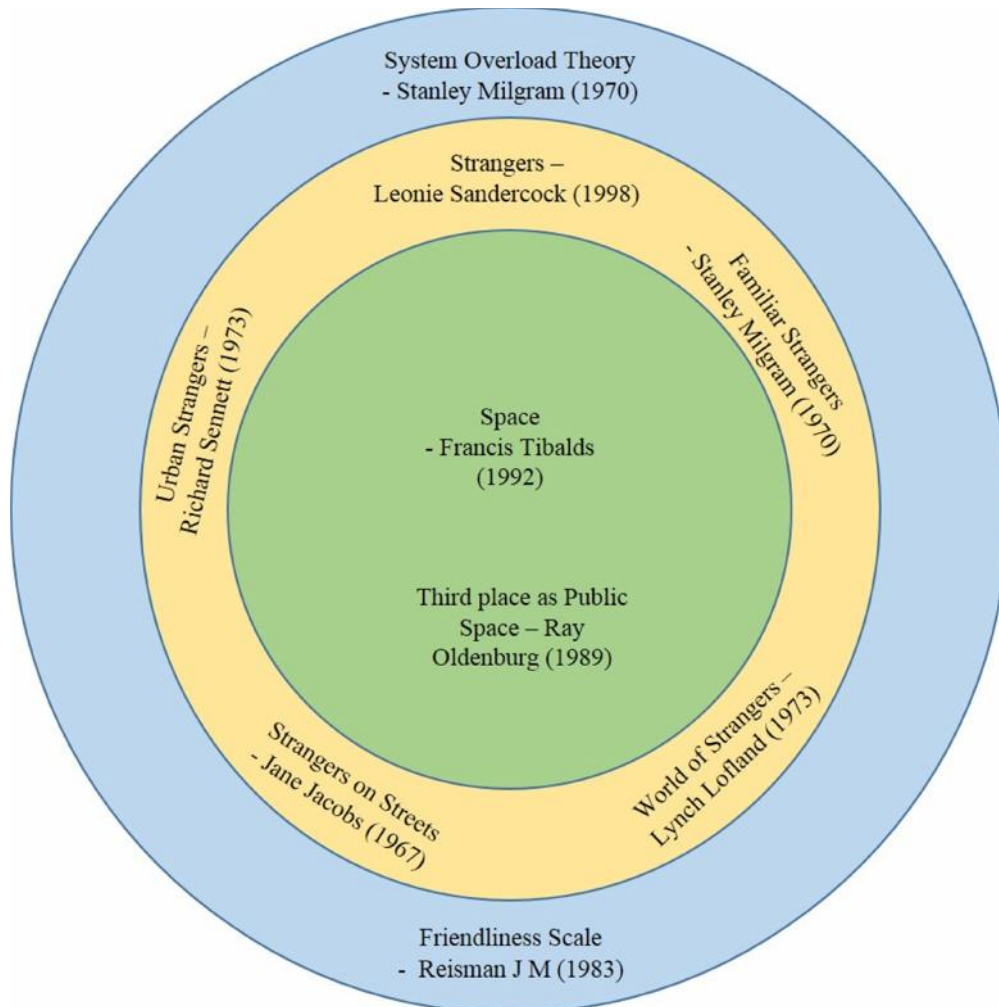
Fig. 3.1 Conceptual framework

Fig. 3.2: Research Design
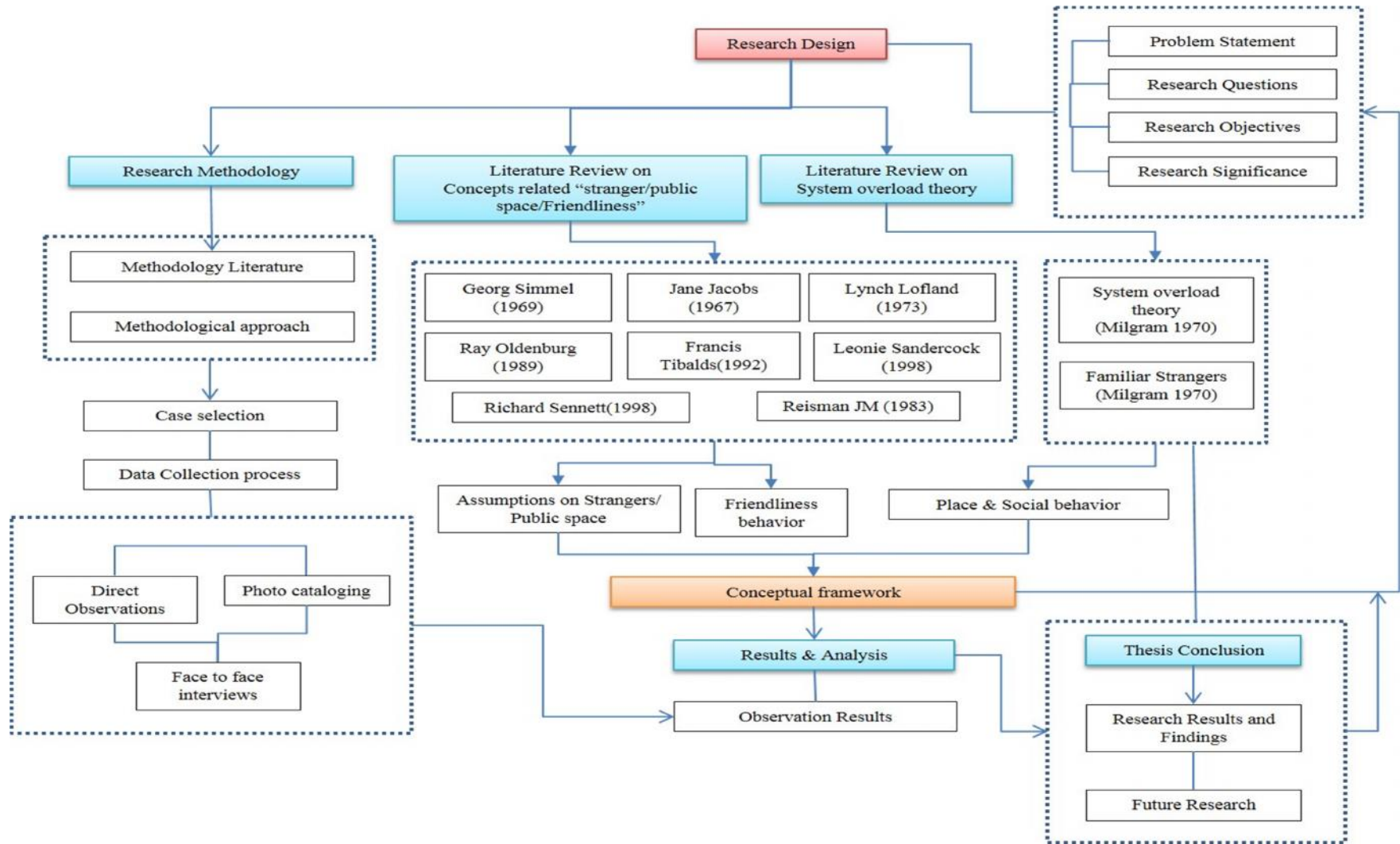
3.5   Population & Sample

3.5.1   Selection of Study Locations

Due to several limitations, the research study were focused only on following two distinct public spaces selected based on assumption based criteria.

1. Independence Square and its surrounding areas in Colombo District
2. Tissamaharama Lake and its surroundings in Hambantota District

Although, two above locations were selected using assumption based criteria, both locations serves its own objective purposes and does not implies any identical similarities. However, both these selected public spaces without discrimination, serves for the people at any age race, culture or background with free accessible. However, the user profiles and the demographic characteristics of the user at both these places are identically different. Therefore, the conveniently selected respondents sample at both locations may have influence their social background to the performing behavior and the attitudes towards others. Moreover, for an example, the Independence and its surrounding areas are more used for exercises, walking, leisure walks, cycling, wedding photographing, staff outing etc., while the surroundings of the Tissamaharama Lake is more popular among domestic pilgrims who are on the way to popular religious places like Kataragama. Most of the users at this public space is come from other parts of the country. However, there are people who also used the Tissamaharama Lake and it's surrounding for bathing and washing purposes.

3.6   Working Definition of Rural and Urban People

By reviewing several definitions of rural and urban contexts, a working definition was formulated for the purpose of this study. There are several approaches commonly used in determining urban perimeters. Three popular approaches are i) tracing the extent of the built up area; (ii) classifying levels of population density; and (iii) plotting the functional area of the town which includes not only the built up area but settlements in

the countryside. By reviewing literature on 'rural', five dimensions of rural can be identified: (i) negative, i.e. not urban; (ii) low population density; (iii) extensive land use; (iv) Primary economic activities and employment; and (v) community cohesion and governance.

From a sociological perspective, rural and urban communities may be distinguished from each other on the basis of several criteria like occupation, size, and density of population, environment, homogeneity-heterogeneity, social stratification, mobility and system of interaction. The term 'community' is used by sociologists to describe a quality of relationship which produces a strong sense of shared identity among persons living in a fixed geographical area. They describe 'rural' as a community and 'urban' as a society. When sociologists consider how a society moves from traditional to modern, they in fact contrast pre-industrial, largely rural, traditional society with industrial, largely urban, modern society.

Wirth (1938), distinguishing urban from rural society, defined city in terms of three fundamental features: population size, density, and heterogeneity. These characteristics meant that though the city-dweller would experience more human contact than rural inhabitants, however, they would - according to Wirth - also feel more isolated because of their (contacts) 'emotionally empty' nature. According to Wirth, social interactions, typical of cities, are impersonal, segmental (narrow in scope), superficial, transitory, and usually of a purely practical or 'instrumental' kind. He describes these as 'secondary' contacts which are totally different from 'primary' contacts in rural areas. According to Max Weber, the most fundamental feature of a city is that it functions as a market-place and it displays a relative predominance of trading-commercial relations.

Based on the above definitions and approaches, a definition was formulated and used to develop criteria to select the public spaces studied. Therefore the rural and urban people in this study can be summarized as: "People living in rural areas are homogenous and the people living in the urban areas are heterogeneous".

3.6.1 Assumption based criteria used to select the sites for Observations and interviews

Assumption based criteria were used to select the sites for the field observations and interviews.

- People living in rural areas are homogenous and the people living in the urban areas are heterogeneous
- Public spaces were classified according to their main function and neglect minor functions.

3.7 Data collection Techniques

Combination of direct observations and randomly selected respondent interview method was applied. The direct personal observations were conducted and recorded into field note book. Furthermore, photographs were obtained whenever possible without violating the ethics of social behavioral data collection.

The reporting of the survey results carried out in three stages. The first stage is to present the profile of the respondents. Simple descriptive analysis was adopted to determine the demographic characteristics of the respondents; motivation of respondents to visit, perceived importance of selected public space played in their daily life and perceived importance in development of selected public space. In the second stage, the behavioral pattern of respondents was explored, such as the observed behavior of the people at the selected public space. Descriptive analysis of adaptive response of the observed people at the selected public spaces, identification of familiar strangers at public space using photo-cataloguing method, descriptive analysis of the willingness to help strangers by the observed people at the selected public spaces, examination of the relationships between local residents' motivations to go to public spaces provided and the final stage, roles that public space plays in their daily life was also analyzed.

3.7.1 Face to Face Interviews

A Face to face interview method was used to explore qualitative data from the conveniently selected sample of population who uses the selected public space. The total number of face to face interview attempts at both public spaces was 60 while response rate was 65%, of which 30 were directly utilized in the research.

Finally, a total of 30 randomly selected strangers were interviewed from both locations. The information on their motivations for using the selected public space and the roles that selected public space played in their daily life, the perceived importance of public space in the development of the city, as well as the demographic and socioeconomic profile of respondents were recorded.

3.7.2 Direct Observations (Participatory and Non participatory)

Conveniently selected strangers were observed at both locations. The author himself was a 'stranger' to both locations and applied participatory observation methods to capture the required data and information, in order to address the stated study objectives.

The following unstructured actions also were conducted at the selected locations targeting conveniently placed people. However, these friendliness behavioral actions were broadly developed based on Reisman's statements in friendliness scale to compare and understand the level of friendliness and willingness to help strangers by responders at different public spaces observed. Although there are 40 statements tested by Reisman's, this study refined these statement and considered 15 self-explanatory statements only (Please refer table 3.2).

The following actions were pre tested at similar locations by the author to understand the respondent's willingness to help strangers. Further, their verbal responses and gestures were noted in the field note book. Gender of the respondents was also recorded.

1) Asked for a direction of a particular location

2) Asked for a pen to write down a number

3) Asked for change (money) to give to vendor

4) Handover to the person it belongs.

5) Asked where he/she heading

6) Request help to unload a bag from a vehicle

7) Gave the bench to an older person

8) Left the bag at bench on the public space and observed how many passerby willing to handover to the person it belongs.

9) Asked for a phone call to locate my mobile phone

Since two distinctive places were chosen, the author was interested in the identifying familiar strangers by being himself as a stranger at each public space regardless of its location.

Further, at each selected locations, people who use the location were randomly observed at different time of the day and the week over. The direct personal observations were guided by following observable variables identified and refined during preliminary survey. Six broader adaptive responses identified by Stanley (1972) in his "System overload theory" and were applied after revising this research study to understand the forces behind the city dwellers to act as familiar strangers at the selected public space.

Table 3.1. Adaptive response of people: Observed variables after Milgram, S. 1972.

#	**Broader Variables** (adaptive responses) after Milgram, S. (1972)	**Specific Observable variables** (adaptive responses) (Proposed by author)	**Indicator for measurement** (Proposed by author)
1	Allocation of less time to each inputs	• Allocation of less time to speak with other people in the vicinity	Total duration of time speaks
1.1		• Allocation of less time to observe other people in	Total duration of time observed

#	Broader Variables (adaptive responses) after Milgram, S. (1972)	Specific Observable variables (adaptive responses) (Proposed by author)	Indicator for measurement (Proposed by author)
		the vicinity	
1.2		• Allocation of less time to help others	Total duration of time assisted to others
2		• Avoidance of speaking to stranger	
2.1	Disregard the low priority inputs	• Avoidance of merchants in the location	No of times
2.2		• Avoidance of beggars in the location	
3	Boundaries are redrawn in certain social interactions	• Provision of exact amount to the vendors for the food	No of times
4	Reception is blocked off prior to entrance into the reception	• Absence of exchange of Business cards	
4.1		• Negligence of other people in location	No of times
5	Intensity of inputs is diminished by filtering devices	• Smile only when other person smile	
6	Specialized institutions are created to absorb inputs	• Cleaning of the locations is given to particular group of people	No of times
7	-	• Only speaks to a particular person in the location	
8	-	• Only speaks with particular group of people	No of times
9	-	• Only buy food from a	

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#	Broader Variables (adaptive responses) after Milgram, S. (1972)	Specific Observable variables (adaptive responses) (Proposed by author)	Indicator for measurement (Proposed by author)
		specific vendor in the location	
10	-	• Only sits at particular location in the selected space	
11	-	• Stand at particular location in the selected space	No of times

Source: Author, 2015

Further, 30 participants were interviewed based on Reisman's Friendliness Scale (15 Rural, 15 Urban) who are either visiting the selected public space at each location. The author gathered the data with convenience sampling method. The interviews were guided by following statements (Refer table 3.2) identified and refined during preliminary survey.

40 friendliness statements identified by Reisman (1983) in his "friendliness scale" were applied after revising for this research study to understand the level of friendliness behavior of the people to act in a friendly or helpful manner at the selected public spaces.

Table 3.2. Statements of friendliness after Reisman's

#	Statements developed after Reisman's	Instrument used to measure
1	A shy person	Utilized a four point
2	Spend time alone	Lickert scale: 0 –
3	Don't like to be bothered by strangers	Disagree very much; 1 –
4	Introduce yourself to strangers	Somewhat disagree; 3 –

#	Statements developed after Reisman's	Instrument used to measure
5	Lend money to strangers	Somewhat agree; and, 4 – Agree very much.
6	Pay more attention to strangers	
7	Listen to strangers	
8	Think himself a friendly person	
9	Easily talks to strangers	
10	You always take care of strangers	
11	When help needed you always support even to strangers	
12	People at today are not loyal and trustworthy	
13	Express freely with strangers	
14	Always assist strangers to overcome their problems	
15	You are always quiet in font of strangers	

Source: Author, 2015

3.8 Secondary Data Collection

The two pre-selected locations layout maps were prepared using Google earth prior to the data collection. Further, details of the locations were inserted into the maps after visiting the locations. Further, available secondary data on selected locations were used to develop a location profiles.

3.9 Data Analysis Techniques

Data were drawn from the onsite survey conducted from September 20, 2015 to September 30, 2015 at the Tissamaharama Lake and its surroundings in Hambantota district while Independence square and its surroundings in Colombo district.

As mentioned in Chapter Three, the survey gathered information on the behavior of the people in these public spaces, their motivations for using the public spaces and the roles

that public spaces played in their daily life, the perceived importance of public spaces in the development of the city, as well as the demographic profile of respondents. Further, observations were carried out at both locations using participatory research method.

The collected data was analyzed using combination of different data analysis techniques. For an instance, personal direct observation information were analyzed based on answers given by the respondent using simplified content analysis technique. Interviewed data was analyzed using simple quantitative analysis technique using MS Excel while observed information were analyzed using content analysis techniques.

3.9.1 Friendliness Scale (SACRAL)

The SACRAL (acronym for self-concept, accessibility, rewardingness, and alienation), a friendship scale developed by John Reisman consisted of 40 items. However this study refines it and use only 15 items. It utilizes a four point Lickert scale: 0 – Disagree very much; 1 – Somewhat disagree; 3 – Somewhat agree; and, 4 – Agree very much. Tabulation of scores was to be first tallied in accordance to 4 categories (Self-concept, Accessibility, Rewardingness, and Alienation), and then totaled up to create a percentile reference guide. A high score in each subscale (including Alienation) means higher levels of friendliness (Riesman, 1983).

3.10   Conclusion

The data for the study came from both direct observation and secondary sources, and the researcher utilized a combination of study methods to undertake comprehensive research on the public spaces. In summary, four major methods, namely face to face interviews, on site observation, and participatory observation method and secondary sources were used to obtain the data for the research, and MS Excel spreadsheet were adopted to conduct the quantitative analysis.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

4.1   Chapter Introduction

This chapter is focused on presenting the results and findings of the selected public spaces from the perspective of respondent based on onsite observation and interviews. Findings of the interviews and the observations of the public spaces and key behavioral patterns were described in this chapter.

4.2   Research Findings

Profile of the respondents, motivation of the respondents, perceived importance of the public space in their daily life, perceived importance of development of public space behavior of the strangers, and the adaptive response behavior of the strangers, and the willingness to help strangers were explored and analyzed results were presented in cross tabulation in this chapter. Moreover, this chapter present the result of the forces behind rural and city dwellers to act as strangers and non-strangers and their level of helpfulness and friendliness were also analyzed and presented.

4.3   Location profiles of the selected Public spaces

The following two sites were selected with the criteria described in chapter three. The selected two sites are geographically, socially, culturally and physically different in appearance and character.

4.3.1   Site 1 - Independence square and its surroundings in Colombo district

Independence Square and its surroundings considered to be one of the most prestigious locations in Colombo are converted into an exclusive haven for cultural activities, recreation and academic and research excellence. Walking tracks, cycling tracks,

limited parking and a green environment is its main attractions. This also anticipated providing a relief to Colombo's health conscious who otherwise would have to exercise amidst smoke and jamming traffic of the city.

The place lets everyone take a morning walk or stroll in the evenings in such tranquility. The track is spotted with two towering water fountains and a pool which are beautifully lit at nights. With sightings of green and blue everywhere it's hard for one to imagine that such a beautiful spot sans traffic is actually inside the almost ever busy Colombo. As well as for exercising, the Independence Arcade also makes a lovely picnic spot with numerous shops and restaurants located there.

4.3.2 Site - 2: Tissamaharama Lake and its surroundings in Hambantota district

Tissamaharama can be reached by the A2 Southern main road travelling via Galle and Hambantota. Also known by the name of Mahagama in the ancient times was founded by Prince Mahanaga, brother of King Devanampiya Tissa in the third century BC. The settlement rose to prominence during the reign of King Kavantissa, father of King Dutugamunu. It was during this period that Tissamaharama's three stupas and the two ancient irrigation reservoirs were built.

A kilometer north of the Tissamaharama town spreads the vast ancient irrigation reservoir called Tissa wewa (Tissa Lake). The shore of the lake nearest to the town of Tissamaharama is regularly crowded with villagers and tourists. The massive embankment that bounds the southern shore of the reservoir is lined by trees. As per the development program, paved walkways were built for the convenience of villagers as well as the tourists who visit the lake and its surroundings.

4.4.1 Findings of the Interviews

4.4.1.A   Profile of the Respondents

The following table indicates the demographic profile of the users of the selected public spaces. This information was collected through face to face interviews conducted by the

author. Since convenient sampling method was adopted, only 14 strangers responded at the site 1 while 16 strangers responded at the site 2.

Table 4.1: Descriptive analysis of demographic profile of the Respondents interviewed at selected public space.

Characteristic	Site 1 (n=14)	Percentage %	Site 2 (n=16)	Percentage %
Gender				
Male	8	57%	12	75%
Female	6	43%	4	25%
Age Group				
Adolescent (Under 16)	2	14%	-	-
Young Adults (18-30)	4	29%	3	19%
Middle age Adults (30-45)	2	14%	4	25%
Older Adults (45-60)	5	36%	2	13%
Aged People (Above 60)	1	7%	1	6%
Occupation				
Public Sector Employee	5	36%	2	13%
Private Sector Employee	6	43%	3	19%
Businessman	1	7%	1	6%
Student	2	14%	-	-
Unemployed	-	-	3	19%
Other	-	-	7	44%
Education Level				
University	8	57%	2	13%
Tertiary Education	-	-	1	6%
Up to A/L	4	29%	3	19%
Up to O/L	2	14%	3	19%
Primary	-	-	5	31%
Never Attained	-	-	2	13%

Source: By the Author, 2015

The table 4.1 indicates that the public space located in rural settings were attended by males while public spaces located in cities, both male and females are both attended in somewhat equal pattern.

Further, more adult people (43%) are attending in the public paces located in Cities while only 19% of the same age group is attending at the public spaces in rural settings.

Moreover, 86% of the people who attend the public spaces in urban areas are employed either in public, private or engaged in business. In contrast, 38 % of the same occupation category attends the public spaces in rural settings.

The people who visit the public space in urban areas are more educated and had completed or undertaking university level education or higher while only 13% of the people who attend university level education at public spaces in rural settings. 63% of the people who responded at public space in rural areas had studied up to ordinary level.

4.4.1.B Motivation of Respondents

The following table indicates the motivational characteristics of the users of the selected public spaces. This information was collected through face to face interviews by the author. Since a convenient sampling method was adopted, only 14 strangers were responded at the site 1 while 16 strangers were responded at the site 2.

Table 4.2: Descriptive Analysis of the Motivation of Respondents to visit the selected public space

Motivation	Site 1 (n=14)	%	Site 2 (n=16)	%
Relaxation	5	36%	-	-
Exercise	9	64%	-	-
Do nothing	3	21%	6	38%
Just to see others	2	14%	9	56%
Fresh air	8	57%	-	-

Motivation	Site 1 (n=14)	%	Site 2 (n=16)	%
Escape from home	3	21%	6	38%
Talk to friends	7	50%	2	13%
Entertainment	10	71%	12	75%
Play with my child	6	43%	1	6%
Walk leisurely	7	50%	-	-
Meet someone	1	7%	6	38%

Source: By the Author, 2015

The table 4.2 indicates that most of the people who visit the urban or rural public space have common motivation. That is "Entertainment". But the data does not provide room to capture the information such as what type of entertainment that they are searching for. However, it has noted most of the rural people do not visit public spaces for exercises, relaxation, walk leisurely and to breath fresh air in contrast to the people at urban places according to the table 4.2.

Based on the above table 4.2 the following ranking was developed to understand the most common motivational factor for the people to attend public spaces at urban areas.

Table 4.2.1: Ranking of Motivation of respondents to visit the selected public spaces.

Motivation @ Site 1	Rank	Motivation @ site 2
Entertainment	1	Entertainment
Exercise	2	Just to see others
Fresh air	3	Do nothing
Talk to friends	4	Escape from home
Walk leisurely	5	Meet someone
Play with my child	6	Talk to friends
Relaxation	7	Play with my child
Do nothing	8	Exercise

Motivation@ Site 1	Rank	Motivation@ site 2
Escape from home	9	Fresh air
Just to see others	10	Talk to friends
Meet someone	11	Walk leisurely

Source: By the Author, 2015

The above table 4.2.1 indicates that apart from the entertainment factor, most of the people who visited public spaces at both rural and urban settings have diverse individual motivational push factors. According to the above analysis 5 motivational push factors were identified and categorised as follows;

1. Facilitation of social interaction (Talk to friends)
2. Exploration and evaluation of self (Just to see others)
3. Escape from a perceived everyday environment (Escape from home)
4. Relaxation (Walk leisurely)
5. Enhancement of public relationships (Meet someone)

4.4.1.C   Perceived importance of selected public space played in their daily life

The following table indicates the perceived importance of the selected public space played in their routine lifestyle. This information was collected through face to face interviews by the author. Since a convenient sampling method was adopted, only 14 strangers were responded at the site 1 while 16 strangers responded at the site 2.

Table 4.3: Descriptive analysis of perceived importance of selected public space played in their daily life.

Perceived importance	*Site 1 (n=14)*	*%*	*Site 2 (n=16)*	*%*
Make me happy	8	*57%*	-	-
place for me to engage in outdoor activities	6	*43%*	-	-
Nothing to do with my daily life	1	*7%*	9	*56%*
seeing others make my day happy	3	*21%*	7	*44%*

Perceived importance	Site 1 (n=14)	%	Site 2 (n=16)	%
Provide place for me to relax	9	64%	-	-
A place for me to meet my friends leisurely	6	43%	2	13%
provide place for my child to play	7	50%	1	6%
provide a place for me to eat leisurely	3	21%	-	-
provide opportunities to meet new friends	2	14%	3	19%

Source: By the Author, 2015

The table 4.3 indicates that most of the people who visit the urban public space are looking for a place to relax while their rural counterpart "does not have anything to do with their daily life". According to the above table, rural people do not see public spaces in rural areas as part of their routine life. Furthermore, the rural counterparts are eager to see one another and make their day happier, while urban people are looking for a space for themselves.

Based on the above table 4.3 the following ranking table is developed to understand the most common perceived importance of selected public space played in their daily life at both settings.

Table 4.3.1: Ranking of perceived importance of selected public space played in their daily life

Perceived importance @ Site 1	Rank	Perceived importance @ Site 1
Provide place for me to relax	1	Nothing to do with my daily life
Make me happy	2	seeing others make my day happy
provide place for my child to play	3	provide opportunities to meet new friends
A place for me to engage in outdoor activities	4	A place for me to meet my friends leisurely
A place for me to meet my friends leisurely	5	provide place for my child to play
seeing others make my day happy	6	-

Perceived importance @ Site 1	Rank	Perceived importance @ Site 1
provide a place for me to eat leisurely	7	-
provide opportunities to meet new friends	8	-
Nothing to do with my daily life	9	-

Source: By the Author, 2015

4.4.1.D   Perceived importance in development of selected public space

The following table indicates the perceived importance in development of selected public space. This information was collected through face to face interviews by the author. Since a convenient sampling method was adopted, only 14 strangers were responded at the site 1 while 16 strangers were responded at the site 2.

Table 4.4: Descriptive Analysis of perceived importance in development of selected public space

Perceived importance	Site 1 (n=14)	%	Site 2 (n=16)	%
Nothing to do with development	1	*7%*	6	*38%*
it is important aspect in development	12	*86%*	2	*13%*
important in terms of social interactions	5	*36%*	2	*13%*
Improved tourism in the area	9	*64%*	6	*38%*
improved cleanliness	14	*100%*	4	*25%*
improved scenery	9	*64%*	1	*6%*
more lively	10	*71%*	1	*6%*
formed a new culture among residents	14	*100%*	1	*6%*
image of the location improved	14	*100%*	2	*13%*

Source: By the Author, 2015

The table 4.4 indicates that most of the people who visit the urban public space consider cleanliness to be part of overall development while it was also perceived that there is a culture for urbanites to visit these public spaces for entertainment and relaxation.

Furthermore, rural counterparts don't seem concerned that the improved public space creates an opportunity for development either in terms of improved scenery or in creating a 'living' environment. However, they have perceived that the creation of public spaces in rural settings can help the development of tourism in the area.

Based on the above table 4.3 the following ranking table is developed to understand the most common perceived importance in development of selected public space.

Table 4.4.1: Ranking of perceived importance in development of selected public space.

Perceived importance @ Site 1	Rank	Perceived importance @ Site 1
improved cleanliness	1	Improved tourism in the area
formed a new culture among residents	2	Nothing to do with development
image of the location improved	3	improved cleanliness
it is important aspect in development	4	image of the location improved
more lively	5	it is important aspect in development
Improved tourism in the area	6	important in terms of social interactions
improved scenery	7	formed a new culture among residents
important in terms of social interactions	8	more lively
Nothing to do with development	9	improved scenery

Source: By the Author, 2015

4.4.2 Findings of the Observations

4.4.2.A Observed behavior of the strangers at the selected public space

The following table indicates the observed behavior of the strangers at the selected public spaces. This information was collected by observing the strangers at selected public spaces by the author.

Since convenient sampling method was adopted, only 20 strangers were observed at the site 1 while 25 strangers were observed at the site 2. Temporal analysis was conducted following the data collection.

Table 4.5: Descriptive analysis of the observed behavior of the randomly selected strangers at the selected public space

Time	Site 1 (n=20)*			Site 2 (n=25)**		
	User Group	*%*	*Behavior*	*User Group*	*%*	*Behavior*
07.00 am	Middle aged local residents	25%	Exercise (Jogging)	Local Residents	8%	Talking
10.00 am	Tourists (Foreign)	15%	Taking pictures	Domestic tourists	20%	Relaxing
12.00 pm	Group of Locals	25%	Eating	Domestic tourists	28%	Eating
14.00 pm	Tourists (Foreign)	10%	Sitting on a bench	Domestic tourists	20%	Swimming
16.00 pm	Local Residents	10%	Leisurely walking	Domestic tourists	16%	Taking Pictures
18.00 pm	Middle aged local residents	15%	Exercise (Jogging)	Domestic tourists	8%	-

Source: By the Author, 2015

* The observations were carried out at weekend from morning to evening at the selected public space.

** The observations were carried out on weekend from morning to evening at the selected public space.

The table 4.5 indicates that 50% of the people who visit the urban public spaces were engaging in physical activity while 8% of the rural counterparts were engaged in talking. The situation is clear in the morning and evenings at the urban public spaces while due to the location of the rural public space observed in this study most of the domestic tourist stop for relaxation and leisure.

4.4.2.B   Identification of familiar strangers at public space using photographs

At site one, most of the respondents were able identify familiar strangers while at the rural locations, respondents were mostly recognized complete strangers and friends. The following table indicates the comparative analysis on people they recognize easily using photographs.

Table 4.6: Comparative analysis of the recognizing familiar strangers at the selected public space

Type of strangers recognized by the Respondents	Site 1 (n=15)	%	Site 2 (n=15)	%
1) Recognized familiar strangers	12	80%	2	13%
2) Recognized Friends	3	20%	10	67%
3) Recognized complete strangers	6	40%	9	60%

Source: By the Author, 2015

At the urban public space, most of the respondents recognized familiar faces, and some even shows "Stars of familiar strangers". These stars of familiar strangers are the people who recognized my most of the respondents. However, it has been commented by the respondents, that they have not known their whereabouts or any other details. Respondents only said they just nodded to one another and left.

Further, respondents explained that the opportunity see these familiar faces occurs due to the creation of these places. Otherwise they may not see each other regularly.

4.4.2.CAdaptive response of the Observed people at the selected public spaces

The following table indicates the observed adaptive response behavior of the strangers at selected public spaces. This information was collected by observing the strangers at selected public spaces by the author. Since a convenient sampling method was adopted, only 10 strangers were observed at the site 1, while 15 strangers were observed at the site 2.

Table 4.7: Descriptive Analysis of the observed adaptive response behavior of the randomly selected strangers at the selected public space

Adaptive response	Site 1 (n=10)	%	Site 2 (n=15)	%
1. Allocation of less time to speak with other people in the vicinity	8	80%	2	13%
2. Allocation of less time to observe other people in the vicinity	9	90%	5	33%
3. Allocation of less time to help others	10	100%	2	13%
4. Avoidance of speaking to stranger	8	80%	3	20%
5. Avoidance of merchants in the location	10	100%	1	7%
6. Avoidance of beggars in the location	10	100%	2	13%
7. Provision of exact amount to the vendors for the food	9	90%	1	7%
8. Absence of exchange of contact details	10	100%	15	100%
9. Negligence of other people in location	9	90%	2	13%
10. Smile only when other person smile	10	100%	3	20%
11. Only speaks to a particular person in the location	10	100%	4	27%
12. Only speaks with particular group of people	15	100%	2	13%
13. Only buy food from a specific vendor in the	10	100%	4	27%

Adaptive response	Site 1 (n=10)	%	Site 2 (n=15)	%
location				
14. Only sits at particular location in the selected space	9	90%	1	7%
15. Stand at particular location in the selected space	8	80%	2	13%

Source: By the Author, 2015

The table 4.6 indicates that most of the people who visit the urban public space are engaging private life with anonymity. The people, who come to the public space as strangers, also leave the public space as strangers without making any interactions with the people they encounter in the surrounding environment.

The adaptive response behaviors of the people at the studied locations were diverse. The urban people are maintaining their anonymity wile rural people are somewhat opposite to that of the adaptive response behavior.

However, rural counterparts are more interactive compared to the urban strangers and rural people are looking for interactions at every opportunity. The urban strangers do not interact with others and even maintain closed connections and communications with the selected group of people who visit the urban public spaces. Their gestures are also selective and pay less attention the actions happenings around them.

4.4.2.D The willingness to help strangers

The following table indicates the number of people willing to help strangers at selected public spaces. This information was collected by observing the strangers at selected public spaces by the author. Since convenient sampling method was adopted, only 10 strangers were observed at the site 1, while 15 strangers were observed at the site 2.

Table 4.8: Descriptive analysis of number of people willingly help stranger at selected public space

Action by the Author (Author himself became a stranger)	Responded number of the Observed people			
	Site 1 (n=9)	%	Site 2 (n=12)	%
1) Asked for a direction of a particular location	4	44%	12	100%
2) Asked for a pen to write down a number	-	-	-	-
3) Asked for change (money) to give to vendor	-	-	2	17%
4) Asked where he/she heading,	-	-	6	50%
5) Request help to unload a bag from a vehicle	2	22%	9	75%
6) Left the bag at bench on the public space and observed how many passerby willing to handover to the person it belongs.	3	33%	11	92%
7) Gave the bench to an older person	4	44%	8	67%
8) Asked for a phone call to locate my mobile phone	-	-	5	42%

Source: By the Author, 2015.

The table 4.7 indicates that most of the people who visit the urban public space did not help the strangers or communicate with people unknown to them. Since this participatory survey carried out by the author, observed that they are visiting the public space for particular reason and once there objective is fulfilled, they tend to leave the place without wait for others to interact. However, in exceptional cases, such as providing a seat to the elderly and providing the direction for Strangers are still occurring with all the privatized life style of urbanites. One of the common observations is that most of the strangers who visit the urban public spaces are using mobile phones and they seem already occupied with virtual world. In contrast to the urban strangers,

the rural counterparts seem to be interactive, friendlier and helpful to the strangers and in some cases even wanted to exchange contact details.

4.4.2.E The level of friendliness of the Urban vs. Rural people at selected public spaces

As per the main objective of the study it is important to understand the level of friendliness of the respondents at both sites to reject or accept the popular understanding of that the urban people are not friendlier and helpful than its rural counter parts.

Table 4.9: Descriptive analysis of the level of friendliness of the people at both locations

#	self-explanatory statements developed after Reisman's Friendliness scale	Site 1 (n=15)		Site 2 (n=115)	
		Mean	Median	Mean	Median
1	A shy person	3.00	3	1.87	3
2	Spend time alone	0.40	0	0.40	0
3	Don't like to be bothered by strangers	3.60	4	0.40	0
4	Introduce yourself to strangers	2.60	3	3.73	4
5	Lend money to strangers	0.13	0	0.33	0
6	Pay more attention to strangers	2.73	3	4.00	4
7	Listen to strangers	0.27	0	4.00	4
8	Think himself a friendly person	3.87	4	3.87	4
9	Easily talks to strangers	0.80	1	4.00	4
10	You always take care of strangers	0.27	0	4.00	4
11	When help needed you always support even to strangers	2.20	3	4	4
12	People at today are not loyal and trustworthy	3.73	4	3.07	3
13	Express freely with strangers	0.00	0	4.00	4
14	Always assist strangers to overcome their problems	0.00	0	4.00	4

#	self-explanatory statements developed after Reisman's Friendliness scale	Site 1 (n=15)		Site 2 (n=115)	
		Mean	Median	Mean	Median
15	You are always quiet in front of strangers	3.87	4	0.00	0

Source: By the Author, 2015.

Utilized a four point Lickert scale: 0 – Disagree very much; 1 – Somewhat disagree; 3 – Somewhat agree; and, 4 – Agree very much.

The above table 4.8 indicates that there is not much different to certain attitudes of the people towards others. i.e. "when lending money to strangers; think him/her a friendlier person; spend time alone are some social behaviors played by the respondent at the selected public spaces. However, urban people were always respond carefully to strangers as per the self-explanatory statements while rural people are opposite of that and they always wanted to engage with strangers and talk.

Moreover, somewhat similar social attitudes indicates by both respondents ant both locations to the statements such as "when help is needed always support even to strangers; people at today are not loyal and trustworthy; pay more attention strangers; introduce you to strangers".

As reviewed in literature and the popular and traditional stereotypical differences between urban and rural people defines, typically the city dwellers are not helpful and friendlier as their rural counter parts. According to the literature review, the rural utopia, presents happy, healthy and problem-free images of rural life safely nestling with both a close social community and a contiguous natural environment. Moreover, it was also worth researching why city dwellers unwilling cater to certain demands while some demands are willingly catered to during their routine social life. Further, literature indicates that the demands of rural folks surroundings are less compared to the demands of city dwellers on their urban surroundings.

The literature further suggests, if the demands are limited, the people are able to respond without catering to the demands selectively. However an aspect which is not clearly

examined in these studies is the factors that make urban people act more like strangers and rural persons act friendlier at respective public spaces or is it the surrounding physical environment of the public place or the natural social behaviour of the humans.

4.5   Conclusion

Based on the discussion it is concluded that the studied urban public space in Colombo provides an opportunity for making more familiar strangers while public space in Tissamaharama in rural setting provides friendlier atmosphere for the friends and complete strangers. The descriptive analysis of the observed behavior of the respondents in urban setting indicates to continue its anonymity while respondents in rural settings are continuing its helpfulness and friendlier behavior for both strangers and their friends.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This chapter first summarizes the major findings of the study and then the contributions of the study are discussed. Future research opportunities are then presented.

The statistical analyses revealed that the 15 self-explanatory statements developed after Reisman's Friendliness scale, further verified that the urban people are not friendlier in contrast to their rural counter parts to a certain extent. Furthermore, the eight observable actions tested to determine the willingness to help stranger at selected public space indicates, that the most of the people who visit the urban public space did not help the strangers or communicate with people unknown to them. Since the participatory survey carried out by the author observed that they are visiting the public space for particular reasons and once there objective is fulfilled, they tend to leave the place without wait for others to interact. However, in exceptional cases, such as providing a seat to the elderly and providing the direction for Strangers are still occurring with all the privatized life style of urbanites. One of the common observations is that most of the strangers who visit the urban public spaces are using mobile phones and they seem already occupied with virtual world. In contrast to the urban strangers, the rural counterparts seem to be interactive, friendlier and helpful to the strangers and in some cases even wanted to exchange contact details.

Moreover, somewhat similar social attitudes indicates by both respondents at both locations to the statements such as "when help is needed, always support even to strangers; people at today are not loyal and trustworthy; pay more attention to strangers; not introduce yourself to strangers". Based on the analysis, the selected public spaces, urban public space creates an environment for catering of familiar strangers while rural public space strengthen the prevailing close relationships of the particular society.

The resulting data indicated that, at least in the two studied public spaces, they were utilized mostly on weekdays and weekends throughout the day. People took a rest, sat

down, read newspapers, talked with each other and relaxed in the public spaces. Although the behavior pattern on the public spaces is slightly different among different age groups or income groups, most of the respondents admitted that public spaces have become an important part of their daily life and they agreed that public spaces are also an essential component of an improved urban environment and contribute to enhancing the image of the location.

The study also revealed that the factors influence the behaviour of both urban and rural people have push factors. These motivational push factors were identified and categorised as follows;

1. Facilitation of social interaction
2. Exploration and evaluation of self
3. Escape from a perceived everyday environment
4. Relaxation
5. Enhancement of public relationships

Although this study revealed that the surrounding physical environment of the public place does not have anything to do with the natural social behaviour of the people, it also revealed that the motivational push factors identified above have influence the adaptive response behaviour of the people at public spaces for the explicit demands. However, the results of this study contribute to the idea that public spaces at both locations attract people for self-satisfying reasons such as the above five push factors, but it is not clear that knowledge of this self-satisfying potentials are well understood by the planners and designers of public spaces.

At present, information about the people and their adaptive response behavior at both rural and urban public spaces and the actions take places at those public spaces has no conceptual system. However, to increase the chances of successful both urban and rural public space planning, findings from this study can be used in spatial designs for increasing of social interactions at both places. Spatial planners can make use of location specific individual adaptive response behaviour and the motivation push factors

that convey the factors influencing the behaviour of both urban & rural people at public spaces. Oftentimes, public space planning includes motivation factors that influence the behavior of the people at public spaces to attract more people to public space otherwise to attend social actions. When planning public spaces, strategic use of clear messaging of one or two selected motivational push factors revealed by this study could enhance the social interactions to a certain extent. For example, providing physical designs for facilitation of social interactions, creation of novel opportunities to escape from the everyday environment, provide opportunities for more relaxation could increase the interactions at both urban & rural public spaces. It will also reduce the anonymity among people who utilize these public spaces. In addition, public spaces as being the symbolic and characteristic attraction of the people and were also considered as being a catalyst for urban development from the perspective of tourism.

5.1   Future Researches

For future research, the study of other public spaces and locations could eliminate the limitations identified under this study and contribute to a fuller understanding of the situation of Public spaces and its users. More questionnaires could be conducted to investigate the differences of motivation, behavioral patterns, perceptions among different age groups and between males and females. The non-users should also be approached through household surveys to investigate their perceptions on the construction and use of Public spaces. Moreover, comparative studies could be conducted to compare urban and rural public spaces to make the study of public spaces more attractive and paces of social interactions are stimulate.

Further, people friendliness needs to be fully investigated as this study only focuses on few attributed of the friendliness scale of Reisman (1983) a comprehensive study could explained the research questions fully. For an example, the respondents at the selected public space of this study may also visited these two public spaces Vis viz. Therefore, studying the similar public spaces in both rural and urban settings may provide more light to the knowledge gaps in the present study.

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ANNEXURES

Annex A - Guided Questions for Face to face interviews

1. **Demographic profile of the Respondents?**

   The following questions and observable variables were collected at both sites;

   a) Gender

   b) Age

   c) Education level

   d) Occupation group

2. **Motivation of Respondents to visit the selected public space?**

3. **Perceived importance of selected public space played in their daily life?**

4. **Perceived importance in development of selected public space?**

5. **Friendliness Scale:**

#	Self-explanatory Statement	Disagree very much (0)	Somewhat disagree (1)	Somewhat agree (3)	Agree very much (4)
1	*A shy person*				
2	*Spend time alone*				
3	*Don't like to be bothered by strangers*				
4	*Introduce yourself to strangers*				
5	*Lend money to strangers*				
6	*Pay more attention to strangers*				
7	*Listen to strangers*				
8	*Think himself a friendly person*				
9	*Easily talks to strangers*				
10	*You always take care of strangers*				
11	*When help needed you always support even to strangers*				
12	*People at today are not loyal and trustworthy*				
13	*Express freely with strangers*				
14	*Always assist strangers to overcome their problems*				

#	Self-explanatory Statement	Disagree very much (0)	Somewhat disagree (1)	Somewhat agree (3)	Agree very much (4)
15	*You are always quiet in front of strangers*				

Annex B - Guided questions for non-participatory observations

1) *Allocation of less time to speak with other people in the vicinity*

2) *Allocation of less time to observe other people in the vicinity*

3) *Allocation of less time to help others*

4) *Avoidance of speaking to stranger*

5) *Avoidance of merchants in the location*

6) *Avoidance of beggars in the location*

7) *Provision of exact amount to the vendors for the food*

8) *Absence of exchange of Business cards*

9) *Negligence of other people in location*

10) *Smile only when other person smile*

11) *Cleaning of the locations is given to particular group of people*

12) *Only speaks to a particular person in the location*

13) *Only speaks with particular group of people*

14) *Only buy food from a specific vendor in the location*

15) *Only sits at particular location in the selected space*

16) *Stand at particular location in the selected space*

* Additionally the general behavior of the selected people was observed during the days at each location.

Annex C - Guided questions for participatory observations

1) *Asked for a direction of a particular location*
2) *Asked for a pen to write down a number*
3) *Asked for change (money) to give to vendor*
4) *Handover to the person it belongs.*
5) *Asked where he/she heading*
6) *Request help to unload a bag from a vehicle*
7) *Gave the bench to an older person*
8) *Left the bag at bench on the public space and observed how many passerby willing to handover to the person it belongs.*
9) *Asked for a phone call to locate my mobile phone*