

# Exploring rural public space and the spatial triad:

a case study on the Swedish village Kivik

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**Abstract** 

Public spaces are central in most forms of urban planning and design since they play an

important role in people's wellbeing and social life. This study, however, explores public spaces

in an often-neglected context: the rural. The research highlights and processes three public

spaces in the Swedish village Kivik, a popular tourist destination on the east coast of Scania.

Henri Lefebvre's theory on production of space has been adapted and applied to analyse how

rural public space is produced, used and perceived by the local community and planning actors.

By incorporating Lefebvre's spatial triad with data gathered through interviews and

observations, the research investigates how such framework can be used to identify conflicts

and important characteristics in each public space. Additionally, the research emphasises the

role of a strong local community in reducing tensions within the spatial triad in tourism-driven

locations such as Kivik. Ultimately, this study shows how Lefebvre's framework can be utilised

to understand rural public spaces in a critical way, suggesting that such an approach can be

beneficial for planners and local communities to adopt.

Key words: public space, Kivik, rural, production of space, spatial triad, village, tourism

Word count: 10 347

4

# 1 Introduction

Public spaces play an important role both in people's lives and the development of society; they are spaces of the everyday where social interactions and experiences are shared outside the inner sphere of family, friends and social groups (Micek & Staszewska, 2019). The study of public spaces has always played a fundamental role within the field of urban planning and urban design. Though the definition of public space varies, it is crucial for these spaces to have qualities of publicness. The concept of publicness initiates people's expectations of what public spaces should provide and how they should be used, which is primarily formed by legal and lived senses (Li et al., 2022). Although public spaces are central in most forms of urban planning, the study of public spaces (with their spatial and social complexities) is often explored within a limited context; as the scope of urban planning suggests, the context is *urban*. Of the many sociological studies done in rural areas, most of them often lack clear spatial references, an important factor to account for when exploring the role of public space. Regarding spatial planning and development in rural areas, research is, in contrast, mainly focused on agricultural and landscape issues, partly neglecting the quality of life in small and remote places (Soszyński et al., 2022). Public spaces in rural areas, nevertheless, do matter. They are highlighted as potential important drivers for rural revitalisation and, as in the urban, fill a significant function as meeting places for the local community (Zheng et al., 2023).

This thesis is a case study on the village Kivik, a popular tourist destination located on the east coast of Scania. More specifically, three public spaces in Kivik are processed through observations and interviews. The theoretical framework *the production of space* initially presented by French philosopher Henri Lefebvre, will guide and contribute to the analysis of these spaces. Lefebvre's ideas have been utilised, adapted and modified by several scholars conducting spatial research within human geography (Schmid, 2022), however, as mentioned, research on public spaces are limited in rural contexts, making Kivik (with the tourism aspect in mind) an interesting case to study.

# 1.1 Aims and research questions

While acknowledging and problematising the dichotomy of the urban and rural, this research aims to explore the role of public space in places not generally defined as urban. By using and extending Lefebvre's ideas on production of space and the framework of which it entails, three

public spaces in Kivik are analysed. The study will investigate how certain rural public spaces are produced, used and what they mean to the local community and the adaption of Lefebvre's framework will open for an experimental method for identifying tensions within and between spaces. In other words, I will explore how we can configure elements of production of space to utilise the framework in a rural context while highlighting tourism aspect, a very prominent factor in Kivik.

The following research questions pinpoint the aim of this paper:

- How can Henri Lefebvre's framework of production of space be adapted and applied to analyse public spaces in rural areas, specifically in the context of tourism-driven locations like Kivik?
- How do different actors, such as local governments and community organisations, contribute to the production and use of public spaces in Kivik?

By answering these research questions, this study will contribute to a better understanding of how Lefebvre's theory on production of space can be used in an often-neglected field in planning, rural public space.

# 1.2 Delimitations and area of study

The area of study is limited to three selected public spaces in the village of Kivik. Kivik is a coastal village located in administrative area of Simrishamn's municipality in the Scania region, Sweden (see fig. 1.1). The research will not attempt to generalise the role of rural public space on a regional, national or global level. However, literature on other case studies will be highlighted to compare and discuss similar trends within this topic.

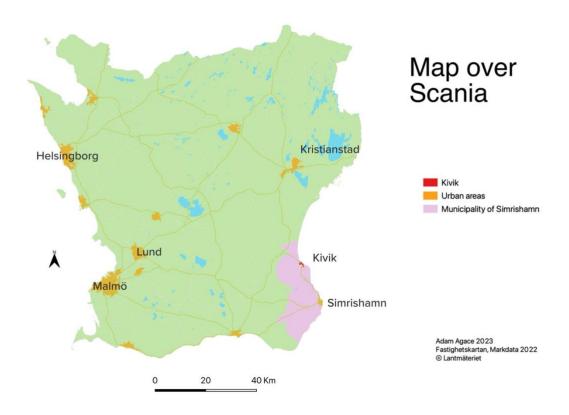


Figure 1.1 Map over Scania. The municipality of Simrishamn highlighted in pink, Kivik in red (Agace 2023)

#### 1.3 Definitions

#### 1.3.1 Public space

As mentioned in the presentation section (1.1), public space involves qualities of publicness (Li et al., 2022). In a conceptual sense, public space are areas available to anyone; "[...] any area of particular significance for the fulfilment of the needs of its residents and for the improvement of their quality of life; and any area favourable to establishing social contacts due to its location and both functional and spatial characteristics" (Micek & Staszewska, 2019, p. 76). There are several types of public space, intended for a variety of uses, in various degrees. Public spaces can include: representative spaces (such as town squares), traffic spaces (streets, pedestrian areas etc.), commercial spaces, recreational spaces (with specific leisure functions), green spaces (parks), ordinary spaces (various functions) and marketplaces (ibid).

Nevertheless, the notion of public spaces is continuously changing in both urban and rural contexts. In modern day society, the lines between private and public space are all more often blurred. It is evident that traditional local values on space sometimes collide with newer developments. For example, traditional meeting places can be interfered by commercial forces

or other factors such as increased traffic activity. The lack of clear boundaries is especially apparent in the rural setting, which is essentially due to the natural development of such spaces. Additionally, planned spaces for recreational, leisure purposes are frequently absent in rural areas (Micek & Staszewska, 2019).

In a more concrete Swedish urban planning context, public space is referred to designated areas within a detailed development plan. Through this perspective they are purely physical spaces where common uses are allowed. In general, the municipality (kommun) is the responsible authority of such spaces and must state the purpose of use for each area (Boverket, 2022).

As discussed in the theory section (3.1), a broad approach on what public spaces actually are is important for understanding the tensions through lens of production of space. Viewing public space as a merely physical space, for example, would limit the theoretical frameworks potential to explore rural public space.

#### 1.3.2 Rural and urban

Since the foundation of this paper proceeds from a perspective of which public space is processed in a *rural* setting, it is important to acknowledge what this categorisation (the rural) entails and highlight any potential problems connected to the use of such definitions.

The idea of the urban and the rural has been used to study places for a long time. Though increasingly criticised since the late 60's, this dichotomous categorisation is still widely being used among policy makers and academics. Historically, the rural has sometimes viewed as anything not defined as a city. As argued, however, the line between the rural and urban is blurred; villages are in many instances getting more populated and increasingly taking on more "city-like" services and characteristics. This makes it difficult to distinguish between them two which in some cases can delude "[...] vital statistics and theoretical insights or outcomes of deployed societal actions" (Dymitrow & Stenseke, 2016, p. 1).

Traditionally, the rural has been strongly linked to forms of agriculture, and even fishing. However, the globalisation process and changes in modern society has radically shifted types of activity in such places. Rural tourism is a concept which is increasingly present in today's society which has been directly or indirectly implemented as a strategy to escape rural regions

decline. This concept is not unproblematic since it often results in the commodification of local culture and can lead to transformation of its initial purpose (E. Wanda George et al., 2009).

In this research, the case of Kivik will be regarded as a rural village rather than an urban area. As mentioned, it is important to note that defining the rural is not without its complexities. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this study, considering Kivik as a rural location does not significantly compromise the outcomes.

# 1.4 Disposition

Firstly, following the research aims and definitions, I present the background chapter where previous research on rural public space is introduced and a brief presentation of the village Kivik is given. Secondly, in chapter 3, the theory of this thesis is accounted for. Here I present the foundation of Henri Lefebvre's ideas on the production of space and how these will be intertwined with my case-study. Furthermore, a short segment on how the tourism element can be used in combination with Lefebvre theory is presented. In chapter 4, I explain and discuss the methodology and methods of the research, additionally, the three analysed public spaces used in the study are introduced in the same chapter. Following the methodology segment, I account for the results and the analysis of these in chapter 5. In chapter 6, I discuss in-depth the results and analysis. Finally, the research paper ends with a concluding chapter, highlighting the central findings and implications of the study.

# 2 Background

## 2.1 Research on rural public space

While research done on public space in rural areas is limited, it is not, however, non-existent. Presented below are a couple of studies done on rural public space.

In Micek & Staszewska (2019) paper "Urban and Rural Public Spaces: Development Issues and Qualitative Assessment" the authors describe typical features of urban and rural public space. Although urban and rural public space share many similar qualities and characteristics, it is argued that they differ in their usability. Urban public spaces have a stronger obligation to be "[...] usable, interactive, civic, political, axiological, symbolic and identifiable" (Micek & Staszewska, 2019, p. 78) compared to rural ones (ibid). The attractiveness of urban public spaces is also very dependent on the surrounding commercial establishments, such as bars, restaurants, and cafés, but also cultural institutions and event venues. It is, however, still important for such places to obtain "free" qualities, allowing anyone to use the public space without necessarily consuming commodities. The urban public space is additionally highly politically charged; town squares are frequently used as arenas for demonstrations and political gatherings (ibid).

Rural public space, on the other hand, often lack (at least to the same extent as urban public space) the above-mentioned qualities. The rural public space is partly fluid, without any clear spatial references that define the public space. They do, however, still play an important social role for the local community. The village street is mentioned as a traditionally important element in the rural space where social encounters occur. The functionality of the village street is however weakening due to increased mobility by car and poorly invested rural infrastructure. Furthermore, Micek & Staszewska present frameworks for assessing public space quality. The assessment criteria for one such framework includes: functionality, practicality, reliability, durability, safety, legibility aesthetics and sensitivity (ibid).

In Soszyński et al. 2022 case study on four villages in the Lubin region in Poland, the authors focus on the meaning of place for local residents, evaluating the importance of the public spaces through characteristics concerning 'vitality' and 'meaning'. It is argued that public spaces can be divided into two main categories, *everyday places* and *recreational places*. In everyday places, necessary activities (such as grocery shopping and activities connected to service

facilities) are the main factors that initiate the "everyday public space". These activities are often then combined by social and recreational doings and are situated in central locations, shop / service facility areas or village streets. According to the case study, everyday places are declining. This is due to less people working in villages, shops disappearing and several activities being relocated to cities (such as music, sports, events, going to bars / restaurants). Recreational places are therefore playing an increasingly important role in villages. These places are often produced through top-down processes. Playgrounds are highlighted as a typical example of a top-down produced recreational place, however, they are often isolated and are not specifically designed to meet social needs (Soszyński et al., 2022).

The presented previous research on public space in rural areas provide useful insights for this paper's case study on Kivik. Although, the highlighted studies explore rural public space in a more quantitative manner than my paper intends to do, they present factors and important characteristics which can be incorporated in the analysis and theoretical approach.

#### 2.2 Kivik- Case background

Kivik is a coastal village located in the administrative area of Simrishamn's municipality. Kivik as a settlement has a long history, dating back to the stone age. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century the area developed into a permanent fishing settlement which later, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, became one of Sweden's most important shipping towns. With time, the fishing activity decreased and Kivik has experienced an increased tourist presence which has initiated a hospitality industry in the area. This has resulted in the establishment of several hotels, restaurants, cafés and art galleries in Kivik (Kiviks Turism, 2021).

As of 2020 (latest available data), the population in Kivik was 885 (SCB, 2021) and the village is the third largest built-up area in Simrishamn's municipality. Most of the older houses in Kivik were established during the 19th century, and along with the harbour, the annual Kivik's market (Kiviks marknad), and Kivik's apple production, they are of national interest and subject to cultural resource management. These village characteristics are also recognised as important drivers for the local tourism (Simrishamns Kommun, 2017).

# 3 Theory

This section presents the theoretical framework of the thesis. The framework provides an analytical perspective to the empirical material, by incorporating previous research and theoretical explanations. The theoretical framework of this research is in its core based on Lefebvre's insights presented in his book *The Production of Space* (1991) which contains theories and concepts commonly explored within the field of human geography; Lefebvre's theory on "the production of space" is a helpful framework to understand how space is not merely physical, but also shaped by everyday social practices and power relations (Lefebvre, 1991). Naturally, other scholars' interpretations and reviews of Lefebvre's work are incorporated in this section and throughout the paper, not least Kulusjärvi's (2020) adoption of Lefebvre's theory in the context of tourist-driven locations.

# 3.1 The production of space

Since Lefebvre's book *The Production of Space* was translated into English in 1991 (originally published in French 1974) it has become his most cited work. This being said, it is also a highly complex text, often claimed to be not well understood (Goonewardena, 2019; Molotch, 1993). As Schmid (2008) highlights, most authors don't utilise Lefebvre's framework the way he intended (Schmid, 2022). Schmid further argues that the frameworks Lefebvre presented was not an attempt to solve puzzles, rather it aimed to function as a tool for transformation and change (ibid). Furthermore, it could be argued that there is a right and wrong way to handle Lefebvre's ideas on production of space, however, the aim of this paper is to see how a framework experimentally can be transformed or/and extended to highlight certain aspects in rural public spaces. The following citation encourages such approach:

"One cannot [...] adopt Lefebvre's theory 'as it is', but must advance it conceptually in constant interaction with social reality. This is why the theory must also constantly be further developed: what is needed is an open and creative way of handling it" (Schmid, 2022, p. 229).

The theoretical ideas presented in Lefebvre's books were developed as criticism on capitalism. It is argued that political and economic forces create spatial practices and therefore is highly influential on societal processes (Rönnlund & Tollefsen, 2016). The notion of production of space is highly embedded in a Marxist theory. Although Lefebvre recognises what Marx had

to say about physical space, mostly in terms of real estate, he expands on the idea of space. The dialectic thought on labour and capital was according to Lefebvre an uncomplete view of modern life and capitalism and failed to incorporate societal and cultural aspects, and perhaps life itself (Molotch, 1993).

# 3.1.1 Tourism and the production of space

In Kulusjärvi (2020) article "Towards just production of tourism space via dialogical everyday politics in destination communities", the author draws upon Lefebvre's writings on production of space when studying the popular Finish tourist destination Ylläs. It is argued that injustice and power inequalities are often formed in smaller tourism driven communities, when the local cultural and natural environments are commodified (Kulusjärvi, 2020). Thus, Kulusjärvi handles Ylläs as an abstract space; "[t]he Ylläs area is locally produced as an 'abstract space' for tourism economy by tourism actors and municipal officials" (Kulusjärvi, 2020, p. 759). Lefebvre's idea of abstract space is the transformation of space under capitalism. By its commodification and homogenisation, it can alienate individuals and influence their perceptions of themselves which is necessary to maintain the abstract space itself (Lefebvre, 1991).

Kulusjärvi argues that there is a need for *dialogical everyday politics* in local communities in order to establish socially just economies. Dialogical everyday politics are, as Kulusjärvi suggests, highly connected to the idea of engaged pluralism. Thus, a kind of politics that aim to understand and communicate different actors' (economical actors, local organisations, communities) perspectives and interests. The goal is not to agree on various intentions, rather it seeks to recognise differences and appreciate others' views to increase possibility of mutual understanding (Kulusjärvi, 2020).

Although it can be argued that Ylläs and Kivik are two very different tourist destinations, Kulusjärvi's use of Lefebvre's ideas raises interesting new perspectives of how we can analyse the public spaces in Kivik. Viewing places in Kivik as abstract space can help to highlight if and how local natural and cultural environments are commodified and whether this creates injustices and power inequalities in the village. Furthermore, through the idea of dialogical everyday politics, one can obtain a perspective on how communication and relationships between tourism actors and local communities are handled.

#### 3.1.2 The spatial triad

One key concept presented in Lefebvre's writings is the spatial triad, which will lay the foundation of how this study will approach public space in Kivik. Lefebvre developed a trialectic framework (a three termed dialectic), arguing that space is produced in tensions between three movements. These movements are presented in various ways in Lefebvre's work; the physical, mental and social space; perceived space, conceived space and lived space; spatial practice, representations of space and representational space (Lefebvre, 1991). In this paper, mostly the latter classifications will be used (spatial practice, representations of space and representational space), since Lefebvre mentions these as being more spatially defined (Lefebvre, 1991).

Although space has physical and materialistic characteristics, Lefebvre argues that space is not absolute or a passive isolated entity, instead space is abstract and constantly reproduced through economic, political forces and the social practices of the everyday (Lefebvre, 1991). The spatial triad introduced by Lefebvre provides us with a conceptual framework which has been visualised in various ways by many scholars. Presented below is my own interpretation, highly influenced by (Olsson, 2022) visualisation of the framework (see fig. 3.1).

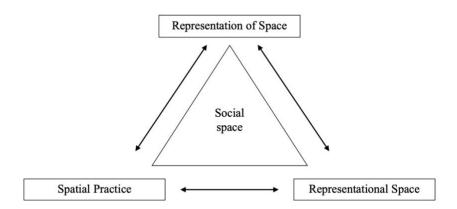


Figure 3.1 Illustration of the three movements in the spatial triad. The arrows indicate the tensions between movements. Author's own elaboration based on Olsson (2022) visualisation of the framework.

As Olsson (2022) highlights in his dissertation, illustrating the spatial triad on a piece of paper is not optimal. The "[...] issue with these types of representation of the theory is that they are static, no matter how many arrows indicating movement you put in there. A .gif image would

perhaps be better as it is a repetitive movement, where each cycle of movement is at least differentiated by the passing of time itself' (Olsson, 2022, p. 49). It is also important to keep in mind that these movements are somewhat fluid and overlap (Schmid, 2022). Nevertheless, presented below is a brief description of what each movement could entail.

#### 3.1.3 Spatial practice

Lefebvre presents spatial practice as the projection of social practice into a spatial field; it includes all aspects, elements and movements of social practice and how they are initiated in space. With the movement of spatial practice, the everyday and the urban reality is reflected. It contains daily routines, a perceived space and a certain, as Lefebvre puts it, cohesiveness without necessarily being coherent (Lefebvre, 1991). Through the perspective of this case study, we can imagine spatial practice being heavily reflected in the local inhabitant's everyday movement and activity patterns. Additionally, tourist activity (as individuals visiting Kivik) can be included in the aspects of spatial practices, though these do not entail notions of the everyday to the same extent as the locals, since a tourist's presence is temporary.

#### 3.1.4 Representation of Space

The representation of space is the conceived space or mental space. It is the conceptual space which is reflected in planners, urbanists and researchers and is therefore highly tied to power, theory and knowledge. It is, however, relative and constantly changing; they are abstract spaces, but since they are reflected in a planner's or policy maker's ideas, for example, it is also a form of political practice. Concretely, these representations of space are in presented plans, maps, transport and communication systems and in images and signs (Lefebvre, 1991). How planners view and plan Kivik, and, additionally, the idea of Kivik being a tourist destination are very much consistent to what Lefebvre describes as representation of space. As of all movements, this will be further elaborated and developed in the analysis section.

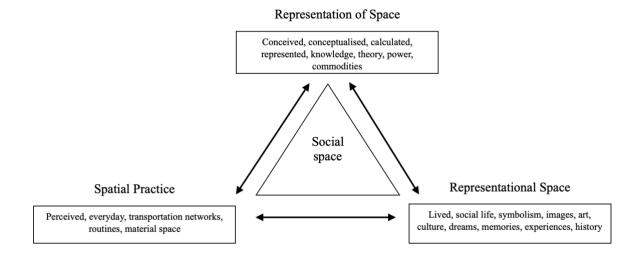
#### 3.1.5 Representational space

Lastly, the third movement in Lefebvre's framework involves representational space. This is the lived space which is highly embedded in history, emotions, symbolism and culture (Lefebvre, 1991). As Lefebvre puts it; "[r]epresentational space is alive: it speaks. It has an affective kernel or centre: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house; or: square, church, graveyard" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 42). The notion of representational space profoundly being *alive* is for me

problematic. Although it can be argued that each movement in the spatial triad must apprehend active qualities (a movement is an act of moving), one can claim that the opposite to an alive space (a "dead" space) is also a produced space which in some cases entails historical and emotional bearing. Where do such aspects figure in the spatial triad and how is such space produced? Nevertheless, since the representational space is highly dependent on people's own experiences and emotions (Lefebvre, 1991), these aspects have been a prominent theme in the interviews conducted in this study.

#### 3.1.6 Framework of the study

By separating each movement of the spatial triad, it can be argued that the conceptual framework disintegrates. Since the movements within the triad are fluid and overlapping, one must be careful when categorising elements in a space; it is the entity of all movement of which the space is produced (Schmid, 2022). However, Lefebvre specifically notes that the triad should not be seen as an elusive model, it needs to be used in a concrete manner to actually be powerful (Lefebvre, 1991). For sake of this paper's research aim, a division of each movement may be the most appropriate way to approach this framework in order to highlight and understand any potential tensions within and between each movement.



*Figure 3.2 Illustration of the spatial triad, highlighting what elements found in each movement. Inspired by Olsson (2022), author's own elaboration.* 

As visualised in fig 3.2, a more detailed framework is presented, highlighting what each movement entails. Furthermore, this illustration of the spatial triad naturally provides us with a concrete way to identify elements in each movement. By incorporating the spatial triad in

this study, we can form a useful analytic framework to understand how space is produced in each investigated public space. As presented in table 3.1, we separate the three movement for each public space. Thereafter, a set of questions is created in order to identify elements connected to *spatial practice*, *representations of space* and *representational space*.

**Table 3.1** Author's own questions, set after elements found in in each movement in spatial triad which can be applied to each public space (A, B and C) in this study.

Spatial practice	Representation of Space	Representational space
<ul> <li>How is space X used in an everyday context?</li> <li>What daily routines are found in space X?</li> <li>What transportation networks are found in space X?</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>How is space X represented from the perspective of a planner?</li> <li>What are the visions of space X?</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>What symbolic elements are found in space X?</li> <li>What historically important elements are found in space X?</li> </ul>

#### 4 Methods and data material

This section accounts for the methodological framework of the thesis. Firstly, I present the research design followed by the outline of each method used and what data is collected. Here are also the strengths and limitations of the methods discussed. Finally, the three public spaces used in this case study are introduced and reasoned for why these spaces were selected.

# 4.1 Research design

As the research aims suggests, this study is highly rooted in a theoretical framework with an experimental approach on how we can analyse public space. By incorporating Lefebvre's spatial triad, the research naturally becomes conceptual where the social practices, meaning and history are important elements to account for. Due to these aspects, the data gathered in this study is done mainly in a qualitative manner. The data is collected through a mixed-method approach, combining both observations and semi-structured interviews.

#### 4.2 Observations

The first phase of the data collection was done through field observations in a natural setting. Site observations are recognised as an important tool for conducting research on public space. It allows the researcher to get a basic understanding of why certain public spaces are being used and some not (Gehl & Svarre, 2013).

The observations were in their core unstructured, however, performing such unstructured observations is not unproblematic. This kind of observation risks being subjective, as it is the observer who primarily decides what is worth documenting and highlighting (Bryman, 2016). In order to limit the subjectiveness, they were performed during a set time period of 20 minutes each and complemented with some structured (systematic) quantitative measurements. Each public space was visited three times. The aim of the first visit, was to document each area with photographs and identifying aspects to observe at future visits. During the second and third observation, an additional form was filled out to document what activities were performed and how many people utilised the space during each period. The observations were carried out in April and May on a Friday and two Saturdays between 10 am and 12 pm. It is worth mentioning that the observations did not take place during a tourist peak, which normally occurs in July (interview with president of Kivik's byalag, 2023). This can be seen as both a strength and limitation. By not visiting Kivik during a tourist peak, it increases the prospect of capturing

everyday activities of the residents. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that understanding how the public spaces in Kivik are used by tourists is highly limited through the conducted observations. This being said, because of the arrangement of the observations, it is impossible to objectively assume if a person is a tourist or not.

The structured part of observations functioned as a pillar for both the unstructured observations and interviews. Though substantial studies utilising structured observations can produce quantifiable valid data, the short observation period and few location visits performed in this research arguably questions the validity and possibility of using this data as a solid foundation of any conclusion (Denscombe, 2014). Nevertheless, these visits must be seen as snapshots, which potentially can either strengthen or diminish data gathered through the interviews.

#### 4.3 Interviews

The second phase of the data collection concerns interviews. Two semi-structured interviews were conducted via online video call, one with the president of Kivik's byalag and one with the city architect of Simrishamn's municipality. Each interview was approximately 30 min long and was audio recorded and transcribed, solely available to me as an author. The questions asked were specifically tailored to each interviewee, however, they fundamentally concerned uses of public space in Kivik. All interviews were conducted in Swedish, the citations used in this paper are all translated by me as an author.

# 4.3.1 Interview with the president of Kivik's byalag

Kivik's byalag is one of several byalag present in Simrishamn's municipality. As described by the city architect, almost all villages in the municipality have a byalag and they fill an important function for the local community and strengthens the communication between the villages and the local authority (Interview with city architect, 2023). A byalag can be seen as village community, an organisation which, in Kivik's case, arranges several activities for the locals, summer residents and tourists each year (interview with president of Kivik's byalag). Based on a byalag's function and connection to the local community, interviewing the president of Kivik's byalag was a natural choice for sake of this study's research aims. Furthermore, with Lefebvre's spatial triad in mind, it can be argued that such an interviewee holds a broad knowledge of residents everyday uses of public space, planning actions and historically or symbolically important elements in the village.

#### 4.3.2 Interview with city architect of Simrishamn's Municipality

As Lefebvre writes about representations of space, they are movements which are reflected in ideas of planners, architects etc. that fundamentally are expressed in maps and planning documents (Lefebvre, 1991). In order to gathered data and perspectives from these aspects, an interview with the city architect of Simrishamn's municipality was set up. The main tasks of a city architect involve engaging in discussions about design and architecture with both citizens and officials from various departments. They address issues concerning the designed living environment, ensuring that the visions from an idea to a planning decision and an overall plan are carried through to the detailed plans, building permits, and ultimately, the completion of the project. This responsibility extends not only to buildings but also to public spaces (interview with city architect, 2023).

#### 4.3.3 Group interview with "Parlamentet"

Additionally, a one-hour long unstructured group interview was conducted with six members of a group unofficially named "Parlamentet" (eng. the parliament). Parlamentet meet several days a week to socialise in the local boat club. As of the date of the interview all present members were senior men who are maritime enthusiasts. A group interview enables a dynamic conversation and allows the participants to reflect on others' views (Denscombe, 2014). This interview was not audio recorded, neither was any personal information documented. Nevertheless, notes were thoroughly taken by me as an interviewer. The reasoning behind not recording the interview, was to allow for the interviewees to feel as comfortable as possible and for only relevant data to be documented by hand. The downside of not recording increases the risk of some important data being missed out or faulty (ibid), however, due the participant's non-public roles and the attempt to practise a relaxed discussion, audio recording the interview was concluded to be unnecessary.

#### 4.4 Case introduction – Selected public spaces in Kivik

Presented below is a brief description of the selected public spaces in Kivik (see fig. 4.1) and why these were seen as relevant and useful places to discuss. Important to note is that these places are chosen subjectively by me as author. Nevertheless, as detailed below, the places were selected with the aim to obtain a wide spectrum of public spaces; places which hold different characteristics and functions.



*Figure 4.1* Map over the three public spaces explored in this study (Agace, 2023).

#### 4.4.1 Space A – Outside the grocery store

The first public space (Space A) is located outside of the local grocery store (ICA Supermarket) in Kivik. The store fulfils the purpose of everyday grocery shopping in the village, it also functions as the local postal service. It is located close by the regional coastal road (väg 9) that runs through several villages from Simrishamn to Brösarp. Space A is spatially smallest compared to the other spaces used in this study. At a glance, the area outside the grocery shop entrance may not seem as a place specifically designed as a meeting place, neither is the whole area typically public; the detailed development plan reveals that the space between the building and pavement is in fact designated for commercial purposes (Simrishamns Kommun, n.d.). However, drawing upon previous research on public space in rural villages, spaces adjacent to grocery stores and/or service facilities play an important role in rural areas since they function as "everyday places" (Soszyński et al., 2022).



Figure 4.2 Space A. Front entrance of the local grocery store (photo by author, 2023).

#### 4.4.2 Space B - Town square

The second public space (Space B) selected is Kivik's town square. This space is an open asphalted area, with a few benches, a small garden and a parking lot. Adjacent to Kivik's town square is the local bank (with an ATM), a restaurant and a bus stop. As gathered from the interviews, the bus stop will be removed soon (Interview with city architect and president of Kivik's byalag, 2023).

This public space was selected as an area to study mainly because of its function as a *square*. Such places are historically and symbolically important places in both urban and rural European environments; in rural contexts they are in many instances the most prominent feature of a town (Dymitrow, 2014).



*Figure 4.3* Space B. Kivik's town square. A small park area (to the left), the local bank (in centre) and parking lot (to the right) (photo by author, 2023).

#### 4.4.3 Space C - Harbour

Lastly, the third public space (Space C) is an area situated by the harbour and is the largest space in this study. The functions of this space are highly mixed; in addition to the large parking lot, there are recreational spaces such as an outdoor gym, a playground and a boule court. One of the most prominent buildings in the harbour is the seafood business Buhrés på Kivik, which contains three restaurants and a fish and delicacy store (Buhrés på Kivik, n.d.). Additional commercial elements are present, such as a kiosk and several food trucks and small stores adjacent to the set spatial limitation of space C.

Space C was selected due to its variety of functions and qualities. It is situated in a space which bears historical meaning (Kivik as a fishing settlement, Interview with city architect and president of Kivik's byalag, 2023) and based on the first field visit it is, out of the selected public spaces, the most vibrant and tourist attractive place.



**Figure 4.4** Space C. Public pedestrian pathway which is runs by "Buhrés på Kivik" (the building to the right), a kiosk, the boule court, outdoor gym and playground (photo by author, 2023).

# 5 Results and analysis

As presented, three fundamentally different public spaces in Kivik are subject to this paper's analysis. This section provides the results from the gathered data and the incorporation of Lefebvre's framework. The results for each public space will be presented separately and thereafter a broader analysis on these subjects is introduced. Firstly, however, important insights concerning the local community and planning issues, which are highlighted in the interviews, are presented.

# 5.1 The byalag, Simrishamn's municipality and tourists

Based on the interview with the president of Kivik's byalag and the group interview conducted with the "parliament", Kivik is presented as a village with a very strong local community containing a wide variety of groups and organisations intertwined with each other. Kivik's byalag, which can be viewed as the most representative organisation of Kivik's residents, has 350 members and claims to have good relationships with policy makers and planners in municipality of Simrishamn (interview with president of Kivik's byalag, 2023). The relationship between the byalag and municipality is also highly appreciated from the municipality's point of view:

It's a win-win, they [Kivik's byalag] know a lot about how things work in the village, where problems are and what we [the municipality] need to think about. They help us [...], we can't be everywhere, so it is good if they are attentive.

(Interview with city architect, 2023)

Although one of the main functions of Kivik's byalag is to express the residents' views and stand points, there are some issues the group avoid forming an opinion about. This occurs when positioning within the organisation is clearly polarised. As gathered from the interview with president of the byalag, such issues often concern the development of new housing estates (interview with president of Kivik's byalag, 2023).

#### 5.1.1 Tourism

According to the president of Kivik's byalag, tourists are sometimes involved in a variety of activities hosted by the byalag and other local organisations. When asked about conflicts between the locals and tourists he claims that the tourism in some ways, in contrast, makes the local community stronger:

[...] I think that the tourist onrush, which is only one- two months, it strengthens the people in the village in some way, not in an aggressive way, but in the village, we live here and we know how things should be and so on [...]
(Interview with president of Kivik's byalag, 2023)

Similar topic was discussed with the city architect, when asked about how one plans public space with tourists' need and locals' needs in mind, she replies:

I would think that one does not divide it like that, but we are aware that we [Kivik] have a lot of visitors, not least through all traffic chaos that is generated [...]. We know that there is an unbelievingly high visitor pressure, but I don't think we divide what the locals think and what the visitors think. Maybe one should think about doing that... (Interview with city architect, 2023)

Furthermore, tourism is not highlighted as a problem in general, but is both mentioned by the president of the byalag and the city architect as an issue when the onrush is high during the tourist peak due to high parking demand (interview with Kivik's byalag and city architect, 2023). This topic will be discussed further in the end of this chapter.

# 5.1.2 The byalag's role in the spatial triad and dialogical every politics

The byalag's close connection to both Kivik's inhabitants and the municipality of Simrishamn can suggest that the organisation plays an important role in three of the movements in the spatial triad. Since it is a local community organisation which holds knowledge and influence over the residents' everyday, it falls closely related to Lefebvre's idea of the spatial practice movement. With this knowledge, it is also tied to the culture of the village and suggestively obtains an awareness of historical and symbolical important aspects, which arguably is a tied to the movement of representational space (Lefebvre, 1991). Nevertheless, from a planning

perspective, the byalag is in its core highly representative of its people, although it is not necessarily an actor that produces representations of space, which according to Lefebvre is "[...] the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers [...]" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). Nevertheless, as gathered from the interview with the city architect, the byalag is always kept in the loop when new plans are presented, suggesting that Kivik's byalag functions as an important link between of all three movements in the spatial triad (representations of space, spatial practice and representational space).

By revisiting Kulusjärvi writings about Ylläs and the call for *dialogical everyday politics* (Kulusjärvi, 2020), Kivik's byalag as an organisations falls close to the kind of agency the author desires. Viewing Kivik as an abstract place, a village subject to commodification of natural and cultural environments via tourism, the byalag fulfils the purpose of establishing relationships between the residents, tourists and the municipality. As Kulusjärvi writes about their imagined agency, the purpose of such agency is not to solve problems, rather it aims to keep an open and transparent dialogue which ultimately decreases tensions in the spatial development (Kulusjärvi, 2020). When incorporated in the spatial triad, Kivik's byalag does not eliminate the conflicts between each movement, however, although the organisation does contain conflict within its own agency, it does suggest that conflict and tension between these movements are mitigated.

#### 5.2 Results from each public space

With the previously presented insights in mind, I introduce the results from the observations and interviews concerning space A, B and C.

# 5.2.1 Space A – Outside the grocery store

Based on insights from Soszyński et. al. (2022), spaces highly intertwined with necessary services or necessary commodities can be seen as everyday public places (Soszyński et al., 2022). The space outside the local grocery store in Kivik, which provides the locals with both groceries and postal services can therefore be seen as such an everyday place. The results from the observations showed that all observed individuals (23) who visited the place did so by entering and exiting the grocery store (22) or using the mailbox (1). Two (2) of these individuals were observed sitting on one of the benches outside the store. Even though Space A included a

public pavement on a village street on which restaurants, stores and cafés are present, no passerbyes were observed.

When asked about any successful public spaces in Kivik, the following was stated by the city architect concerning Space A outside the grocery store (ICA):

[...] ICA, well it's not much of a meeting place, possibly one can sit a while by the entrance, otherwise there is just a lot of parking space. There was a fairly nice place by the pizzeria next to ICA Kivik, but that is gone. So now it is a bit desolated. (Interview with city architect, 2023)

Space A is, however, considered by the president of Kivik's byalag as one of few places in Kivik where spontaneous social interactions occur. It is also mentioned as a space which is utilised by the organisation when recruiting new members (Interview with president of Kivik's byalag, 2023).

#### 5.2.2 Space B – Town square

Space B was, as mentioned, chosen because of a town square's traditional and symbolic meaning (Dymitrow, 2014). Furthermore, such place is suggestively a representative (Micek & Staszewska, 2019), a representational and an 'alive' space (Lefebvre, 1991).

On the first visit, eight (8) individuals were observed using the space, all of whom visited the space alone. The majority used this space as a shortcut without stopping. Although not allowed, one (1) individual was observed driving his car on the square to get close to the ATM. Similar action was performed once more by another individual, however, outside the set observation period. On the second observation visit, only one (1) individual was observed passing the space with her dog.

When asked about the meaning and use of Kivik's town square, the president of Kivik's byalag answered:

It is probably one of the deadest places in Kivik [laughter]. Really. There are benches, and it looks very pleasant, and when we have our activities, like the "village walk", we

start at the square. But that is probably the only time there is any activity, except from when people go and withdraw cash.

- Do you think that it has filled a different function historically, if you look back in time?

Yes, it probably has in the past. Because there used to some market stallholders, who sold vegetables and plants and stuff like that, but that was many years ago. One could compare it to the square in Simrishamn, there is a bit more activity, even though I know that the harbour is popular in Simrishamn as well [...]. There is not really anything on the square [in Kivik] except for the bank, and the bakery. And if people shop, they park their car, buy their bread and then go home. The harbour is a bit different.

The notion of Kivik's square being 'dead' is partially confirmed by the city architect:

I know also know, concerning Kivik's square, that they are very aware at the department of public environments [enheten för offentliga miljöer] that it is a fairly dead space and there is room to do a lot more [...]. We have special guidelines for food carts and marketplaces, and we have said that we can consider four carts or a marketplace in some way with a local connection on that square to enable more liveliness. But there is no one who has shown any interest, so I think the harbour is the magnet.

(Interview with city architect, 2023)

As of the today, Kivik's town square holds one of four bus stops in the village, however, as highlighted in the interviews, all bus stops will soon be replaced by a larger stop located southwest of the grocery store on the regional road 9. This is a decision made by the regional public transport company Skånetrafiken to enable a rapider bus route between Simrishamn and Kristianstad. This decision has been widely criticised by the locals, especially elderly inhabitants, since it results in a somewhat steep hill walk for residents in lower part of the village (interview with president of Kivik's byalag and city architect, 2023)

#### 5.2.3 Space C – The harbour

Out of the selected spaces, Space C is the largest and offers most variety of functions. Results from the observation showed that twelve (12) people visited the space on the first visit and 31 people during the second one. A majority (32) of the total observed individuals visited the place as groups or couples.

Based on the interviews, the Space C is mentioned as the most vibrant of all spaces in Kivik, which is shown by the following extract from the interview with the president of Kiviks byalag:

- Based on your own experience, where do you happen to bump into acquaintances or where do spontaneous meetings occur?

The Harbour.

- By the harbour?

Yes, and ICA. The harbour absolutely, there is a boule court and I play boule, so we meet there twice a week and people also pass by with their dogs. And that is an opportunity for the spontaneous meetings to occur.

- Does that apply to both tourists and people you already know?

Yes, I think so, the harbour is the magnet. Everybody goes there. And for example, families with children don't go to the town square, they go to the playground. And the same with the dog owners, they often take a walk past the playground, since it is has become very nice there now, with the pedestrian pathway and everything else. People know that there are people down there, that's why they go there.

(Interview with president of Kivik's byalag, 2023)

Furthermore, as gathered from all conducted interviews, the harbour is mentioned as one of the most important characteristics of Kivik which also, compared to space B, contains high commercial activity (Group interview, interview with president of Kivik's byalag and city architect, 2023). Historically, it held an economical function as important infrastructure for the fishing business. Nowadays, this function has changed. The fishing activity has declined, and the harbour is mainly used by leisure boats. This is a trend occurring in almost all harbours in

the municipality of Simrishamn; "[...] they become tourist harbours, solely cultural environments" (interview with city architect, 2023).

The harbour area is also subject to development plans of which the byalag has been a very influential actor. The byalag was involved in the planning of the playground and expressed what kind of playground equipment was desired. Additionally, an issue consistently raised in all three interviews and additionally observed as an interesting element in the public space environment, is the conflict concerning parking lots. This issue is presented as a struggle linked to tourists and has been a prominent topic of discussion within the byalag. The conflict mainly concerns the increased parking demand during the tourist peak, with camper vans parking in the harbour area, which has caused frustration among the residents in the village. This problem has been addressed by the municipality and as of today, no campers are allowed to park in the harbour area. However, parking as an issue is still very present. The implementation of forbidden long-term parking by the harbour has affected the local residents, which are used to parking their cars for a longer period in this area, since only a few old house properties have room for own lots (interview with president of Kivik's byalag and city architect, 2023).

During my second observation, which took place off tourist peak, only eight (8) out of the 60 parking lots were being used (see fig. 5.1). The amount on land designated to parking is substantial, and one participant in the group interview expressed a sense of sadness over what used to be a beautiful meadow, where he used to play as a kid, has gradually been taken over by asphalted parking lots. The same participant discussed how tourist activity, slowly but steadily, has increased in Kivik and suggesting that the village is more generic nowadays (participant in group interview, 2023).



Figure 5.1 Parking lot in space C. Photo taken during observation 2 when only eight of 60 parking lots were being used. This area used to be an open meadow according to a participant in group interview (Photo by author, 2023).

# 5.3 Analysis – public spaces and the spatial triad

By revisiting our table of spatial questions, we can highlight elements of each movement found in Kivik's public spaces and attempt to utilise Lefebvre's ideas on the production of space to analyse these (see table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Results from interviews and observations categorised by each movement in the spatial triad.

	Spatial practice	Representation of Space	Representational space
Space	<ul> <li>How is space X used in an everyday context?</li> <li>What daily routines are found in space X?</li> <li>What transportation networks are found in space X?</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>How is space X represented from the perspective of a planner?</li> <li>What are the visions of space X?</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>What symbolic elements are found in space X?</li> <li>What historically important elements are found in space X?</li> </ul>
A	Grocery shopping, postal service, large parking lot	Relatively dead space in surrounding area	-
В	Cash withdraw ATM, bus stop (will be removed)	Dead space, redesign of space has been done, means of control in, markets etc.	Town square, historically used as marketplace.
С	Walking, recreational everyday purposes, Cars heavily influenced transport network (parking lots). Used by both tourists and locals.	The "magnet", it is here everybody goes, recreational elements: outdoor gym, playground, boule court etc. Shopping, Buhrés på Kivik. Tourist attractive.	Harbour is a cultural environment, historically used by fishermen

# 5.3.1 Space A

Starting with space A, the gathered data from observation and partially from the interviews showed that the public space outside the grocery store is mainly used as an area for people to enter and exit the building. Perhaps these results are non-surprising given that, as mentioned by the city architect, there is not much else to do in the area. When incorporated with spatial triad, this is a space holds strong characteristics of spatial practice, this is where everyday routines linked to necessary grocery shopping occurs. Space A is not mentioned as a tourist destination although the space is supposedly used by tourists. It is not necessarily correct to view this space as an abstract space in the sense Kulusjärvi writes about Ylläs where cultural and natural environments are commodified (Kulusjärvi, 2020), however, the space is nonetheless abstract since the use of it is highly related to consumerism (i.e., purchasing groceries).

#### 5.3.2 Space B

Space B, the town square, was describe as a dead space in all conducted interviews, this notion was somewhat confirmed during the observations when only a few individuals were seen using the space. It is clear that planners and the municipality have attempted to revitalise the place by redesigning the environment and allowing for market stallholders / food carts to organise business there, but with limited success to actually do so.

From a conceptual standpoint, the town square is a traditionally symbolic space (Dymitrow, 2014), however, Kivik's town square has suggestively been more vivid in the past when markets in the area were in fact present. These symbolic and historical qualities are strongly connected to the idea of representational space (Lefebvre, 1991). It is not, however, an 'alive' space, which Lefebvre writes about representational space. It is the complete opposite, a dead space, which presumably could become even more lifeless when the bus stop (a subject which holds qualities of spatial practice) is removed. The notion of the square being a dead space is further shown as individuals were observed ignoring vehicle regulations and driving on the square.

Seemingly, there is a drive from the municipality to produce a more vivid social space. As Lefebvre argues, however, "[...]ideologies do not produce space: rather, they are in space, and of it" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 210). Although ideologies do dictate the location of activities, such as a church being a sacred place, it is the forces of production and the relations within that ultimately produce the social space (ibid). By adopting these ideas to Kivik town square, we can imagine the municipality (as the movement of representations of space) dictating the location of desired activities (such as a marketplace on the square). Nevertheless, it can be argued that the town square has lost its everyday use (spatial practice) and symbolical meaning (representational space) which has resulted in space B being 'dead'. Further research is required to understand why this has happened. Increased popularity of the harbour can suggest that focus has shifted elsewhere, leading to a decline of interest among both locals and tourists to visit and use space B.

#### 5.3.3 Space C

Lastly, space C has been identified as "the magnet" in Kivik, which is highly used by both tourists and locals. It is an interesting space which holds the whole spectrum of movements in

the spatial triad. Lefebvre's framework attempts to identify conflicts and tensions between these movement, and for space C it clear that the parking issue is such a tension entangled in all the movements. This tension is in its core presented as planning issue which is linked to the movement concerning representation of space. The urge to expand the parking, however, is connected to the popularity of the harbour; the harbour's cultural and symbolic environment (the representational space). Finally, the parking has also everyday uses by locals and is a part of the area's transportation network, which are elements found in the spatial practice movement (Olsson, 2022).

Furthermore, as Kulusjärvi writes about Ylläs, the harbour can also be seen as the most abstract space in this study. It is clear that the function of the harbour has changed over time and that Kivik's cultural and natural environment is commodified through various commerce in the harbour, such as fish and seafood business Buhrés på Kivik. The variety of functions found in the harbour, however, makes it difficult categorises such public space. It holds characteristics of several of Micek & Staszewska (2019) "public space types"; it is representative, commercial, recreational and green. These elements are often non-present in rural public spaces. Furthermore, when recreational spaces in rural areas are present, they are often established through rigid top-down planning, where such processes result in failed and isolated spaces (Micek & Staszewska, 2019). In contrast, however, it seems like the harbour contest these trends Micek & Staszewska write about. Space C does not lack these elements and when it comes to the recreational spaces, they are not presented as isolated or failed, which can be the result of Kivik's byalag's involvement in the planning process.

#### 6 Discussion

As briefly discussed in the theory section (3.1), Schmid (2022) claims that many scholars do not utilise the theory on the production of space in the way Lefebvre intended to. At the same time, it is a framework which needs to be contextualised and handled in an open and creative manner (Schmid, 2022). Lefebvre himself, highlights that it is a theory that must be used in a concrete approach to be useful (Lefebvre, 1991). While I do not claim to have used the spatial triad and all the complexities of which it entails in the way Lefebvre envisioned, it has been handled in an experimental way to understand public spaces in rural Kivik. By clearly dividing the movements in the triad and incorporating these in the results from interviews and observations, the method has been performed concretely. Nevertheless, it is difficult to avoid any kind of messiness as spaces are complex entities.

A potential benefit of using the spatial triad concretely to understand the production of space in a certain public space, is that it enables a method to identify characteristics not only on a physical spatial level, but also the qualities of various actors, such as Kivik's byalag, tourists and municipality of Simrishamn. Although not extensively explored in this thesis, this method also allows us to think about space on deeper level, highlighting what emotions, symbolically and historically elements are found in each space.

In hindsight, limiting the number of spaces analysed even more could potentially have resulted in a more fruitful understanding of how we can use Lefebvre's framework. Although Space A was relevantly chosen for its characteristics as an everyday place, it is difficult to actually problematise such uses of the space, as it perhaps goes without saying: a space outside the entrance of a grocery store will be used by people entering and exiting the store.

In contrast, space B and space C are two areas which bear higher complexities and are clearer linked to the research questions of this paper. Out of the selected spaces, space C can be highlighted as the "most abstract" in the sense Lefebvre writes about abstractness. The harbour is commodified in a way where cultural and infrastructural remains of the fishing tradition has been transformed into the one of the most attractive areas in Kivik, with several businesses taking advantage of such vitalisation. Nevertheless, it is difficult, from the results gathered in this study, to draw any conclusions on what actual implications, such as increased inequality, have been caused by such commodification. Regardless of the outcomes of the transformation,

it can be argued that the harbour plays an important social and economic function in Kivik for both locals and tourists. While conflicts do arise due to the high parking demand during the tourist peak, it prompts the question of whether the variety of functions would be as great if Kivik was not a popular tourist destination.

Space B, on the other hand, has challenged Lefebvre's idea of a town square being an alive representational space. It is the least abstract out of the explored spaces and does not follow the trend of space C. Space B has suggestively lost its everyday uses and symbolical meaning and function as a town square, which arguably are important elements in the production of social space. The findings in space B do raise questions concerning how certain public spaces are prioritised, not only by the local government, but also by the local community and visitors.

Returning to the concept of public space, this case study has shown that incorporating aspects of Lefebvre's ideas on the production of space allows us to critically analyse the way such spaces are created and utilised. It is important to notice, nevertheless, that Lefebvre's framework does not magically reveal a "truth" or easy solution to conflicts in space; its purpose is not, as mentioned, to solve puzzles. It can, however, be a tool for transformation by highlighting spatial aspects concretely and conflicts between movements. In a rural perspective, this approach may be useful for planners and local organisations to take on for creating analytical tool when thinking about public space. This case study has shown that rural public space can transform in very different ways, especially when the tourism factor is present. This can suggest that the development of the rural public space is a fragile process which requires a thoughtful and delicate approach to produce and maintain social space for both the locals and visitors.

#### 7 Conclusion

In this research I have presented three public spaces in the Swedish village Kivik. Through the lens of Lefebvre's ideas on production of space, I've utilised the spatial triad framework in experimental way to explore how it can be used in the context of rural public space. By revisiting the research questions, this study has presented insights on how we can view public space in the rural and identify potential conflicts within and between the movements of the spatial triad. It's made clear that the three public spaces discussed contain a variety of characteristics which through Lefebvre's framework become more accessible and easier to critically handle. The study has shown that rural public space can transform in very different ways; depending on the presence of movements, spaces can "die" and/or thrive.

Additionally, by viewing Kivik as an abstract space, a place where the commodification of cultural and natural environments occurs via tourism, the role of strong a local community is important. The research has highlighted that Kivik's byalag plays a significant role in the production of space. It is an organisation which is linked to all the movements in the spatial triad and functions as an agency which can dampen tensions in the production of space.

In conclusion, this study shows that Lefebvre's spatial triad may be an important analytical tool for planners and local organisations to adopt in order to critically think about and plan rural public space in tourism-driven locations.

#### 7.1 Future research

This study has focused on the village Kivik and has used semi-structured interviews and observation as methods for data collection. For future research it would be interesting to broader the data collection by involving more actors by interviewing businesses, tourists and locals to fully highlight elements of the spatial triad. With this is mind, it would be of ease to utilise analytical tools such as actor-network theory (ANT) interwoven with Lefebvre's triad, which would potentially highlight relationships, power structures and conflicts between actors and space even more.

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