THE RELEVANCE OF OPEN SPACE AS A "THIRD PLACE" AMONG URBAN LOW-INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS: A study based on Colombo

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Abstract: Open spaces in urban low-income settlements are a representation of a diverse socio-spatial landscape that is often neglected during urban development approaches. The loss of adequate open spaces, particularly during vertical resettlements, has resulted in oppressing the chance of continuing the unique social ties among those communities. To better understand the existing open spaces in urban low-income neighbourhoods, this research employs Ray Oldenburg's Third Place Theory, suggesting that they are citizen-initiated, dynamic, and informal gathering places where people tend to attend beyond home (first place) and work (second place). Getting insights from Wekanda in Slave Island, Colombo, the research highlights the physical setting, activities, and user values that are bound with the existing open spaces. In spite of the fact that they have the bare minimum of a fancy outlook, the in-depth analysis demonstrates that alleyways, spaces in-between houses, streets, and vacant lots in Wekanda are significant third places that ensure equal rights to space by providing a homely atmosphere for residents. On the other hand, the research highlights that some designed open spaces, such as small community parks have failed to exhibit expected third place qualities and should further consider their role by addressing user expectations.

Keywords: Urban Low-Income Neighbourhoods, Open Spaces, Third Place

1. Introduction

Low-income neighbourhoods in the urban fabric are one of the many multifaceted phenomena of urbanization. They are characterized by low income levels and fewer privileges for residents compared to the wider society (Gunathillaka, 2014). Challenges like overcrowding, substandard living conditions, limited access to essential facilities, and poor environmental quality are commonly found in these areas. However, in contrast to technology-driven societies, these neighbourhoods foster diverse social relationships despite their socioeconomic disadvantages within their living environments. There, open spaces play a crucial role in providing an enabling environment and space for social interactions (UN-Habitat, 2016). Despite the minimum amount of land and design quality, open spaces such as streets, alleyways, cemeteries, abandoned lots, unoccupied lands, and spaces in front of residential units act as a platform where most of the informal social interactions are performed among neighbours. However, it can be highly noted that the importance of these open spaces as an asset has been largely neglected among developing policies for housing (Solomon & Ayesh, 2011) and particularly during resettlement, the socio-spatial interactions of open spaces among initial low-income neighbourhoods have been largely disregarded, eliminating the chance to form stronger social links (Gunathillaka, 2014).

One of the many reasons for this is the lack of concern about the value of such open spaces from the perspective of the people who use them daily. To achieve this, a systematic review that identifies the formation, use, values, and significance of such spaces must be conducted on a more user-oriented basis, despite the general perspectives on environmental quality, maintenance, and safety standards typically applied in public space evaluation criteria. This is where the research considers the concept of third place. As introduced by Ray Oldenburg, third places are an intimate form of social space that supports interactions among homogeneous people or communities, providing the essential qualities that determine the human experience of a space (Mehta & Bosson, 2010). In the phenomenon of space and place, the third place emphasizes how the physical spaces have been converted into highly accessible social settings that are appropriated by users through added meanings and values (Kutley, 2019).

Therefore, this research aims to build an evidence-based discussion regarding the importance of open spaces in urban low-income neighbourhoods by applying third-place theory as an investigation lens to examine the value of such spaces, emphasizing their relevance for user communities. In the face of the increasing exclusion of low-income

neighbourhoods by urban planners who attempt to beautify and civilize urban environments, this research will highlight the need for reviewing and appreciating the genuine requirements of open space usage among such neighbourhoods. That will serve as a foundation for more user-sensitive, inclusive, and innovative design approaches in the future.

1.1. RESEARCH GAP

When it comes to built environment and social interactions, it can be highly noted that the dominant conversation is focused on the design and enhancement of protected parks and gardens, with a primary emphasis on greening and beautification. Conversely, extensive research has been conducted on Oldenburg's concept of third place, exploring the redefinition of architectural forms in line with theory. However, there is a noticeable lack of research on the urban landscape features associated with informal open spaces. This study seeks to fill these gaps by emphasizing their importance in low-income communities and adopting a user-sensitive approach to underscore their value within the urban fabric.

1.2. RESEARCH QUESTION AND OBJECTIVES

With the aim of building a discussion regarding the importance of open spaces through third-place theory, this study seeks to answer the research question, "How well do the open spaces in urban low-income neighbourhoods fit with the concept of Third Place?". To answer the above question, four main research objectives have been formed:

Studying the definition and formation of open space in urban low-income neighbourhoods

Studying the definition and formation of open space in urban low-income neighbourhoods

Understanding the applicability of third place theory to examine place value

Observing the physical structure and activities conducted in the existing open spaces

Identifying the gathered knowledge of open spaces with the developed theoretical framework to indicate their relevance and value among urban low-income neighbourhoods

2. Review of Literature

To achieve the first two objectives, the research includes a comprehensive literature review and a theoretical framework that explores the relationship between space, place, and third place. Through that, observatory and experiential indexes have been formed to assess the relevance of open spaces in urban low-income neighbourhoods based on their third-place characteristics.

2.1. THE ROLE OF OPEN SPACE IN URBAN LOW-INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS

This research defines urban open spaces as any urban ground that is not roofed by an architectural structure (Stanley et al., 2012), located within the boundary of a city which has the potential to provide environmental, social, and/or economic benefits to communities, whether direct or indirect (Elizalde, 2013). The classification of urban open spaces in this research is based on form and function, as proposed by Stanley et al., (2012), with seven major space types: transport facilities, streets, plazas, recreational space, incidental space, parks and gardens and food production areas. They are further categorized based on spatial scale as city, intermediate, residence and green, grey, green/grey by following Al-Hagla (2008, as cited in Stanley et al., 2012)'s definition of open spaces. Low-income urban neighbourhoods often lack intentionally designed open spaces (Roychowdhury, 2013), with streets and alleyways serving as the most common informal open spaces. These spaces play a crucial role in enhancing liveability and neighbourhood sustainability, providing residents with opportunities for relaxation and well-being (Stanley et al., 2012). However, slum rehabilitation housing often fails to meet residents' satisfaction (Kshetrimayum et al., 2020). In contrast to the open-to-street housing in the original settlements, the layouts of the resettled neighbourhoods are highly questionable, with rectangular shapes and courtyards in the middle, connected with vertical circulation through long dark corridors. This transition has brought about cultural changes (Nallari, 2021) and design limitations (Yadav et al., 2022) that are often criticized by residents, also leading to health issues such as isolation (Desai, 2022).

2.2. THIRD PLACE THEORY AND ITS APPLICABILITY IN EXAMINING PLACE VALUE

A designer can't parachute into a neighbourhood with a public park and expect to make everything better. To address the complex challenges in neighbourhoods, they must collaborate with residents to create diverse open spaces that meet their needs (Poon, 2017). Incorporating Third Place theory helps understand how these spaces are formed and the social interactions and values associated with them. Ray Oldenburg, an urban sociologist, introduced the concept of the "Third Place" in 1989 as informal and intimate gathering place that hosts regular, voluntary, and happily anticipated gatherings beyond home (First place) and work (Second place) (Oldenburg, 1999). They are considered the heart of public life, facilitating interactions among strangers (Williams & Hipp, 2019). While crowded public spaces like streets or plazas may exist, they differ from third places due to the unique experiences that create engaging informal public life. Oldenburg emphasizes that the true measure of a peaceful society lies in examining the average citizen's situation rather than the superficial view of a bustling public space (Oldenburg, 1999). Third places further contribute to social well-being, psychological health, informal social control, grassroots democracy, and cohesion (Purnell, 2015). According to Oldenburg, R. (1999), the eight characteristics that are shared and experienced within third places are: being on neutral ground, being a leveller, conversation being the main activity, accessibility, and accommodation, having regulars, having a low profile, having a playful mood, and being a home away from home

(refer to figure 2). Oldenburg (1999) initially identified cafes, coffee shops, bookstores, bars, and hair salons as the traditional third places representing intimate gatherings in the 20th century. However, the concept has expanded to include various other settings, such as libraries, mainstream art venues, festival spaces, and bookshops. What is more, third places can also be part of the urban public landscape, such as plazas, green spaces, and lounging (Wells, 2021). In a similar attempt, Mehta & Bosson (2010) redefined streets as third places; Turner (2019) described a range of neighbourhood spaces as third places; and Dolley (2019) indicated how community gardens act as third places that unify neighbours.

2.2.1. Formation of a Third Place



Figure 1, Formation of space, place, and third place (Source: Compiled by the author)

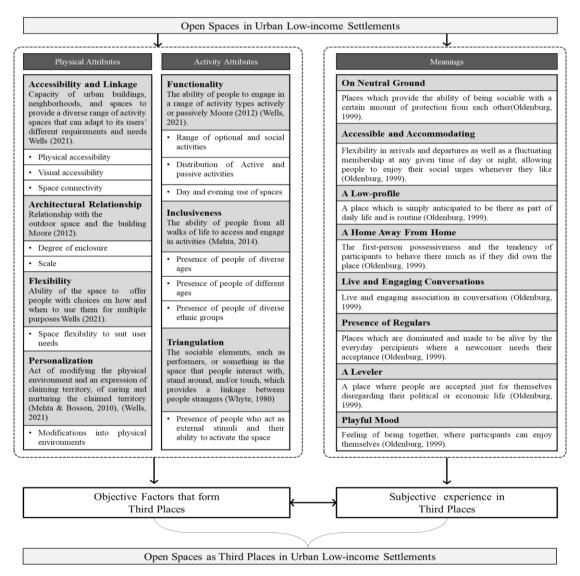


Figure 2, Theoretical framework (Source: Compiled by the author)

The concepts of space and place help us understand the "where" and "why" of events happening in the environment (Agnew, 2011). Spaces are seen as dimensions where matter is located, but they become places as we assign meanings and values to them (Tuan, 1977) (refer to figure 1). A place therefore consists of cognitive (physical setting), behavioural (activities), and emotional (meanings) dimensions (Steele, 1981; Jorgensen, 2001, as cited in Hashemnezhad et al., 2013). According to Oldenburg, a place can turn into a third place when it is imbued with emotions and meanings, facilitating regular, informal, and happily anticipated gatherings beyond home and

workplace. It can also be viewed as a transitional or buffer space that bridges the gap between the public and private realms (Kutley, 2019).

Oldenburg's concept of the Third Place, however, describes only the sociological aspects of meaning and personal experiences bound to a place. But to determine if a space can be considered a true third place, it is essential to consider physical and activity dimensions as well. Therefore, scholars such as Wells (2021), Persson (2022), and Williams & Hipp (2019) have redefined the concept, incorporating urban planning approaches to form a full third place framework that can be applied to create healthier neighbourhoods. Accordingly, this research has also developed a comprehensive literature framework that combines Oldenburg's characteristics with insights from urban design literature, aiming to identify and recognize open spaces in low-income urban neighbourhoods as third places (refer to figure 2).

Drawing from various sources, the physical attributes considered in this research to form a third place include accessibility and linkage, architectural relationships, flexibility, and personalization. These attributes play a crucial role in shaping people's perceptions and understanding of a place (Kutley, 2019). In terms of activities, functionality, inclusiveness, and triangulation are key factors that transform a place into a third place by establishing functional relationships between the environment and individuals. (Relph, 1976; Montgomery & Miller, 2011). Both these physical and activity attributes are followed by several indicators, also drawn from relevant urban planning theories (refer to figure 2).

3. Research methodology

3.1. SITE SELECTION

The case study, Wekanda in slave island, colombo 02, addresses urban poverty-related development and specifically focuses on the availability of open spaces in unplanned, initial, low-income areas. Wekanda holds significance due to the imminent threat of eviction caused by investment imperatives and master plan developments that often overlook the challenges faced by the urban poor and its diverse urban area with historical and cultural value. The research encompasses a larger area of approximately 6.85 hectares to comprehensively study open spaces, with site boundaries determined during a pilot visit and data collection methods tailored to overcome time and scale limitations.





Figure 3, Research context and site boundaries (Source: Google Pro, modified by the author)

3.2. DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND TOOLS

The theoretical framework includes two types of data: objective and subjective. Therefore, the research incorporates several data collection methods and tools.

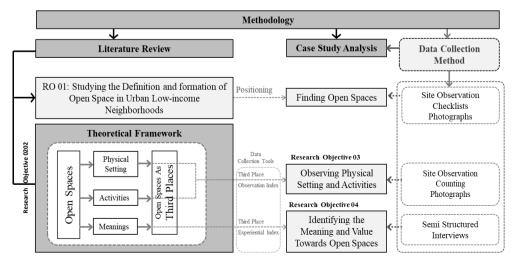


Figure 4, Data collection methods and tools (Compiled by the author)

- **Visual documentation (Objective Data):** Photography is a key method used to document the physical attributes and activities that foster third places.
- **Observations (Objective Data):** Observation is a key method of data collection to investigate the physical structure and activities conducted in the existing open spaces. The complete observer approach was used, with a team of five members, including the researcher and field professionals. To further investigate the objective indicators, a Third-place observational index (TPOI) was used. The TPOI was developed with inspiration from Kutley (2019)'s work on the third-place index (TPI) and Mehta (2014)'s public space index (PSI). Consisting of seven indicators and 14 observatory factors (refer to figure 2), TPOI is scored based on criteria derived from Oldenburg's eight characteristics of third place, following a scoring system ranging from 0 to +3 points. Therefore, a higher overall score would equate to more third place characteristics present in a selected space. Observations utilizing TPOI was made in late August. Wednesday and Saturday were chosen for observations, and a total of 15 minutes were allocated for each space, both during the day and evening, from 9.00 a.m. to 11.00 a.m. and 04.00 p.m. to 6.00 p.m.
- Semi-structured interviews (Subjective Data): To fully ensure the relationship between open spaces and people in low-income neighbourhoods, the meaning attributes or the subjective opinions on the selected spaces were gathered through semi-structured interviews. For that, the research employs the Third Place Experiential Index (TPEI) as a data collection tool. The TPEI was inspired by previous third-place research and includes a predetermined list of questions related to the direct characteristics of third place (refer to figure 2), allowing respondents to indicate their level of agreement, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. By assessing the total score on the TPEI, one can determine the presence and level of third place characteristics being experienced by people in the neighbourhood.

3.3. METHOD OF ANALYSIS

Each of the selected space types are analysed according to TPOI and TPEI. Accordingly separate scores were evaluated under the steps below.

- Open Spaces as a Third Place in Relation to Physical Setting and Activities: Calculated by evaluating the overall third place score (TPOS) gained for objective measures
- Open Spaces as a Third Place in Relation to User Perception: Calculated by evaluating the overall third place score (TPES) gained for subjective measures
- Open Spaces as a Third Place in Urban Low-Income Neighbourhoods: As the final step and to answer the main research question, both TPOS and TPES are calculated together as percentages to acquire an overall understanding of the extent to which each open space can operate as a Third Place. The overall third place score (TPS) will indicate the Third Place Value of each open space and the ideal space type that can accommodate social interactions among urban low-income neighbourhoods.

4. Case study, data analysis, and findings

Wekanda is one of the three Grama Niladhari Divisions in Slave Island, Sri Lanka. It has the highest population density and exhibits a vibrant social mix of various ethnic groups, primarily from the lower middle and working classes. It falls within the concentrated development zone designated by the Urban Development Authority and is categorized as a slum and shanty area. Wekanda stands out due to its unique characteristics and significant changes in land use compared to neighbouring communities, influenced by historical wealth and power disparities. Despite its compactness, Wekanda caters to the everyday needs of its residents, offering a diverse mix of land uses within its spatial organization. Open spaces are one of the scarcest resources in Wekanda. Being undervalued by planners, urban designers, and politicians, all of them have prevented the neighbourhood from becoming unliveable. These spaces are recorded at intermediate and residential scales, representing all grey, green, and grey/green space types (see table 3). Almost all the open spaces are informal and have spontaneously formed according to the residents' land uses. Despite the limited number of open spaces, it can be noted that they are being creatively managed by the residents.

Urban Open Spaces		Scale			
		Intermediate	Residence		
	Transport Facilities	None	None (parking happens along streets and alleyways)		
Form	Streets	Street Space	Alleyways, Paths		
	Plazas	None	None (alleyways, incidental spaces act as interior courtyards)		
	Recreational Space	None	None (streets, alleyways, incidental spaces as common spaces)		
	Incidental Space	Empty Lots	Marginalized Space Between Houses		

Table 1, Classified open spaces in Wekanda (Source: Compiled by the author)

Parks And Garder	Small Children's Parks (De Mel Park)	None (due to limited space/low-income levels)
Food Production	None	None (planting along alleyways, paths, and incidental spaces for daily consumption)

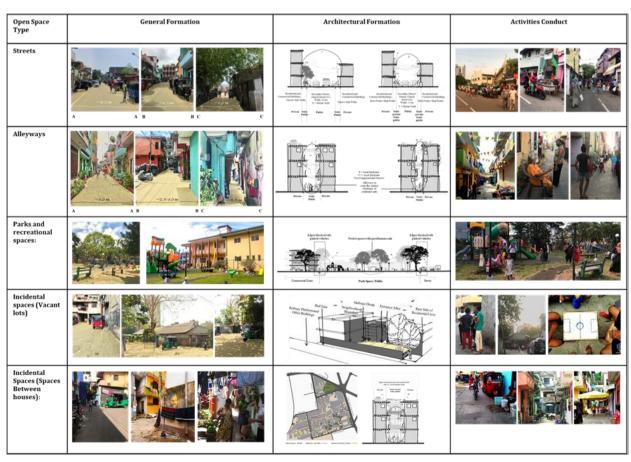


Figure 5, Identified open spaces in Wekanda (Source: Compiled and captured by author)

4.1. DATA ANALYSIS

4.1.1. Open Spaces as a Third Place in Relation to Physical Setting and Activities

Table 2, Observations, and findings related to open spaces (Source: Compiled by the author)



During observations, it was evident that the limited space led to public streets becoming the primary open spaces. Receiving 86% of TPOS, streets indicated their potential of being very good third places. However, the most abundant and efficient open space type was alleyways, with 98% of TPOS serving as informal micro-scale circulation routes connecting the entire neighbourhoods to the streets. In contrast, the De Mel Children's Park was found to be underutilized and not reaching its full potential as a valuable resource. With only 41% of TPOS, they had poor chances of being good third places in the neighbourhood. When it comes to incidental spaces, the compacted urban setting revealed that unplanned voids between built forms also functioned as potentially good third places with a 71% of TPOS. The marginalized spaces between houses on the other hand received a 97% of TPOS, indicating their significance in fostering social interactions within the low-income neighbourhoods of Wakanda.

Vacant Lots Indicator **Streets** Alleyways **Parks** Spaces In-between Accessibility and Linkage 98% 91% 44% 44% 82% 97% 100% Architectural Relationship 73% 60% 80% 100% Flexibility 93% 87% 100% 67% 100% 100% Personalization 87% Functionality 89% 100% 69% 100% Triangulation 91% 100% 62% 73% 87% Participation 93% 100% 40% 60% 100% **Total TPOS** 86% 98% 71% 97% 41% 40% -49% 20% -40% Very poor 75% -100% Very good 120%

Table 3, Calculated percentage for each TPOS obtained (Source: Compiled by the author)

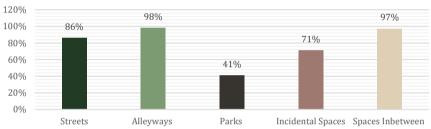


Figure 6, Total TPOS for each open space types (Source: Compiled by author)

4.1.2. Open Spaces as a Third Place in Relation to User Perception

The interviews to calculate TPES were conducted with 40 randomly picked neighbors. The respondents' profile was a fair distribution of different genders (45% female and 55% male) and age groups. The fact that 52.5% of the respondents had lived in the area for longer than 20 years and the remaining 47.5% had also been there for 10 years made it possible to gain a clear understanding regarding their spatial interactions. When asked how often they used open spaces, 70% of respondents reported regularly using them, while only 5% of them reported rarely using them. The friendly conversations during the interviews were indicators of the use and appreciation for their open spaces (refer to table 4).

Residents expressed favourable feedback regarding the perception of streets, alleyways, vacant lots, and spaces in-between houses. These spaces were identified as potential third places, with high scores indicating their importance in community life (refer to table 5 and figure 7). Streets received a very good 87% TPES, while alleyways achieved a higher 94% TPES. Concerning the incidental spaces, vacant lots received a very good TPES of 86%, and spaces in-between houses received 93%. All those space types were observed to have very good third place characteristics such as being on neutral ground, being a leveller, having conversations as the main activity, having regulars, having a low profile, and having a playful mood. However, during the analysis, a significant concern emerged regarding the accessibility and accommodation of these third places. Residents perceived them as comparatively less safe, particularly for activities involving children. The compactness and lack of space were cited as contributing factors to this perception. On the other hand, some open space types such as streets and vacant lots were not observed to provide a homely experience as much as the rest of the spaces, due to the variations in their formation. Interestingly, De Mel Children's Park, the only intentionally designed open space in the neighbourhood, received a disappointing TPES of 65%. Residents expressed a lack of emotional attachment and a feeling of detachment from the park. It failed to provide the homely atmosphere that most other third places offered, resulting in a less favourable perception among residents.

Table 4, Illustrative quotes during interviews (Source: Compiled by the author)

Open Space Type	Illustrative Quotes		
Streets	"These streets become so alive when it's festive times. We don't fight over these spaces like in many villages. It's ours to share together" – A Woman in Wekanda Vithanage Mawatha		

Alleyways	"This is where we gather. I come and sit here most of the evenings. You see those ladies over there? Talk to them, they will tell you everything about here." (An indication of Regulars)			
Parks	"Well, the park it a bit far away to walk every day. I would rather let my kids play here, where they will be watched over by these friendly neighbors." - A young mother met along an Alleyway			
Incidental Spaces: Vacant Lots	"This is our spot. Either one or two of will always be here. Everyone knows us. We play cricket with these kids and have a little drink at night too." - A group of men gathered in a vacant lot			
Spaces In-between Houses	"It was not like this when I first moved here. Garbage was everywhere and sewage was overflowing. But the government developed them later. And now I have many memories of all these spaces. I'm afraid that they will move us to those so-called new flats." - An elder man			

Table 5, Calculated percentage for each TPES obtained (Source: Compiled by the author)

Space Type Third Place Characteristic	Streets	Alleyways	Parks	Vacant Lots	Spaces In- between Houses
On Neutral Ground	100%	100%	88%	99%	100%
A Leveller	95%	100%	79%	91%	98%
Conversation is the Main Activity	90%	94%	68%	90%	92%
Accessibility and Accommodation	71%	84%	40%	68%	80%
The Regulars	97%	98%	79%	96%	98%
A Low Profile	83%	96%	57%	85%	94%
The Mood is Playful	90%	93%	77%	89%	94%
A Home Away from Home	73%	92%	37%	70%	87%
Total TPES	87%	94%	65%	86%	93%

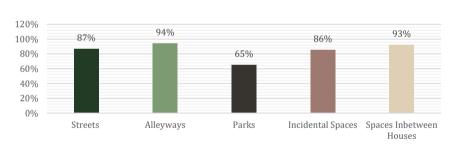


Figure 7, Total TPES for each open space types (Source: Compiled by author)

4.1.3. Open Spaces as a Third Place in Urban Low-Income Neighbourhoods

65% -75%

75% -100% Very

As per the research analysis, it is possible to further examine the calculated TPOS and TPES to determine whether each space type has a genuine possibility of being a third place. As a result, it was illustrated that the chosen open space types; Streets with an 86% very good TPS, Alleyways with a 96% very good TPS, Parks with a 53% average TPS, Vacant lots with a 78% very good TPS and Spaces in-between houses with a 95% very good TPS (refer to Table 6 and Figure 8) clearly play a significant role as a Third Place in the low-income neighbourhood, being directly linked with maintaining the people's informal public life. It should also be noted that Alleyways and Spaces between houses can be pointed to as two of the best open space types in the neighbourhood. Their physical setting, activity dimensions, and how people experience them well merge together to confirm that they are very successful Third Places. Streets as well as vacant lots are also showing good Third Place qualities. The low scores gained for both of their physical qualities and activity dimensions may give a clue as to what necessary factors are missing in both space types. However, it was critically noted that the only designed open space in the neighbourhood; De Mel Children's Park has received the lowest TPS, leaving a considerable disappointment in the planning and development concerns for these underprivileged communities.

Table 6, Total TPS: Open Spaces as Third Places (Source: Compiled by author)

	Streets	Alleyways	Parks	Vacant Lots	Spaces In-between Houses	
Total TPOS	86%	98%	41%	71%	97%	
Total TPES	87%	94%	65%	86%	93%	
Total TPS	86%	96%	53%	78%	95%	
	75% -100% Very goo	d 65% -75%	Good 50%	.65% Average 40%	-49% Poor 20% -40% Very poor	



Figure 8, Final TPOS, TPES and TPS Scores (Left) and TPS in Relation to Location (Right) (Source: Compiled by the author)

5. Conclusion

Low-income neighbourhoods are a widely spoken urban phenomenon that is being highly concerned during planning and development initiatives. This research is an evidence-based argument regarding how relevant urban open spaces are for such low-income communities, referring to a compacted urban neighbourhood in Colombo, Sri Lanka. To better emphasize the value of these open spaces, the research has employed Ray Oldenburg's Third Place Theory, claiming to suggest that they are citizen-initiated, dynamic, and informal gathering places where people tend to attend.

The research analysis confirms that almost all the open space types found within the neighbourhood such as streets, alleyways, parks, vacant lots, and spaces between houses are obviously acting as third places, depicting distinct interactions and unique lifestyles bound to them. The research identifies that despite their spatial beauty or architectural quality, what makes these open spaces more relevant is their spatial character as well as the meanings and values people have for them. A narrow, irregular- shaped linear alleyway or a densely enclosed space in the middle of a housing cluster can offer these deprived communities a lot more than a mega scale park designed nearby. The human scale, the ability to personalize their own living spaces and the proximity to residential units are important factors for people concerned. Some of the few key elements people further looked for within their living spaces included neutrality, inclusivity, accessibility, and accommodation, as well as the presence of their fellow neighbours in the vicinity. Such open spaces were praised for being comfortable, homely places where friendly, playful conversations took place. A perfectly landscaped park may be built in one of these neighbourhoods and still be pointless. It is a total failure to undertake such alien developments until they address what these people truly desire. The best evidence was also discovered in the same neighbourhood, where the only planned park, De Mel Children's Park had the lowest third-place traits among the rest. The park's decreased popularity among locals was mostly caused by the fact that it was located farther away from residential areas, was unable to provide spatial flexibility like other open spaces and offered fewer options for activities.

After all it is expected that the research will be an eye opener to reveal the relevance of open spaces in the original low-income neighbourhoods, highlighting the need to be sensitive towards user values. Specially during the state initiatives that are currently going on to relocate the Slave Island people to a more spacious locale, a high concern should be given that it should not be at the cost of this vibrancy and inclusiveness when it comes to spatial relationships of people with their open spaces.

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