

The Determinants of Retail Environment Attractiveness in the City Centre: Older Consumers' Perspective

Anna-Maija Kohijoki^a, Katri Koistinen^b

^a Department of Marketing and International Business, Turku School of Economics, University of Turku, Turku, Finland

^b Department of Political and Economic Studies, Consumer Society Research Centre, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland

Corresponding author: Anna-Maija Kohijoki, Turku School of Economics, University of Turku, Finland, Email: anna-maija.kohijoki@utu.fi.

The Determinants of Retail Environment Attractiveness in the City Centre: Older Consumers' Perspective

This study focuses on the attractiveness of the city centre retail environment from the viewpoint of older shoppers, who represent an increasingly significant customer segment for the city centre. In many Western city centres, however, the physical retail environment has been deteriorating making it a challenge to attract consumers to the High Street, and thus several city revitalization projects have been implemented. As the physical environment has an impact especially on mobility-restricted shoppers, more emphasis should be placed on older consumers' perceptions to identify the actions needed to increase the attractiveness of the city centre. The influence of the physical elements in the retail store environment on consumers' perceptions and patronage behaviour is widely recognized. This study contributes to the retailing literature by focusing on the physical elements, design and ambient in nature, in the external shopping environment. Applying a focus group research method with content analysis and using the typology of retail environment elements as a framework, the study aims to reveal the determinants of the retail environment attractiveness in the city centre. Four focus group discussions were organized among 64–94-year-old consumers who live and do their shopping independently. The discussions started with their first impressions of the city centre shopping environment and continued with their perceptions of the external elements in the theoretical framework. Both the design and ambient elements discussed were found to influence older consumers' perceptions of the city centre, thus its attractiveness. The main determinants were *layout* and *convenience* in terms of parking and moving around, building/landscape *architecture* and *design, furnishings* in terms of places to rest, functionality and the aesthetics of *lighting*, and *cleanliness* of the retail environment. The study has implications for urban and retail development projects in terms of creating the age-friendly city, the physical environment of which supports ageing consumers' active, healthy and independent life.

Keywords: city centre, focus group, older consumer, perception, physical retail environment

Introduction

In many Western city centres, the physical retail environment has been deteriorating making it a challenge to attract consumers to the High Streets. The increased competition from off-centre retail outlets and e-commerce along with the economic fluctuations has put pressure on retailers' ability to maintain their business in the city centre. The actors in retailing and urban planning have aimed to enhance city centre viability and vitality by implementing urban development projects (Bromley and Thomas 2002; Wrigley and Lambiri 2015). As the retail environment influences

patronage behaviour (Martineau 1958; Donovan and Rossiter 1982; Turley and Milliman 2000), more attention should be paid to consumers' perceptions to identify the actions needed to increase the attractiveness of city centres (De Nisco and Warnaby 2013; Hart, Grazyna, and Cadogan 2013).

In addition to the changes in consumer behaviour, the changes in demographics should be taken into account in development projects (Wrigley and Lambiri 2015). The consumers in Western societies are ageing and the number of small households is increasing. It is estimated that by the year 2030, the old-age dependency ratio (the number of 65+ persons vs. the number of 15–64-year-old persons) in EU will rise from the current 29% to 39% (Eurostat Database). Older citizens represent an economically significant consumer group for city centre retailers (Bromley and Thomas 1993; Wrigley and Lambiri 2015). However, especially for those with mobility restrictions, shopping in the declining retail environment has been found to be a constraint rather than a choice (Bromley and Thomas 1993; 2002). Western cities will have to adjust to the needs and wants of their ageing customers in order to create age-friendly cities which support older consumers' active, healthy and independent life (Buffel, Phillipson, and Scharf 2012).

The study focuses on older consumers' perceptions of the city centre retail environment. By undertaking qualitative content analysis (QCA) of the focus group discussions, the study aims to reveal which elements of the attractiveness of the retail environment in the city centre are the determining ones. The focus is on the tangible physical environment which provides a context for the intangible social/service environment (Wakefield and Blodgett 1999). The study utilizes the framework of the external shopping environment which has been constructed according to the physical elements (e.g. lighting, colours and layout) that have been found to influence

consumers' perceptions of the city centre (Kohijoki and Koistinen 2016). In the current study, this framework is applied empirically. The study contributes to the literature by focusing on the external shopping environment instead of in-store environment which has received much more attention in retailing (Turley and Milliam 2000; De Nisco and Warnaby 2013; Hart, Grazyna, and Cadogan 2013). The study has also implications for urban development projects in terms of creating a healthy city centre which caters for its ever-ageing customers (Ravenscroft 2000).

Theoretical background

A physical retail environment is multidimensional and is composed of a number of in/tangible elements which may produce rather ambiguous consumer perceptions. The retail environment dimensions are internal store environment, external shopping environment and a vaguely bordered transitional zone (e.g. entrances and street terraces) between the in/external environments (Underhill 1999; Hare 2003; De Nisco and Warnaby 2013). The tangible elements can be divided into the ambient elements which include sound, lighting and smell, and the more concrete design elements which include functional elements like layout (space arrangement) and convenience (moving around, way-finding) and aesthetic elements like architecture and colours (Baker 1986; Bitner 1992; De Nisco and Warnaby 2013).

The influence of the retail environment on both consumers' perceptions of store and patronage behaviour has been widely recognized (e.g. Martineau 1958; Baker, Grewal, and Parasuraman 1994; Turley and Milliman 2000) and retailers have aimed to understand this effect to design attractive shopping environments (Bitner 1992). However, the influence can be manifested in two opposite ways: in terms of desire to stay, or desire to avoid (Mehrabian and Russell 1974, cited in Donovan and Rossiter 1982). Both may be of interest to retailers and can be controlled by elements of the

retail environment (Bitner 1992; Rosenbaum and Messiah 2011). Pleasant ambient music, functional layout and aesthetic interior décor for instance, have been found to produce positive perceptions of a store, thus increase the desire to stay and repatronage. Background music is inexpensive and is an easily controllable means to increase overall attractiveness or to target the customer segment (e.g. different age groups) the retailer desires (Baker, Grewal, and Parasuraman 1994; Turley and Milliman 2000). The store layout is less easy to control than music, and especially in the older, traditional retail environments, the layout has been perceived confusing or constrained by older or other mobility-restricted shoppers (Kaufman-Scarborough 1999; Meneely, Strugnell, and Burns 2009).

In a multifunctional city centre, consumers' perceptions of the retail environment have been found to be differently constructed than those in individual store environment (Foxall and Hackett 1992; Hart, Grazyna, and Cadogan 2013). The differences in perceptions are partly due to the different content and meaning of the in/external elements. The external shopping environment is mostly beyond the retailers' direct control but they may control them in a co-operation with other actors in the city centre. Some of the external elements, such as weather and temperature, are beyond direct human control, making it a challenge to compete for customers e.g. with the out-of-town shopping centres. Although the influence of the physical environment of the city centre is emphasized, empirical studies focusing on consumers' perceptions of the external shopping environment are relatively few in number (Turley and Milliam 2000; Hart, Grazyna, and Cadogan 2013; De Nisco and Warnaby 2013). To understand the effect of the external elements on consumers' perceptions and patronage behaviour, a framework of the external shopping environment has been constructed. This framework is based on the classic typologies of the store's environmental elements divided into the

ambient, design and social factors (e.g. Baker 1986; Bitner 1992) and recent solutions to apply these typologies to the external shopping environment (e.g. Turley and Milliam 2000; De Nisco and Warnaby 2013). In the framework presented in Figure 1, these existing typologies have been combined and completed based on the empirical findings identified from the retailing studies on the consumers' perceptions of the external elements (Kohijoki and Koistinen 2016).

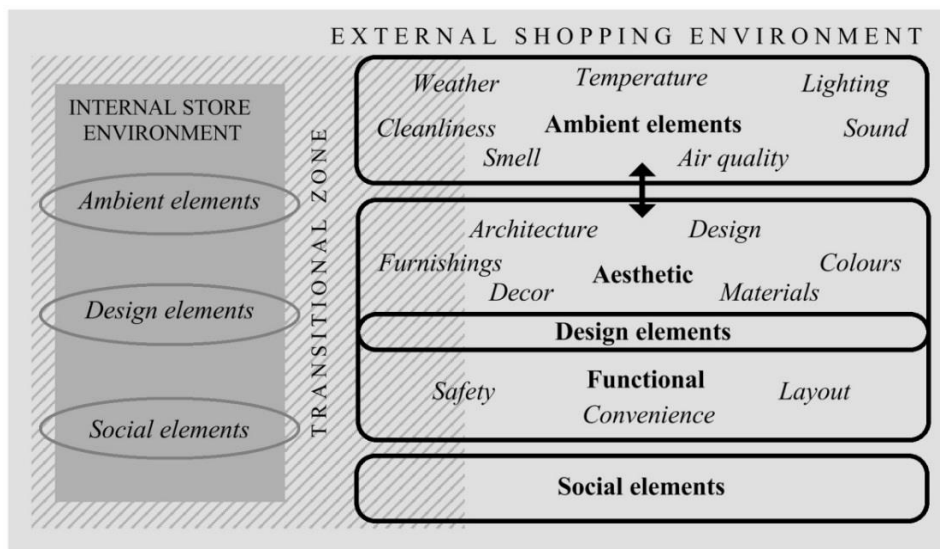


Figure 1. The consumer-relevant elements in the external shopping environment based on Kohijoki and Koistinen 2016.

Like the in-store environment, pleasant ambience (temperature, smell, air quality, lightness, and cleanliness) has been found to increase consumers' satisfaction in the external shopping environment (e.g. Teller 2008). Interesting sounds and smells, and a clean inner-city retail environment, for instance, are particularly attractive for those consumers with experimental shopping motives (Dawson, Bloch, and Ridgway 1990). Although being occasionally unpleasant, temperature, air and smell in particular, do not have a significant effect on repatronising or time spent in the retail environment (Teller and Reutterer 2008). However, poor weather is among the most frequently mentioned reason to avoid shopping in the city centre (Dellaert, Arentze, and Timmermans 2008).

In the framework, the ambient elements are linked to design elements (Figure 1). To attract consumers to the city centre, the mostly uncontrollable ambient elements can be adjusted to tolerable level with the help of urban design.

Functional urban layout and convenience have also been found to influence consumers' perceptions and, in turn their patronage intentions and desire to stay in the shopping area (e.g. De Nisco and Warnaby 2013; Reimers and Clulow 2014). In the traditional shopping street layouts (compared to many shopping centres) the spatial relationship of the stores has been found to be easy for consumers to perceive (Foxall and Hackett 1992). However, a streetscape with several vacant stores may cause feelings of insecurity (Maronick 2007). Aesthetic design elements form an asset in creating a competitive city centre shopping environment (Wrigley and Lambiri 2015). The external attractiveness of the stores has been found to affect consumers' desire to stay and repatronage (e.g. De Nisco and Warnaby 2013). In addition to unique architectural design, it also includes aesthetic store windows and signage (Bell 1999; Oh and Petrie 2012). Having a visually appealing retail environment attracts particularly recreational shoppers who like to spend time in the shopping area (Yan and Eckman 2009; Reimers and Clulow 2014). In the framework (Figure 1), aesthetic and functional design elements partly overlap because these aesthetic elements may also have functional purposes (Bitner 1992). For instance, outdoor furnishings, designed to decorate the streetscape offer places to rest and enjoy the aesthetics and ambience of the city centre (Dawson, Bloch, and Ridgway 1990).

Although several elements increase shopping enjoyment in the external shopping environment, these elements should be investigated more closely to identify which characteristics (e.g. what kind of sound, layout, architecture, colours etc.) make them attractive or unattractive. This knowledge can be used to provide city centre shopping

experiences that differ positively from competing shopping environments. Moreover, as a multipurpose retail environment, the city centre aims to attract all types of consumers, so the perceptions of different consumer groups require more attention. Physical environment has been found to have a significant impact on all age groups but especially on older shoppers and those with restricted mobility (Buffel, Phillipson, and Scharf 2012). Older consumers' needs in terms of grocery shopping have been taken into account appropriately (e.g. Hare 2003; Meneely, Strugnell, and Burns 2009; Kohijoki 2011). However, older consumers' perceptions of doing their errands in the city centre retail environment should be studied in greater detail. It is socially important, as senior shoppers are found to be more reliant on the city centre than off-centre options, and particularly those without cars have become disadvantaged consumers in the city centres with a declining retail environment (Bromley and Thomas 2002; Kohijoki 2013). It has been also shown that older consumers have increasingly become recreational shoppers who appreciate not only barrier-free but also pleasant and stimulating shopping surroundings (Myers and Lumbers 2008; Kohijoki 2013).

Research area and method

The study took place in the city of Turku (pop. 187,000) in Finland. The city is a convenient place to study older consumers as the old-age dependency ratio in the area was 32% in 2016 and it has been estimated that it will rise to 42% by 2030 (Statfin Database). There are also several ongoing city development projects; the revitalization of the Riverfront Promenade has made rapid progress whereas plans for a parking hall under the Market Place are in their early phases (see Figure 2).

The qualitative focus group method was used for data acquisition. The method has been used widely in urban research when exploring consumers' perceptions of different themes (e.g. Koistinen and Järvinen 2009; Hart, Grazyna, and Cadogan 2013).

The method is convenient because it does not discriminate against people who are unable to fill in questionnaires, such as those with declining eyesight. It can also encourage those reluctant to be interviewed on their own to participate (Kitzinger 1995). Having participants at a similar stage of life can make it easier for them to discuss e.g. age-specific challenges. In addition, those who are not accustomed to using information technology can be reached. For example, in a web-based survey that focused on the future of the Turku city centre, the proportion of the 65+ respondents (2%) was much lower than their actual share of the city population (19%) (Laukkanen 2016).

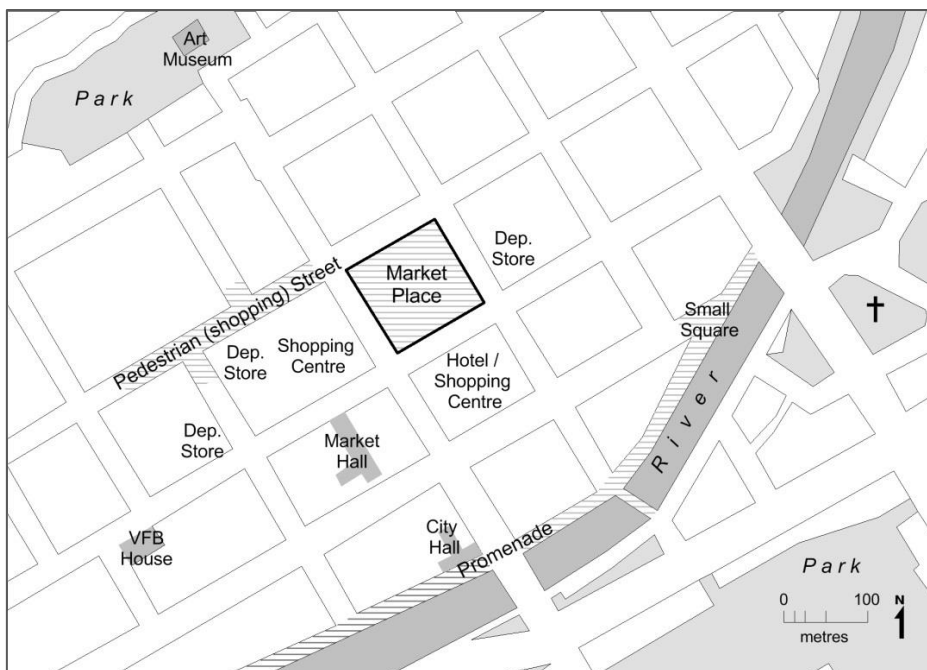


Figure 2. The map of the city centre retail environment with places of interest.

The focus group discussions were held between September and November 2016. The participants were recruited through the researchers' networks and senior citizens' clubs. Male participants were more difficult to find and some of them even cancelled at the last minute. The focus groups consisted of 5–6 participants (20 women and two men aged 64–94) which is in line with a recommended size of a group (Morgan 1997; Bloor

et al. 2001). As the goal was to ascertain perceptions and perspectives, it was estimated that four groups would be sufficient (Morgan 1997).

Ten participants lived in the Turku city centre, ten in its suburbs and two in a neighbouring city. However, all participants lived within eight kilometres of the Market Place, which they considered to be the heart of the city centre retail environment. All the participants were retired and they lived and did their shopping independently. The most of them owned a car. The majority did their errands in the city centre at least once a week whereas four participants visited the centre once a month or seldom. It was also vital to focus on the infrequent visitors to identify the reasons for their avoidance. Most of the participants, the in-centre residents in particular, shopped infrequently at the out-of-town shopping centres in the area (located about six and eight kilometres from the city centre). However, out-of-town hypermarkets were a popular shopping destination among the off-centre residents. Although the participants owned appropriate devices and had sufficient know-how to use e-services, only one-third of them had ever shopped online, but infrequently.

All group discussions followed preformulated themes (Appendix 1). A typical shopping trip to the city centre was described and the first impressions were expressed about the city centre shopping environment and its appearance. The city centre as a physical retail environment was further discussed, focusing first on the design elements and thereafter on the ambient elements presented in the theoretical framework (Figure 1). The average length of the discussions was two hours. Two researchers facilitated the discussions: one as the moderator and the other as the minute taker, followed interaction between participants and was responsible for the recording. Participants were active in their discussions and brought forward issues spontaneously, and the moderator asked

specific questions if necessary. Overall, the discussions were successful. Participants were pleased that the researchers were interested in their thoughts.

The recorded discussions were transcribed and analysed using content analysis (Neuendorf 2002; Mayring 2004). The main content of the data with the participants' original comments were organised according to the physical elements in the framework. Thereafter, the comments were divided into two, those describing the attractiveness and those describing the unattractiveness of the city centre. Some comments are presented in the text but more comments can be found in Appendices 2 and 3. During the analysis process, framework (theory) development, data analysis and interpretation took place simultaneously, which is typical with abductive logic (Alvesson and Sköldberg 1994).

Findings

All external elements in the theoretical framework (Figure 1) came up in discussions about the first impressions of the city centre. However, typical perceptions were related to the convenience of parking and street surfacing material, historical vs. contemporary architecture, outdoor seating, flower arrangements and rubbish bins, and the behaviour of other people (social element). These topics were revisited when the retail environment elements were discussed one by one, as described in the following.

Functional design elements

The *layout* was closely related to the *convenience* of moving around and way-finding. The layout of the city centre was considered to be compact and straightforward (see Appendix 2). As the centre has a grid street plan (see Figure 2), the location of the places and distance between them were easy to perceive and navigate around. In general, walking and driving in the centre was considered to be easy. Considering that many participants had physical disabilities, the city centre was perceived as being

predominantly barrier-free. However, there were some drawbacks here and there, e.g. uneven and slippery pedestrian precincts.

There was consensus that the city centre was more convenient to access by bus than by car because the senior travel card provided low-priced public transport and terminal points were located around the Market Place. Although participants agreed that enough parking facilities were available, they perceived difficulties in finding convenient parking because the parking was short-term, and/or parking fees near the Market Place were high. They were sceptical about the parking hall planned for construction under the Market Place, not only because of the parking times and fees, but because of the inconvenience of using parking halls. For example, the walking distance to a car increases if the goods purchased need to be carried underground. As the bus ride was also inconvenient for the mobility-disabled participants, they had to rely on taxi services or their own car. Some participants had a disabled parking permit which facilitated their shopping:

‘I can park for free behind the Market Hall... I am able to visit many stores;
it’s easy to take purchases there so that I don’t have to carry them all at once’ Female67a

In terms of *safety*, none of the participants had been subjected to personal violence in the city centre. However, the disturbing behaviour of the youth gangs, street alcoholics and beggars created a feeling of insecurity. The fear of being robbed made them avoid the centre late in the evening and at night. Road safety (cf. *convenience* moving around), however, was the most concrete risk for the older pedestrian e.g. falling over on the street or being run over by a car. On the other hand, congested rather than empty streets were perceived as being more secure, particularly in the evening:

Aesthetic design elements

Although the city *architecture* and *design* were criticized for lacking a consistent line, on the whole, the retail environment was considered attractive (Appendix 2). Prefabricated buildings constructed in the 1960s ruined the cityscape with its beautiful neoclassical/-renaissance buildings and other historical creations. In respect of bridges, however, the combination of historical and contemporary design was praised. *Colours* were closely related to architecture. When discussing which colour characterized the city centre, the first impressions of dull grey or brown were related to prefabricated concrete buildings. At the other extreme, bright- and multi-coloured buildings were perceived as being conspicuous.

‘Not mainly concrete... but I wouldn’t like to have multi- or bright-colours either, maybe it’d be restless, as there’re old culture and old buildings... if something “screaming” would suddenly come there, maybe it wouldn’t fit’
Female68a

When further discussing what made the historical buildings attractive, architecture, colours and ornamentations were emphasised. The pleasant colour palette included yellow walls and detailing in white (see Figure 3). The landscape architecture was highly emphasized in several contexts. In terms of colours, green parks, trees glowing with autumn tints or snow-white and the multi-coloured bed of flowers evoked positive sensations.

Participants did not pay much attention to *decor*, especially to decorations located high in the facades. It was argued that when avoiding sprawling on the street or

stepping in dog faeces the eyes cannot be focused upwards. However, especially the in-centre residents mentioned some attractive outdoor decorations, including flower arrangements, statues, doors, iron gates and murals. The professionally made graffiti, for instance, were seen as an embellishment to the dull concrete walls (Figure 3). In addition, especially during festive seasons, store windows were considered to be part of the decor of the retail environment. Windows covered with the advertising posters were perceived as being as boring as vacant stores.



Figure 3. The old building (the VFB House) and iron gate against a contemporary mural.

For the same reason as they had not noticed the decorations, the participants had also not noticed *materials* when shopping in the city centre. However, there were indirect references to materials when the other elements were discussed. Although a cobblestone was perceived as being an inconvenient surfacing material, some participants approved of it being a part of the medieval city. Uniform and flat material was considered more convenient. A lot of gratitude was expressed to city planners for the heated surfacing in the Pedestrian Street. As for the building materials, concrete was

perceived as depressing. Natural materials such as a water element (river/fountains) were perceived as enrichments of the retail environment.

‘The surfacing of the Market Place annoys me; there should be smooth pathways... even me, healthy person, when carrying shopping the eyes are focused on the ground, you cannot follow the environment’ Female72b

In terms of *furnishings* the limited provision of public seating was repeatedly emphasized. As many participants frequented the cafés, they were pleased that the number of street terraces had increased during recent years. However, they did not always want to be obligated to buy a cup of coffee when they needed to rest. In addition, public seats were usually dirty or occupied by suspicious-looking people (cf. *Safety*). Other practical urban furniture that came up was the rubbish bins, the number of which was considered as being limited as well.

‘There where’re benches, they are full of street alcoholics... it’s so dirty... when the bags are full it’d like to sit and rest there but you barely dare to go there’ Female81a

Ambient elements

The climatic conditions did not affect the city centre patronage much (see Appendix 3). However, sometimes when the *weather* was bad, some participants drove to out-of-town shopping centres or hypermarkets, due to the heated and free indoor parking. Occasionally, when the streets were icy and snowy, the mobility-impaired consumers felt trapped their homes. *Temperature* was not an issue as bearing the cold was only a matter of clothing and summer heat rarely forced people to stay indoors.

‘I visit the Market Place whether it’s winter or summer; the weather has no effect on that’ Female67b

Due to seasonal variations in the hours of daylight, *lighting* raised a lot of discussion. Lighting was connected to convenience and safety as well as colours and decor. For example, white-coloured decorative lights reflected on facades or trees also illuminate the streets and, thus increasing the convenience of moving around and feeling of secure. In addition, it was considered that retailers' illuminated signs created a warm and pleasant shopping environment. As the discussions were held in autumn, the Christmas lights of the city centre received a great deal of attention. There was dissatisfaction with the modest festive lights in the public areas.

Although the hubbub of traffic and people was basically perceived as being unpleasant, it was considered to be a natural *sound* of the city. Occasionally, the pounding of (rap) music and the shouts of street alcoholics ruined the atmosphere. Those who had lived in the city for a long time noticed that the centre now sounds different. It has become quieter after the introduction of car traffic restrictions. Some participants remembered the noise over 40 years ago when there was still a tramline in the city. Nowadays, pleasant music and international sounds have increased in the centre.

'Sounds of the city, which never end, it's sort of normal, it belongs to that life' Female68b

Smell and *air quality* did not raise vivid discussion, indicating that these were at tolerable levels. However, some participants noticed that in the city centre, both smell and air quality were actually much better than outside the centre. A few occasional sources of unpleasantness came up: cigarette smoking, street dust in the springtime and winter inversion which traps pollution at street level. As for the pleasantness, participants enjoyed fresh air from the sea and the aromas of the restaurants, cafes and flowers when shopping in the city centre.

The *cleanliness* of the city centre evoked negative feelings. Paper wrappings, cigarette butts and dog faeces were the most annoying. The Market Place and its surroundings (the terminal points and restaurants' fronts) were claimed to be the untidiest places in the retail environment. Lack of rubbish bins was one reason, but the attitude problem of other customers was considered to be the main cause of the untidiness. When discussing cleanliness, the parking hall development project got support. Not in terms of increase in parking facilities but cleaning up the Market Place.

'There are few rubbish bins, and there is dirt everywhere, but the fault is also in the residents, because they throw butts just where they're standing. No one can do anything unless people change their attitude' Female⁷⁹

Discussion

The attractiveness of the city centre retail environment is discussed in the following section and proposals for improvements suggested by older consumers are presented. The functional layout where the spatial relationship of the stores is easy to perceive, and shopping and parking are convenient also increases the attractiveness of the city centre to the older consumers (cf. Foxall and Hackett 1992; De Nisco and Warnaby 2013; Reimers and Clulow 2014). The barrier-free design stipulated by the building regulations has particularly increased shopping enjoyment in the transitional zone (cf. Kaufman-Scarborough 1999; Buffel, Phillipson, and Scharf 2012). The availability and cost of parking are key issues for consumers of all ages (Maronick 2007; Wrigley and Lambiri 2015), but not all the available car parks are convenient for older drivers as they are difficult to use or the parking times/fees prevent them spending as much time as they would like in the city centre. For most of the participants, city centre shopping was considered to be a recreational activity (cf. Mayers and Lumbers 2008; Yan and Eckman 2009). Those who leave their car home tend to make light purchases (if any)

and when they need to buy something heavy (e.g. groceries) they drive to off-centre stores. The carless city shoppers may become dependent on outside help when they no longer have the strength to carry purchases home (cf. Bromley and Thomas 1993). To increase the attraction of the city centre, there should also be 'family-parking-like' spacious places for senior shoppers at the street level. Low-priced off-peak parking around midday would benefit all city shoppers. In addition, on the busses, ticket scanners should be installed near the wide back doors, so that travelling with purchases could be made easier for those who are not permitted to travel free of charge. As older consumers prefer to do their errands during the 'safe' daylight hours, there should be more daytime activities to attract seniors to remain longer in the city centre. Although the city traffic increases the feelings of security (i.e. help is at arm's reach) it reduces road safety for older pedestrians (cf. Buffel, Phillipson, and Scharf 2012). Security patrols, proper lighting and street maintenance were suggested as ways to increase shopping enjoyment.

Authentic architecture and design are the assets of the city centre retail environment, and thus, should be respected when implementing development projects (cf. Wrigley and Lambiri 2015). Older shoppers prefer shopping at the bricks-and-mortar stores, thus the well-maintained facades with illuminated advertising signs and well-designed window displays attract them (cf. Bell 1999; De Nisco and Warnaby 2013). If the windows of the closed shops are not covered with the metal awnings (in Turku they usually are not), the window displays illuminate and decorate the transitional zone at twilight. The location of the non-retail decorations such as statues and other artworks should be better emphasized as older shoppers like to see interesting sights while doing their errands (cf. Dawson, Bloch, and Ridgway 1990). In addition, the city centre landscape architecture, which has developed over the long course of

time, attracts older city shoppers as parks, the riverside and even the floral decorations are vital, particularly for those who are unable to access nature outside the centre.

As outlined in the framework, the aesthetic design elements have functional properties (cf. Bitner 1992). Surfacing materials may be aesthetically attractive, but when they are also functional, they increase shopping satisfaction, i.e. good-looking cobblestone pavements should also be convenient for those with mobility constraints. Rubbish bins are usually perceived as being unaesthetic but functional urban furniture. Bins decorated with artworks would make the environment more attractive, and thus cleaner. Outdoor seating representing the latest design decorates the retail environment as well as facilitating shopping, thus investing in furnishings is vital also in the external shopping environment (cf. Meneely, Strugnell, and Burns 2009; Buffel, Phillipson, and Scharf 2012). While relieving their feet, senior shoppers wish to enjoy an attractive and lively cityscape.

During summer, older consumers prefer to enjoy the external shopping environment (market places, street terraces, outdoor events etc.) whereas in winter, they have more interest in shopping at in-store environments. In bad weather, especially those who live off-centre may choose to visit the large out-of-town retail units but those who live in-centre patronize the city centre in almost all circumstances (cf. Teller and Reutterer 2008; Dellaert, Arentze, and Timmermans 2008). However, as poor street conditions decrease shopping enjoyment in winter, when renewing the pedestrian precincts, under-street heating systems should be invested in.

At dusk, ambient lighting increases the attraction of the city centre in terms of creating a functional (cf. Buffel, Phillipson, and Scharf 2012) as well as an aesthetic retail environment. Good general lighting is vital for ageing eyes to cope with shopping. Lighting, even if decorative, increases the security and it is a fairly easy and low-priced

method (e.g. floodlit buildings) to enliven the grey and dull urban landscape. Investing in festive illumination, but not blinking multi-colours, all year round attracts older consumers.

In the car-restricted city centre, noise, smell and air quality are pleasant most of the time. However, these ambient elements are sensed immediately as influencing enjoyment when they are in poor condition. However, the city hubbub is a natural sound that creates feelings of security (cf. Maronic 2007). Live music, if played by professionals, vivifies the retail environment and attracts senior shoppers. The downside of having crowds congregating in the streets is untidiness, having a negative influence on city centre attractiveness (cf. Dawson, Bloch, and Ridgway 1990; Teller 2008). Although the city actors/retailers could make waste management more effective, influencing consumers' attitudes is far more challenging, and fines for littering were suggested.

Conclusions

The findings confirm that the physical retail environment influences older consumers' perceptions of the city centre attraction. Both design and ambient elements have an effect on shopping enjoyment, and thus on the time and money older consumers are willing to spend in the city centre (Donovan and Rossiter 1982; Bell 1999; De Nisco and Warnaby 2013). Although some of the elements evoke negative sensations the city centre remained a vital shopping destination especially for those living in or nearby the centre (cf. Bromley and Thomas 1993; Wrigley and Lambiri 2015). The out-of-town options did not offer anything that the older in-centre residents could not get from the city centre. Those off-centre residents who visited the city centre only when necessary and bought only the necessities argued that they would also visit the centre more often

and connect shopping with other activities if the physical retail environment would be more attractive.

Based on the study and its framework (Figure 1), the main determinants of the city centre's attractiveness to older shoppers were layout and convenience, architecture and design, furnishings, lighting and cleanliness. The other elements in the framework were closely related to these elements and de/increased shopping enjoyment. Also, the links between the ambient and design elements could be confirmed. Ambient lighting, for instance, was related to functionality (convenience and safety) and aesthetics (design, colours and decorations).

The retailers (and others) running businesses in transitional zone have a strong influence on retail environment attraction in the city centre. While attracting customers to enter a store by controlling the aesthetic and ambient elements in entrances, windows or street terraces, the retailers may also influence convenience and security in their store fronts (cf. Rosenbaum and Messiah 2011). To influence on the retail environment attractiveness in a larger scale the co-operation with several city actors is required. The actions needed, however, do not have to be large scale as even the minutiae have a notable effect on attractiveness. These elements are usually easy to control and with quite low costs.

To sum up, two areas came up frequently, in different phases in the urban revitalization process, as examples of attractive and unattractive retail environments (Figure 4). Although the centrally located Market Place got full marks for being a vital service environment for the older consumers, it was considered physically ugly and boring shopping environment. The causes of unattractiveness included inconvenient over ground parking and surface materials, dull architectural design, lack of proper seating, poor lighting and untidiness. The riverfront, two blocks from the Market Place,

was characterized as being a picturesque postcard-like landscape. The reasons for the attractiveness were the river itself as a water element, the uniform-surfaced promenade, consistent architectural line with warm-coloured, spotlit and decorated buildings, well-designed bridges and statues, illuminated trees and colourful flowers along the promenade and green park in the backdrop, proper outdoor seats, several street terraces and attractive rubbish bins. In other words, the investments in the physical retail environment have been rewarded with positive perceptions and actions of the consumers.

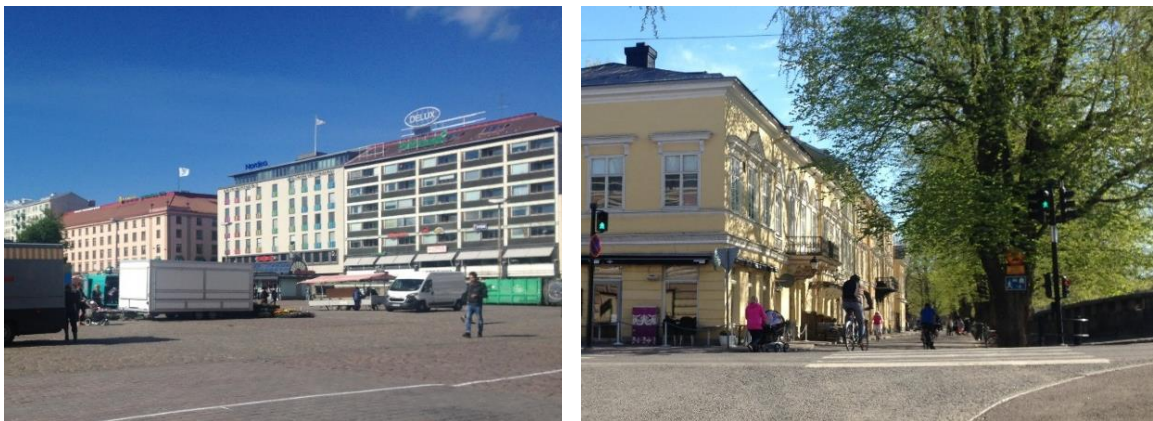


Figure 4. The Market Place and the Riverfront Promenade.

The study confirmed that the city centre retail environment is an important place for older consumers, not only for running errands but also for maintaining physical, mental and social wellbeing. The participants lived active and independent lives and they wished to live without outside help for as long as possible and cope with their daily errands by themselves (cf. Kohijoki 2011; Buffel, Phillipson, and Scharf 2012). Shopping was considered one way to exercise and a reason to get out and meet other consumers (cf. Myers and Lumbers 2008). This is not what an e-retail environment can offer. The city centre retail environment offers a setting for a social living room for older consumers, thus it should be physically functional and aesthetic.

‘It’s important to us, those with poor mobility, that we can go where we want by ourselves... we can go the library... and then we can go buying potatoes, onions and herring by ourselves... this kind of activity is decreasing; it’s highly valuable to maintain this option’ Female82

However, meeting the needs of older consumers need not to be at expense of younger consumers. For example, consumers may be mobility-restricted in different phases of their life and for several reasons. In addition, although the physical retail environment would support consumers in enjoying running their errands, the services offered in the city centre should also cater for all consumers (cf. Wakefield and Blodgett 1999). There was a desire for the apparel stores to improve their selections for older adults. Also, it was considered that the cafes and restaurants were only for younger consumers, due to the loud background music. As the social interaction was found to be important for older consumers, in future studies, more emphasis should be placed on consumers’ perceptions of the city centre social/service environment. Furthermore, the study was conducted in one city centre, but the results are applicable to the cities which are similar both in their demographic characteristics and seasonal climatic variations. In these city centres, investments in physical environment are required in order for them to remain attractive all year round. However, a comparison with other city centre retail environment would be desirable.

Acknowledgement

This work was supported by the City of Turku. The authors offer their warm thanks to the persons responsible for helping to organize the discussions and especially the consumers who participated in the discussions with an open mind.

References

Alvesson, M., and K. Sköldbberg. 1994. *Tolkning och Reflection. Vetenskapsfilosofi och Kvalitativ Metod.* [Interpretation and Reflection. The Philosophy of science and Qualitative Method.] Studentlitteratur AB, Lund.

- Baker, J. 1986. "The Role of the Environment in Marketing Services: The Consumer Perspective." In *The Services Challenge: Integrating for Competitive Advantage*, edited by J. A. Czepiel, C. A. Congram, and J. Shanahan, 79–84. Chicago: American Marketing Association.
- Baker, J., D. Grewal, and A. Parasuraman. 1994. "The Influence of Store Environment on Quality Inferences and Store Image." *Journal of Academy of Marketing Science* 22 (4): 328–339. doi: 10.1177/0092070394224002.
- Bell, S. J. 1999. "Image and Consumer Attraction to Intraurban Retail Areas: An Environmental Psychology Approach." *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services* 6 (2): 67–78. doi: 10.1016/S0969-6989(98)00015-0.
- Bitner, M. J. 1992. "Servicescapes: The Impact of Physical Surroundings on Customers and Employees." *Journal of Marketing* 56 (2): 57–71. doi: 10.2307/1252042.
- Bloor, M., J. Frankland, M. Thomas, and K. Robson. 2001. *Focus Group in Social Research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Buffel, T., C. Phillipson, and T. Scharf. 2012. "Ageing in Urban Environments: Developing 'Age-friendly' Cities" *Critical Social Policy* 32 (4): 597–617. doi: 10.1177/0261018311430457.
- Bromley, R. D. F., and C. T. Thomas. 1993. "The Retail Revolution, the Carless Shopper and Disadvantage." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 18 (2): 222–236. doi: 10.2307/622364.
- Bromley, R. D. F., and C. T. Thomas. 2002. "Food Shopping and Town Centre Vitality: Exploring the Link." *The International Review of Retail, Distribution and Consumer Research* 12 (2): 109–130. doi: 10.1080/09593960210127682.
- Dawson, S., P. H. Bloch, and N. M. Ridgway. 1990. "Shopping Motives, Emotional States, and Retail Outcomes." *Journal of Retailing* 66 (4), 408–427.
- Dellaert, B. G. C., T. A. Arentze, and H. J. P. Timmermans. 2008. "Shopping Context and Consumers' Mental Representation of Complex Shopping Trip Decision Problems." *Journal of Retailing* 84 (2): 219–232. doi: 10.1016/j.jretai.2008.02.001.
- De Nisco, A., and G. Warnaby. 2013. "Shopping in Downtown." *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management* 41 (9): 654–670. doi: 10.1108/IJRDM-05-2013-0106.
- Donovan, R. J., and J. R. Rossiter. 1982. "Store Atmosphere: An Environmental Psychology Approach." *Journal of Retailing* 58 (1): 34–57.
- Eurostat Database (Projected old-age dependency ratio; accessed Dec. 26, 2016). <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-datasets/-/tsdde511>
- Foxall, G. R., and P. M. W. Hackett. 1992. "Consumers' Perceptions of Micro-retail Location: Wayfinding and Cognitive Mapping in Planned and Organic Shopping Environments." *The International Review of Retail, Distribution & Consumer Research* 2 (3): 309–327. doi: 10.1080/095939692000000026.
- Hare, C. 2003. "The Food-shopping Experience: A Satisfaction Survey of Older Scottish Consumers." *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management* 31 (5): 244–255. doi: 10.1108/09590550310472415.
- Hart, C., S. J. Grazyna, and W. Cadogan. 2013. "Conceptualising Town Centre Image and the Customer Experience." *Journal of Marketing Management* 29 (15–16): 1753–1781. doi: 10.1080/0267257X.2013.800900.
- Kaufman-Scarborough, C. 1999. "Reasonable Access for Mobility-disabled Persons is more than Widening the Door." *Journal of Retailing* 75 (4): 479–508. doi: 10.1016/S0022-4359(99)00020-2.
- Kitzinger, J. 1995. "Qualitative Research: Introducing Focus Groups." *British Medical Journal* 311 (7000): 299–302.
- Kohijoki, A-M., and K. Koistinen. 2016. "A Literature Review on the Consumers' Perceptions of the City Centre Retail Environment." Paper presented at the 23rd Recent Advances in Retailing & Services Science Conference, Edinburgh, Scotland, July 11–14.
- Kohijoki, A-M. 2011. "The Effect of Aging on Consumer Disadvantage in Grocery Retail Services among the Finnish Elderly." *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services* 18 (4): 370–377. doi: 10.1016/j.jretconser.2011.04.003.
- Kohijoki, A-M. 2013. *Onko kauppa kaukana? Päivittäistavara-kaupan palvelujen saavutettavuus Turun seudulla: Ikääntyvien kuluttajien näkökulma* [Accessibility of grocery retail services in the Turku area with special reference to ageing consumers]. A-15/2013. Turku: Publications of Turku School of Economics.
- Koistinen, K., and R. Järvinen. 2009. "Consumer Observations on Channel Choices: Competitive Strategies in Finnish Grocery Retailing." *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services* 16 (4): 260–270.

- Laukkanen, M. 2016. Tulevaisuuden Turku 2029 -kyselyn tuloksia [Findings of the Future Turku 2029 Survey]. Report of the City of Turku.
<http://www.turku.fi/sites/default/files/atoms/files/kyselyraportti.pdf>.
- Maronick, T. J. 2007. "Specialty Retail Center's Impact on Downtown Shopping, Dining, and Entertainment." *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management* 35 (7): 556 – 568. doi: 10.1108/09590550710755930.
- Martineau, P. 1958. "The Personality of the Retail Store." *Harvard Business Review* 31 (1): 47–55.
- Mayring, P. 2004. "Qualitative Content Analysis." In *A Companion to Qualitative Research*, edited by U. Flick, E. von Kardorf, and I. Steinke, London: Sage Publications.
- Mehrabian, A., and J. A. Russell. 1974. *An Approach to Environmental Psychology*. Cambridge, MA/US: The MIT Press.
- Meneely, L., C. Strugnell, and A. Burns 2009. "Elderly Consumers and their Food Store Experiences." *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services* 16 (6): 458–465. doi: 10.1016/j.jretconser.2009.06.006.
- Morgan, D. L. 1997. *Focus Groups as Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Myers, H., and M. Lumbers 2008. "Understanding Older Shoppers: A Phenomenological Investigation." *Journal of Consumer Marketing* 25 (5): 294–301. doi: 10.1108/07363760810890525.
- Neuendorf, K. A. 2002. *The Content Analysis Guide Book*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Oh, H., and J. Petrie 2012. "How Do Storefront Window Display Influence Entering Decisions of Clothing Stores?" *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 19 (1): 27–35. doi: 10.1016/j.jretconser.2011.08.003.
- Ravenscroft, N. 2000. "The Vitality and Viability of Town Centres." *Urban Studies* 39 (13): 2533–2549. doi: 10.1080/00420980020080681.
- Reimers, V., and V. Clulow. 2014. "Spatial Convenience: Bridging the Gap between Shopping Malls and Shopping Strips." *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management* 42 (10): 864–883. doi: 10.1108/IJRDM-08-2013-0153.
- Rosenbaum, M., and C. Massiah. 2011. "An Expanded Servicescape Perspective." *Journal of Service Marketing* 22 (4): 471–490. doi: 10.1108/09564231111155088.
- Statfin Database (Official Statistics of Finland: Population Projection; accessed Dec. 26, 2016).
http://www.stat.fi/til/vaenn/index_en.html.
- Teller, C. 2008. "Shopping Streets versus Shopping Malls: Determinants of Agglomeration Format Attractiveness from the Consumers' Point of View." *The International Review of Retail, Distribution & Consumer Research* 18 (4): 381–403. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09593960802299452>.
- Teller, C., and T. Reutterer. 2008. "The Evolving Concept of Retail Attractiveness: What Makes Retail Agglomerations Attractive When Customers Shop at Them?" *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services* 15 (3): 127–143. doi: 10.1016/j.jretconser.2007.03.003.
- Turley, L. W., and R. E. Milliman. 2000. "Atmospheric Effects on Shopping Behavior: A Review of the Experimental Evidence." *Journal of Business Research* 49, 193–211. doi: 10.1016/S0148-2963(99)00010-7.
- Underhill, P. 1999. *Why We Buy: The Science of Shopping*. New York: Touchstone.
- Wakefield, K. L., and J. G. Blodgett 1999. "Customer Response to Intangible and Tangible Service Factors." *Psychology & Marketing* 16 (1): 51–68. doi: 10.1002/(SICI)1520-6793(199901)16:1<51::AID-MAR4>3.0.CO;2-0.
- Wrigley, N., and D. Lambiri. 2015. *British High Streets: From Crisis to Recovery? A Comprehensive Review of the Evidence*. Economic & Social Research Council, University of Southampton.
- Yan, R-N., and M. Eckman. 2009. "Are Lifestyle Centres Unique? Consumers' Perceptions across Locations." *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management* 37(1): 24–42. doi: 10.1108/09590550910927144.

Appendix 1. The preformulated themes of the focus group discussions.

Introduction

- Introduce yourself briefly and tell me where you usually buy your groceries and why you shop in that particular place?

Defining the Turku city centre and a typical shopping trip in the city centre

- What comes to mind first when you think about the Turku city centre as a shopping environment?
- On the first map given to you, please draw the area you consider to be the city centre of Turku and explain and justify this.
- Describe your typical shopping trip in the Turku city centre.
- On the second map, please mark the area where you used to go while shopping in the city centre.
- Do the seasons affect the shopping trip you described, and how do they affect you?
- Imagine yourself in five years' time and consider whether there will be changes in your typical shopping trip.
- How are older consumers catered for in the Turku city centre?

The Turku city centre as physical retail environment

- Describe how you perceive the physical appearance of the Turku city centre
- What thoughts do these elements* rise when discussing the Turku city centre?
- What thoughts does this element give you if you are thinking of developing the Turku city centre?

* Layout; convenience; safety; architecture and design; colours and materials; furnishings and decor; weather and temperature; air quality and smell; lighting; sounds; cleanliness

Appendix 2. The perceptions about the design elements as the determinants of the city centre un/attractiveness.

Element	Attractiveness	Unattractiveness
Layout	<p>‘it’s clear; the streets are clear... no difficulties... long and straight’ F81b</p> <p>‘as it’s so small and compact it’s easy to run errands and go from one place to another’ F68</p> <p>‘it’s easy to navigate with this plan’ F65</p>	<p>‘in Milan, it’s so different, there’s always a market place from which the streets diverge, and again a market place and again the diverging streets, this (grid plan) is clearer’ M72</p>
Convenience	<p>‘it’s very easy to move around’ F66</p> <p>‘easy when back and feet hold up’ F81b</p> <p>‘it’s also easy to drive a car... I can find car parking easily behind the Market Hall, the edge of the Market Place or in front of the City Hall, it makes it easier to visit the city centre, the handicapped parking’ F67a</p> <p>‘the dream of the cyclist’ F68a</p>	<p>‘it’s uneven and when frost sets in and it’s slippery... older people fell over and younger people as well’ F65</p> <p>‘I seldom go there as it’s difficult to find a parking place around the Market Place and the times are so short that I’d take my car to a parking hall, but it’s complicated because of the disability’ F64</p> <p>‘I could also come to the city centre (more often) if the parking places would be cheaper’ F72a</p> <p>‘free parking is an advantage of shopping centres’ F68a</p>
Safety	<p>‘I’m not scared, well, of course in the dead of the night... but I don’t move there then’ F66</p> <p>‘it’s said that cars should be blocked from the centre, for me the cars provide protection in evening’ F79</p> <p>‘there’d be more patrols in the centre, it’d be much (safer), there wouldn’t be brawling’ F67b</p>	<p>‘in evening... I’ll get the feeling that somebody wants to knock me or at least take my bag.’ F72b</p> <p>‘violence has increased... sort of rowing and kicking among them (youths), and pushing and... brawling.’ F78</p> <p>‘they (beggars) have become so impudent, they come close to the people, so close’ F67b</p> <p>‘pedestrians, cyclist, cars, all of them go through red lights... but if you are really careful and make sure that it’s green light, and then running you manage’ F80</p>
Architecture / Design	<p>‘Art Museum Hill, Cathedral, river and beautiful buildings... the city centre is beautiful’ F66</p> <p>‘the riverside... to Cathedral... it’s beautiful’ F65</p> <p>‘the bridges are lovely’ F84</p> <p>‘vegetation in the whole city is well-maintained and rich in species’ F82</p>	<p>‘not by the riverside, but elsewhere, there’s one splendid building here and there, it’s not any consistent line’ M73</p> <p>‘the surroundings of the Market Place have been torn down badly’ M72</p>
Colours	<p>‘it’s been repainted in nice colour that old VFB House’ M71</p> <p>‘this is a city of maples; in autumn it’s a piece of art’ F80</p>	<p>‘grey or brown, but I don’t know if there could be bright colours either’ F66</p> <p>‘I think the Market Place is rather colourless’ F64a</p>
Decor	<p>‘we seldom look up how beautiful buildings and decorations and... those texts’ F68a</p> <p>‘flower pillars, they’re magnificent’ F80</p> <p>‘I see them (statues) as the decorations or creators of the cityscape’ F68a</p> <p>‘it’s good if it (mural) is done properly... it was a dull and dirty wall, now... totally different’ F84</p> <p>‘it’s lovely that department store puts Christmas decorations in the window’ F67a</p>	<p>‘if you want to go out, before we used to go to look at store windows, but now there aren’t any store windows’ F70</p> <p>‘I wish there (in buildings) would be more decorations’ F79</p>
Materials	<p>‘the surface of the Promenade is uniform, it’s easier to move around there.’ F68a</p> <p>‘the Pedestrian Street when it’s heated, it’s good thing’ M72</p> <p>‘the Small Square... it’s attractive environment, there’re wooden buildings, there’s a library and that fountain’ F94</p>	<p>‘the surfacing of the Pedestrian Street isn’t good, that concrete slab... it’s better to have a uniform surface’ F68a</p> <p>‘I don’t support cobblestone, even if my knee would be healthy; there’s a risk that older people will twist their ankles’ M72</p> <p>‘concrete, the more faded the better, but it just looks so faded to me’ F65</p>
Furnishings	<p>‘there’re seating in the riverside’ M73</p> <p>‘it’s lovely that there’re those restaurant areas in the streets’ F67a</p> <p>‘it’s the finest invention that that street turned into (the Pedestrian Street), as I’ve seen the time when there were cars... there’re plantings and other things and people can sit on benches, I think it’s nice’ F64</p>	<p>‘there should also be benches in the Market Place... I think that mobility is worsening all the time’ F68b</p> <p>‘there (the Market Place) should be flower arrangements and benches, more of this kind of attraction’ F71</p> <p>‘there are (seats) in the restaurants, but you need to by a cup of coffee, if you want to remain sitting there’ F67a</p> <p>‘I carry empty pea pods all the way down the street because I don’t find any bins, I put those in my bag’ F67b</p>

Appendix 3. The perceptions about the ambient elements as the determinants of the city centre un/attractiveness.

Element	Attractiveness	Unattractiveness
Weather / Temperature	<p>‘the riverside... in beautiful weather but why not in cold winter weather, it’s (attractive)’ F70</p> <p>‘if the cold is intense the (shopping centre in the city centre) is a good place to run errands’ F71</p> <p>‘Pedestrian Street is always warmer than other places, there’s convenient to walk’ F81b</p>	<p>‘if I need a lot of groceries, I’ll go that (hypermarket) because I can park inside there as pushing the trolleys outside in other places is (difficult)’ F67a</p> <p>‘winter stops all of us crippled people’ F82</p>
Lighting	<p>‘it’s vital that there’s a good lighting so that older people could move there’ F80</p> <p>‘at the riverside, when those (trees) are illuminated, it’s like fairyland’ F80</p> <p>‘all these (signs) are warm and attractive’ F70</p> <p>‘there should be other than Christmas lights... it’d vivify the autumn attraction’ F71</p>	<p>‘I had to go by feel, the lighting was that poor (the Market Place), the decorations should be proper enough that we’d keep on track and wouldn’t walk into a walls’ F81a</p> <p>‘the pedestrian crossings are quite dark’ F79</p> <p>‘(Christmas lights) are rather anaemic in the Pedestrian Street, and there aren’t any in other streets’ F79</p>
Sound	<p>‘the city hubbub is a background voice that you don’t pay attention to... it’s safe when there’s that city buzzing’ F68a</p> <p>‘street musicians, on the corner of the department store and in the Pedestrian Street, some of them are talented, they’re pleasant’ F94</p> <p>‘stimulating rather than disturbing’ F72b</p> <p>‘the international sounds of voices’ F67a</p>	<p>‘the traffic noise isn’t pleasant, but necessary’ M73</p> <p>‘it’s always the same pounding (of music)’ F79</p> <p>‘the homeless or how would I say... it’s disturbing when they hoot to the tourists’ F68a</p>
Smell / Air quality	<p>‘I think we don’t have such a bad smell in the centre than some other places’ F68a</p> <p>‘(the smell of food) is enjoyable.’ F67a</p> <p>‘during the spring when there are flowers on the trees and bushes’ F80</p> <p>‘fresh air comes nicely from the sea’ M72</p>	<p>‘there’s that car traffic (around the Market Place); during the winter there is a lot of exhaust gas’ F68b</p> <p>‘that bit of street smells because people smoke cigarettes there... and that (dog faeces) belongs to that smell’ F65</p>
Cleanliness	<p>‘there hasn’t been as much glass trash in the city since beverage cans have become more common’ F68a</p> <p>‘the number of rubbish bins has increased by the riverside... they are quite large’ F68a</p>	<p>‘the greatest problem of attraction in the city which is attractive otherwise’ M73</p> <p>‘in the Market Place, as these cafes have these open bins, so the birds...’ F67a</p> <p>‘that hotel front is occasionally looking bad, I wonder why that hotel doesn’t clean it’ F68a</p> <p>‘the problem moved... to outdoor... now people smoke in the streets... so the butts are right there’ F71</p>