Publicly owned, privately used

Privatisation of public space: a case study of sidewalk cafes at Faberplein, Nijmegen

Source: Faberplein (2021b).

Bachelor thesis
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Preface

You are now looking at the bachelor thesis 'Publicly owned, privately used'. This research into the sidewalk cafe expansions at Faberplein has been carried out in order to investigate how privatisation of public space affects the liveability of the Faberplein. This research was conducted in order to complete my bachelor's degree in Geography, Planning and Environment.

With the support of my supervisor dr. R.G. van Melik, I worked on this dynamic case study from September 2021 to February 2022. In this case study, I was able to combine my passion for the hospitality industry with my studies. This ensured that the complex research was manageable.

Due to the current COVID-19 crisis and my exchange to Canada, the writing of this thesis required a lot of flexibility from my supervisor and myself. I would like to thank Rianne for her critical eye and her support during this period. I would also like to thank my friends and family who have all contributed to this process in their own way.

I wish you much reading pleasure.

Kim Klaver

Ottawa, 19 February 2022

Summary

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the accompanying measures, cafes around Faberplein are temporarily allowed to expand their sidewalk cafes. Therefore, public space is used by private parties. However, not everyone is equally happy with these expansions and this leads to discussions. Restaurant owners see it as an asset, while some local residents indicate that the sidewalk cafes have an impact on their living environment. In this thesis, the expansions of the sidewalk cafes are approached as a form of privatisation of public space. The various sides of the discussion about this form of privatisation and its effects are examined on the basis of the following research question: '*In what way does privatisation of the public space affect the liveability of Faberplein?'*.

Using qualitative methods, data was collected to answer the research question. These qualitative methods consisted of interviews with the representative of the municipality of Nijmegen, the representative of the cafes around Faberplein and local residents. In addition, various policy documents were analysed.

The results provide a broad understanding of the case. The interviews and the policy analyses show that the aspects used to analyse the influence of privatisation influence various aspects of liveability of Faberplein. In the Faberplein case, privatisation of public space appears to affect the aspects of sociability, uses & activities and comfort & image. For the aspect of access & linkages, the results are contradictory and inadequate. This research also shows that the various aspects are closely connected, which makes this a complex topic.

In addition, based on this research, it is advisable for the municipality to look more closely at specific cases when it comes to policy, rather than just looking at the city as a whole. Because of the interconnectedness, aspects can undermine each other and it could therefore be an asset in the field of policy to map out specific discussions in order to avoid conflicts.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction to the Faberplein case study 5
1.1 Introduction 5
1.2 Scientific relevance 8
1.3 Social relevance 8
1.4 Methodology 9
1.5 Reading guide 9
Chapter 2 Existing concepts and theory definition 10
2.1 What is public space? 10
2.2 Privatisation of public space 11
2.3 Liveability of public space 12
2.4 Effect of privatisation on liveability 14
2.5 Conclusion 15
Chapter 3 Research approach and methods used 17
3.1 Faberplein as an object of research 17
3.2 Collecting data 17
3.3 Data analysis 20
3.4 Validity and reliability 20
Chapter 4 Results of this dynamic study 23
4.1 In what way does privatisation of public space affect the sociability of Faberplein? 23
4.2 In what way does privatisation of public space affect the uses and activities of Faberplein? 25
4.3 In what way does privatisation of public space affect comfort and image of Faberplein? 29
4.4 In what way does privatisation of public space affect the access and linkages of Faberplein? 34
4.5 Conclusions 36
Chapter 5 Conclusion and discussion of the Faberplein case study 38
5.1 Answering the research question 38
5.2 Discussion of the conducted research 39
Literature 41
Annex 1 Interview guides 47
1.1 Interview guide representative of Fabergroep 47
1.2 Interview guide representative of the municipality of Nijmegen 50
1.3 Interview guide local residents 53

Chapter 1 Introduction to the Faberplein case study

1.1 Introduction

'Al mot ik krupe, op blote voeten goan, 't Faberplein-terras mot bliefe stoan'[1]. This headline recently appeared above the petition started by De Fabergroep, which has now been signed more than 1,300 times. This petition pleads for a permanent permit for the expanded sidewalk cafes on the so-called 'French Square' of Nijmegen (De Fabergroep, n.d.). These expansions has been permitted since 1 June 2020 regarding the 1.5-metre rule due to the current COVID-19 pandemic (Omroep Gelderland, 2020). As it was initially decided that the temporary permission for these expanded sidewalk cafes would expire on 31 December 2021 (Gemeente Nijmegen, n.d.-a), Fabergroep started the petition. However, due to the ongoing COVID-19 crisis and the associated 1.5 metre measure, it has been decided to allow the expansions as long as the 1.5 metre measure is applied (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021d).

The trend of sidewalk cafe expansions is nothing new, as shown in Oosterman's book (1993). His research showed that the rise of sidewalk cafes already started in the early 1970s and is visible throughout the Netherlands. Year after year, more public space is being used as a sidewalk cafe. These expansions result in less public space being available for the other users of a city. The limited space must be used optimally so that there is room for residents, recreation and the hospitality industry, but it must be climate adaptive, green and accessible as well (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021a). According to the municipality of Nijmegen it is about maintaining a good balance between liveability and liveliness, now more than ever.

In this bachelor thesis the privatisation of public space will be examined using Faberplein as a case study. Faberplein is a square in the centre of Nijmegen (Figure 1.1) which has no official name (Gemeente Nijmegen, n.d.-b). Because the square is adjacent to the street called Mariënburg (Figure 1.2) it is sometimes called Mariënburgplein, but because the name Faberplein is more common in the vernacular, this name is used in this thesis. In this case study, the municipality of Nijmegen, the hospitality businesses around Faberplein (highlighted in Figure 1.2) and local residents face each other in the discussion of whether the expansion of the sidewalk cafes should be reversed or whether these expansions should remain because they are an asset to Nijmegen as a city, and to its visitors and (hospitality) entrepreneurs. The municipality has published documents in which they discuss their vision and the conditions about the sidewalk cafe expansions (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2020). One of these conditions is that these expansions are temporary. This is conflicting with the wishes of the hospitality entrepreneurs around the square, De Fabergoep. With their petition De Fabergoep wants to give their request for a permanent permit more support (Bingen, 2021). Due to the fact that it has been decided to allow the expanded sidewalk cafes as long as the 1.5-metre rule is in force, the petition has not yet been used to support this permanent permit request.

[1] Translation: Even if I have to crawl, go barefoot, the Faberplein sidewalk cafes must remain.

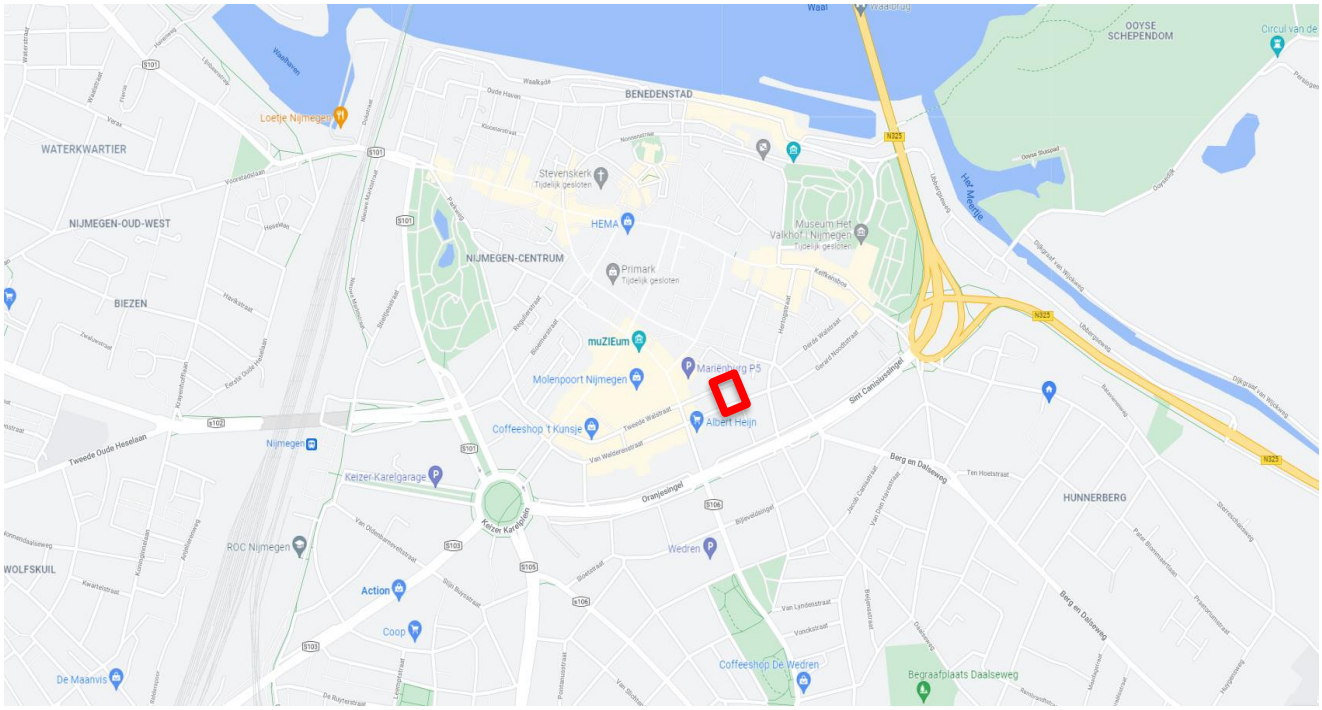

Figure 1.1: Map of Nijmegen with the location of Faberplein highlighted.

Figure 1.2: Zoomed-in map of Faberplein with surrounding cafes outlined.

The last couple of years there has been an increasing conflict in public space, on the one hand because of the increasing number of visitors (Sanz, Martín, Schwitzguébel & Torres-Delgado, 2021) and on the other hand because cities are increasingly facing (temporary) interventions in public space (Martinez Almoyna Gual, 2021). Public space, like streets and sidewalks, is the city's lubricant, enabling you to get from location A to location B (Hospers, van Melik & Ernste, 2015). Besides being used for transportation, public space also has a function in social interaction and entertainment (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009). However, desires of residents, visitors and entrepreneurs have changed and differentiation of urban lifestyles creates conflicting interests (Van Melik et al., 2007). Cities are becoming less of a "place to buy" and more of a "place to meet" making attractive public spaces increasingly important (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021a).
Furthermore, the ongoing COVID-19 crisis is confronting cities with new problems and dilemmas in terms of urban development and renewal. City centres have recently been hit harder than other parts of the city and hospitality entrepreneurs have had a tough time. Many entrepreneurs have been supported by the government and municipalities with various support measures, such as the possibility of expanding their sidewalk cafes in light of the 1,5-meter rule and the restrictions to receive guests only outside (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021a). Because of the fear of contagion in indoor spaces, the use of outdoor spaces has increased. All kinds of businesses, including cafes and restaurants, therefore had to reorganise to make better use of outdoor space. These adjustments can lead to conflicts with local residents, visitors and other businesses within a city (Honey-Rosés et al, 2020). Willems (2020) suggests that residents are concerned about nuisance that expanded sidewalk cafes might cause, and there is a large number of worried and angry reactions to read. It is mainly mentioned that there are already enough sidewalk cafes in the city and that residents of the city suffer as a result.

The municipality of Nijmegen thinks citizen participation is very important (Gemeente Nijmegen, n.d.-d). On the basis of the 'Tienpuntenplan inwonersparticipatie', residents (groups), businesses and institutions are involved in projects concerning public space. Involvement means that residents and the municipality exchange ideas and learn from each other. Although the municipality claims to value the opinion of residents, it seems unclear to what extent their opinions are actually acted upon. It is therefore not entirely surprising that Nijmegen neighbourhood organisations revolted at the end of 2020, demanding more and better regulated participation (Hermans, 2020). In order to get a complete picture of the conflict about the expanded sidewalk cafes at Faberplein, this thesis examines the viewpoints of the municipality of Nijmegen, the hospitality entrepreneurs and local residents. Based on interviews with these different actors, the following research question will be answered:

> ‘In what way does privatisation of public space affect the liveability of Faberplein in Nijmegen?’

In order to provide a structured answer to this research question, the following four sub-questions will be used:

1. In what way does privatisation of public space affect the Sociability of Faberplein?
2. In what way does privatisation of public space affect the Uses and Activities of Faberplein?
3. In what way does privatisation of public space affect the Comfort and Image of Faberplein?
4. In what way does privatisation of public space affect the Access and Linkages of Faberplein?

Chapter 2 will provide more explanation on why exactly these sub-questions are used. In addition, the various terms used in the main and sub-questions will also be explained.

1.2 Scientific relevance

Privatisation of public spaces has been the subject of previous studies. Sanz et al.'s (2021) article on the so-called 'sidewalk cafe war' looks at how the tourist cities of Seville and Barcelona deal with the privatisation of public space. This article concludes that privatisation of public space in the form of sidewalk cafe expansions brings conflict and negative side effects. It would therefore be interesting for this research to see if there are also positive aspects to the expansion of sidewalk cafes in public space, especially in times of a pandemic. Carmona (2021) has written about the potential benefit that privatisation of public space can have for society. Carmona's research shows that spaces are often neither entirely private nor entirely public. Therefore privatisation of public space is not so much good or bad, but it depends on the specific place. The fact that something is public rather than private, or vice versa, does not determine the quality of a place, or the potential role in the public realm. This thesis will therefore look at what the situation is like at Faberplein, and whether private use of public space leads to negative effects or whether it is actually something positive and can be considered an asset for the city of Nijmegen.
In addition, the aspect of commercialisation of public space is indispensable to mention here since this study is about sidewalk cafes. As Sepe (2017) writes in her article, this is a form of privatisation that seems to be a serious prospect in the future and will bring about transformations of public space. The commercialisation of public space can entail very restrictive measures for the use of that space, with the risk of codifying any kind of behaviour. In the meantime, a few years have passed and it would be interesting to see how the predictions from her research turn out in the meantime.
Furthermore, the Place Diagram (Figure 2.1) from the Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a) is an important part of this thesis, which will be further discussed in section 2.3. Initially, this model was designed to look at what qualities a particular place needs to be successful. However, this model has also been used in other contexts in previous studies. Yassin (2019) used this diagram in his research on a liveable city, focussing on the accessibility aspect of the diagram and Santos Nouri and Costa (2017) used this diagram in research on climate change adaptation. This shows that this model can be applied more widely than just in research into successful places. Although previous studies, such as Sepe's (2017), have mainly looked at how public space contributes to the liveability of a particular area, this thesis looks at the liveability of the public space itself. Using the Place Diagram, it will be investigated how privatisation of the public space, in the form of sidewalk cafe expansions, affects the liveability of Faberplein. This study therefore looks at liveability from a different perspective to previous studies. In addition, it examines whether there are also positive aspects to privatisation of the public space, in addition to its negative aspects, and uses the Place Diagram in a new way.

1.3 Social relevance

An aspect that emerges in several studies is that when public space is privatised, these places no longer benefit all types of public. But should all public places benefit all types of public? By trying to benefit everyone, you may not really benefit anyone (Devereux & Littlefield, 2017). Thus, as mentioned earlier, privatisation of public space is often viewed negatively, but through this research the possible positive aspects could be examined. Furthermore, this research could advise and

support cities, and Nijmegen in particular, in making decisions regarding sidewalk cafe expansions. Never before has the city of Nijmegen in its current form experienced a similar situation. The COVID-19 pandemic had a huge impact on the city of Nijmegen. The economic impact in the Arnhem-Nijmegen region was bigger than the national average. The growth in the number of companies declined significantly. This can be explained by the fact that the sectors that were hit hardest, such as hospitality, tourism, culture and events, play a large role in this region (Kregting, 2020). Nijmegen also has to deal with changing needs of residents, visitors and entrepreneurs. On the one hand because there are new contemporary trends in the field of sustainability, health and social inclusion. A good balance between 'liveability' and 'liveliness' is important because in the city of Nijmegen more and more functions are getting mixed (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021a). As can be seen in the reactions under the article by Willems (2020), some residents of Nijmegen think that there is an imbalance and that the liveliness drowns out the liveability. It would therefore be interesting to see whether this is specifically the case around Faberplein, or whether this applies more to the city of Nijmegen in general. On the other hand, the COVID-19 crisis has caused increasing division and inequality within the city (Oosterlynck, 2020). This calls for new ideas, visions, policy and solutions for current urban conflicts. This research could create clarity about what is needed, specifically in relation to Faberplein, and can ultimately outline recommendations for new policy documents.

1.4 Methodology

In this bachelor thesis, qualitative research methods were used. On the basis of fourteen semi-structured interviews with a representative of the municipality of Nijmegen, a representative of the different hospitality businesses and local residents of Faberplein, an answer to the research question is formulated. The interviews with the municipality and the representative of thee cafes were both in-depth interviews. These interviews were clearly larger in scope than the twelve interviews with local residents. Semi-structured interviews were used in order to answer the main question in a structured manner, while also leaving room for further questioning of answers in order to gather further information (Annex 1). Twelve out of fourteen interviews were recorded, after obtaining permission from the interviewee, and then transcribed. During the other two interviews notes were taken. After conducting the interviews, all interviews were coded in order to conduct a thorough analysis.
More information on research methodology will be given in Chapter 3.

1.5 Reading guide

Chapter 2 contains the theoretical framework of this research. It provides an overview of existing relevant literature and explains the main concepts and their relationship to each other. Chapter 3 then presents the methodology. Following this, Chapter 4 discusses the main results that emerged from the fieldwork that was carried out. Eventually, in Chapter 5, an answer to the research question of this thesis is formulated. This chapter also identifies the shortcomings of this research, makes recommendations for follow-up research and will reflect on the social and scientific relevance discussed earlier.

Chapter 2 Existing concepts and theory definition

This bachelor thesis will investigate in what way privatisation of public space influences the liveability of Faberplein in Nijmegen. The terms, public space (section 2.1), privatisation (2.2) and liveability (2.3) do not have an unambiguous definition. Therefore, in this theoretical framework various definitions will be discussed on the basis of literature. In addition to discussing definitions, section 2.3 cites the Place Diagram from Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a) as an important component of this research. Then, section 2.4 will discuss how previous studies have shown how privatisation can affect liveability. In section 2.5, the conceptual model of this research is presented, based on the discussed literature.

2.1 What is public space?

The first aspect we discuss in this chapter is public space. According to Varna and Tiesdell (2010), a flexible definition of public space is needed. This is because the increasing hybridisation between public and private places is causing increasing blurring of boundaries. Although a flexible definition is appropriate according to Varna and Tiesdell (2010), a literature study by Staeheli and Mitchell (2007) shows that there are core values that belong in a definition of public space. They describe that public space is mainly referred to as a place for encounters and interaction between people. Van Melik (2008) adds the aspect of free accessibility. Combining these aspects, we could define public space as a place that is publicly accessible and where encounters between people are central.

However, the character of public space is constantly influenced by the political and socio-economic context within which it is formed. This calls for a more balanced view of public space in general which fits all the different forms of public space (Carmona, 2015). Carmona (2015) describes a good public space as a place that is evolving, balanced, diverse, delineated, social and free accessible. Besides, it should be engaging, meaningful, comfortable and robust. What becomes clear from these descriptions is that public space is a multibranched concept. Kohn's (2004) findings are in line with this and she argues that assigning a public or private label is not as simple as checking just a couple criteria. Although she mentions three elements (ownership, accessibility and intersubjectivity) that she believes form the core of public space, she states that public space needs to be seen as a multifaceted concept with multiple and sometimes contradictory definitions.

The fact that public space is a multifaceted concept is apparent from its various characteristics. The aspects of ownership and accessibility, mentioned earlier based on Kohn's (2004) assertions, are interesting to elaborate on. Perhaps the most important part of public space is that it is accessible to the public. Such a place is often owned by the government and is accessible to everyone without any restrictions. However, there are many places that do not fully meet these requirements and in such cases, according to Kohn (2004), it is better to speak of hybrid places. Places are, as Varna and Tiesdell (2010) have argued, increasingly a mix of public and private aspects. Kohn (2004) mentions cafes as an example of this and proposes that such public-private hybrid places, which often bring people together for the purpose of consumption, should be called social spaces rather than public places. The complexity of the aspects of ownership and accessibility will be further discussed in section 2.2.

As Könst (2017) highlights, public space is of great significance to cities. Besides being used for transportation, it also has a function in social interaction, entertainment and attractiveness of a city (Loukaitou-Sideris & Ehrenfeucht, 2009). Public space therefore fulfils several functions in a city. Despite the complexity of the term, it is important for this research that a definition is formulated. Therefore, in this thesis public space is described as a place that is publicly owned, has free accessibility, involves a social aspect and is diverse.

2.2 Privatisation of public space

As mentioned in section 2.1, public space is somewhat a complex concept. As mentioned, the line between public and private is blurring. Besides, the number of public spaces that are privately managed or owned is increasing (Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013). This process in which public property becomes private property is called privatisation (Stellinga, 2012). The concept of privatisation is often seen as incompatible with the concept of public domain, but according to Carmona (2010) this incompatibility is less improbable than thought. This is in line with the findings of Varna and Tiesdell (2010), that there is an increasing hybridisation between public and private places. Privatisation of public space therefore does not automatically lead to private space, and publicly led processes do not necessarily lead to public space (Leclercq, 2018). After all, places are not simply either closed and private or open and public (Carmona, 2015).

Both Leclercq, Pojani and Van Bueren (2020) and Carmona (2021) describe different forms of privatisation of public space. Leclercq et al. (2020) describes a range from partial to full outsourcing of responsibilities as a determinant of the degree of privatisation. Carmona (2021) makes a distinction between the transfer of ownership (corporate privatisation) and cooperation or partnership (state privatisation). Privatisation of public space should therefore not be understood as a simple takeover by private parties, but includes a redistribution of rights, roles and responsibilities. Varna and Tiesdell (2010) agree with this. They mention five dimensions of publicness: ownership, control, civility, physical configuration and animation. Each of these five dimensions ranges from 'more public' to 'less public'. In the case of the ownership dimension, they name six levels from public to private ownership. One of these levels is 'public ownership/public function/private use' which is relevant in the case of sidewalk cafes. The animation dimension is also relevant in the case of sidewalk cafes and therefore worth mentioning. This dimension refers to the extent to which the design of a place supports and meets human needs. When there is a wide range of potential uses and activities a place is more public, and when there is a narrow range of potential uses and activities a place is less public. So, their point is that privatisation and publicness is also about the degree of control, surveillance, animation rather than just ownership. In line with this, we can state that one form of privatisation is not the other.
The animation aspect of public space is increasing (Van Melik, Aalst & Weesep, 2007). According to them, there is a trend towards more leisure and entertainment functions in urban public space and public space is more often themed. An important aspect of this thematic public space is the presence of sidewalk cafes. They state these sidewalk cafes have an important social function and have become increasingly popular in the Netherlands.

Although there are different forms of privatisation, in this thesis it will be described as the private use of public space, in the form of private sidewalk cafes on public land. This implies that the place is

publicly owned, but used by a private party. Therefore there is a more narrow range of potential uses and activities and the space is managed according to the requirements of private use.
This form of privatisation is also discussed in the article of Aalst, van Melik and Weesep (2007). In this article, the term *brasserie bulge* is used for public space of which cafes are a prominent part. According to them, this leads to tensions between public accessibility and the principles of private ownership. Whether this is also the case in the Faberplein situation will be discussed later in this thesis.

2.3 Liveability of public space

Various studies show that it is complex to formulate an unambiguous definition for the term liveability (De Haan et al., 2014; Kennedy & Buys, 2010; Zanella, Camanho & Dias, 2014). Interpretation of this term varies widely depending on different scales of governance, which makes it a diverse and fuzzy concept (McArthur & Robin, 2019). The Australian Department of Infrastructure and Transport (2012) (in Zanella et al., 2014, p. 698) explains liveability as ''the degree to which a place supports quality of life, health and wellbeing''. According to them a liveable place needs to be safe, healthy, harmonious, affordable and attractive. Besides that it should have high amenity, be environmentally sustainable and provide good accessibility. Kennedy and Buys (2010) mention health, sense of safety, quality of life, mobility and transport, social participation, air quality, comfortable living standards, access to services and cost of living as key elements of liveability. Vuchic (2017) describes liveability as a set of elements that make a place or city liveable. He mentioned elements of home, a neighbourhood and a metropolitan area which would contribute to economic opportunities and welfare, safety, health, mobility and recreation. Although the various researchers all give a different definition, the same or similar elements are used several times, such as safety, healthy environment, attractiveness, good accessibility and the social aspect of it. Therefore, in this thesis, a liveable place is considered as a place with a social component that can be used for various purposes, is accessible and is experienced as pleasant and inviting.

Due to the broad concept of liveability, in this thesis a link was made with the Place Diagram (Figure 2.1) of the Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a). Project for Public Spaces is a non-profit organisation that believes that public spaces should be made by all and used by all. Their approach is placemaking, in which places are planned and designed together with the people who use these places on a daily basis (Project for Public Spaces, n.d.-c). Although the Project for Public Spaces dates back to the mid-1990s, placemaking is not something new. For example, Jane Jacobs and William H. Whyte are researchers who introduced this idea in the 1960s. Their vision was that cities and places need to be designed for people, and that there needs to be focus on people-place relationships in which the physical environment affects the behaviour of the site-users (Strydom, Puren, & Drewes, 2018). But placemaking is more than just promoting a better urban design, it is about facilitating creative patterns of usage. In this process, particular attention is paid to the social, cultural and physical identities that define a certain place. Improvements in a certain place need to reflect the community needs and values. This organisation therefore believes that successful public spaces are important because they strengthen communities (Project for Public Spaces, n.d.-c).

Based on the process of placemaking, the Projects for Public Spaces designed the Place Diagram (Figure 2.1). In this diagram four core elements are used to describe what qualities a place needs to

be successful. These core elements are sociability, uses & activities, comfort & image and access & linkages. In this thesis, the four core elements of this diagram are used to measure liveability because these elements are similar to the core elements of liveability as mentioned before. Although this diagram can be used in various aspects of urban planning, as discussed in section 1.2, in this study the model is used to measure liveability.

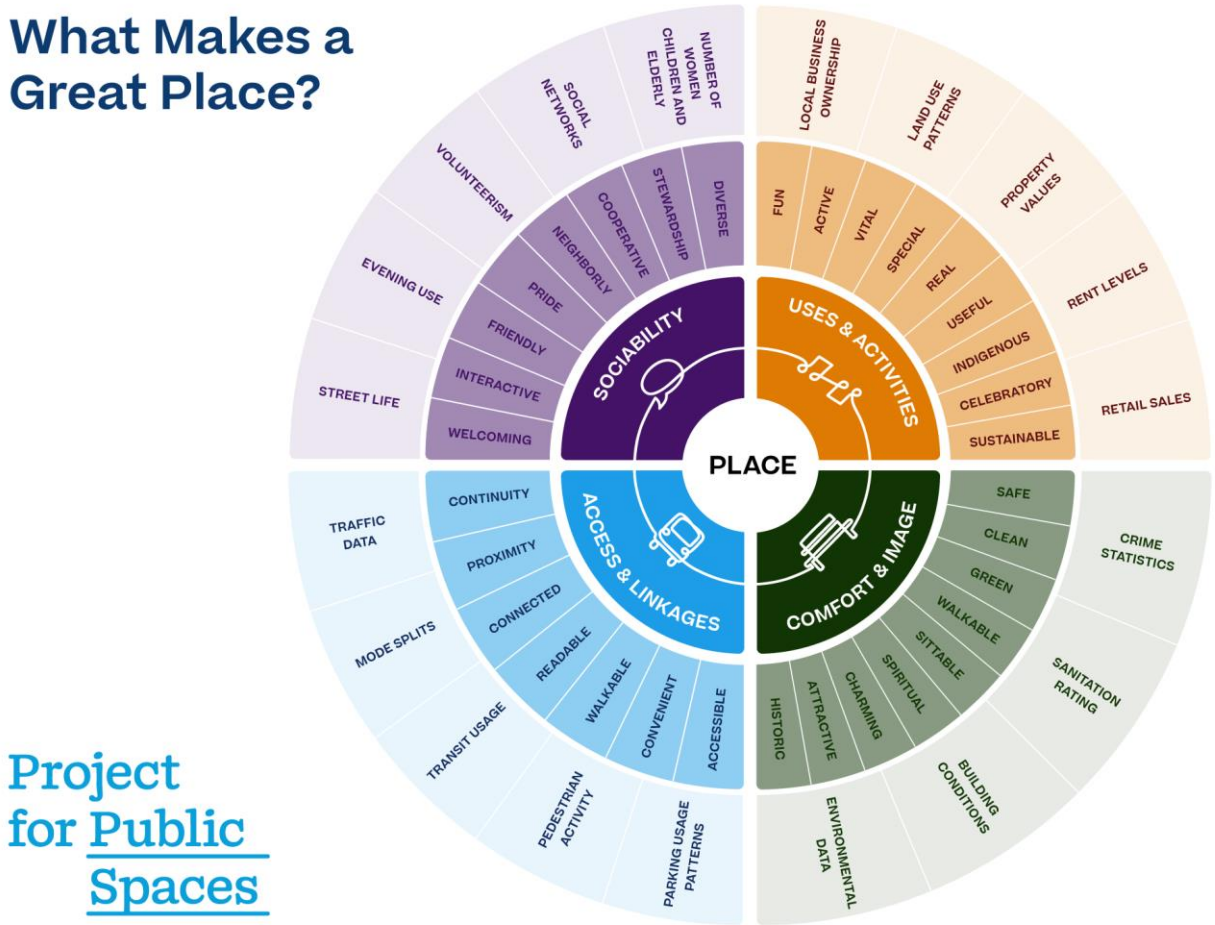

Figure 2.1: Place Diagram. Source: Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a).

The sociability aspect of the Place Diagram is about the question, is a place sociable? So, a place where people meet each other and where they take other people when they come to visit. According to the Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a) this is a difficult quality to achieve, but once it is achieved it becomes an undeniable feature. When people meet their friends or other people and feel comfortable interacting with strangers as well, people tend to feel a stronger sense of place and attachment to the place that fosters these social activities.

The uses and activities aspect of the Place Diagram is about the activities that take place in a certain place. Activities are the basic building block of great places because they are the reason why people

visit a place and also the reason why these people continue to return. Besides, the activities in a certain place make a place special and unique. That is why, according to the Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a), places need change when there is nothing to do and it is unused and empty.

The comfort and image aspect of the Place Diagram is about if a place is comfortable and has a good image. This aspect includes perceptions about cleanliness, safety and the availability of places to sit. Especially the fact that people have a choice on where they want to sit is important according to the Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a).

The access and linkages aspect of the Place Diagram is about the accessibility of a place. According to the Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a) the accessibility of a place can be judged by its connections to its surroundings, both physical and visual. An accessible place is one that is easy to get to and to get through and is both visible up close and from a distance. Besides, the edges of a place are important as well. For example, a row of shops is generally more safe to walk by than an empty lot or a blank wall. In addition, an accessible place should have a high parking turnover, and is ideally convenient to public transit.

These four core elements of the Place Diagram can be made more specific into measurable characteristics. These characteristics can be measured by means of interview questions. So where the Project for Public Spaces uses these elements to measure how successful a place is, in this thesis they are used to measure how liveable a place is and how changing these elements affects liveability. A tricky part of this model, however, is that the various elements sometimes overlap. For example, the characteristic 'walkable' is mentioned under the element access & linkages, but also under comfort & image. So in some cases it will be difficult to make a specific separation between these elements.

2.4 Effect of privatisation on liveability

Privatisation is a process that affects many aspects of socio-economic life. This includes public space and is therefore also influencing the spatial-functional structure of a city and the quality of life of its residents (Mierzejewska, 2011). It is the social aspect that turns out to be important, because literature shows that liveability is not only inherent to environmental characteristics, but also incorporates a social dimension that relates to the way people interact within a local environment (Ahmed, El-Halafawy & Amin, 2019). As mentioned in section 2.1, public space has a function in social interaction. By being accessible for everyone, it enables interactions between people. Mierzejewska (2011) argues that public space is primarily a responsibility of local authorities and that these authorities need to ensure wide accessibility, minimise exclusion and protect social diversity. She also argues that the changes occurring in public space of cities are unfavourable because they involve appropriation, fragmentation and commercialisation of precious and indispensable public space. Especially in the case of sidewalk cafes, managers tend to prioritise profit making over social mixing and design quality of a place (Mitchell, 2003). On the other side, as discussed by Sanz et al.(2021), the expansion of sidewalk cafes may cause more visitors to come to a particular place, which could actually increase the number of interactions between people. In both cases, privatisation of public space can have an impact on the social aspect of a place, and thus on its liveability.

Vuchic (2017) discusses the importance of mobility for liveability. Mobility causes interaction which is important for a liveable place as mentioned before. However, mobility and liveability have also been competing for some time. This does not have to be the case if there is a right balance between liveability and mobility (Cervero, 2009). According to Beck (2009) a well-designed and managed urban public space plays a crucial role in individual well-being and contributes positive economic, social and environmental value to cities. She mentions quality of life as a specific element which is positively influenced by this. The aspect of 'quality of life' is mentioned in several definitions of liveability and often used to measure liveability of a place. Therefore it can be said that a well-designed and managed public space would have a positive influence on liveability.
The aspect of mobility is closely related to the aspect of accessibility. When a place is accessible, there is more room for mobility. However, the privatisation of public space can affect this accessibility. As Sanz et al. (2021) discuss in their article, the expansion of sidewalk cafes in public space causes footpaths and streets to be increasingly occupied and blocked. This could have a negative impact on the accessibility of these places, and with that also the liveability of these places.

So besides the fact that privatisation of public space can affect the above aspects, it could also affect the maintenance of a place, according to Leclercq and Pojani (2021). The maintenance aspect could be categorised under the heading of comfort and image. If a place is well maintained and looks clean and attractive, it will improve the liveability of the square. Leclercq and Pojani's research show that private places or privately managed places often feel more sanitised than public places. Maintenance tasks of public spaces are often outsourced, but the quality of these tasks is sometimes compromised by cuts of public funding. Private parties, on the other hand, often seem to be better able than the public sector to keep a place clean. In this way, too, privatising public space could have an impact on liveability.

Finally, as already discussed in section 2.2, the privatisation of a place may change its design and management, which may affect its uses and activities. According to Kohn (2004) and Minton (2006) sidewalk cafes can be described as private-public places. These places are mostly designed with customers in mind in order to attract the largest possible number of people who want to spend their money there. One of the key features of these private-public places are the rules that govern behaviour which ensures only certain types of activities (Minton, 2006). Cafe owners want to generate as much turnover as possible and will decorate their sidewalk cafes accordingly. Bringing in your own consumptions is therefore not accepted in many cases. Whereas people used to be able to enjoy their own consumption on a bench or have a picnic, this will probably not happen as much once there are sidewalk cafes. In this way, privatisation of public space could also have an impact on the use or activity of that space.

2.5 Conclusion

The research question of this thesis includes the terms privatisation, public space and liveability. These are all broad concepts with different interpretations, which were discussed in the previous sections. In this thesis public space is seen as a place that is publicly owned, has free accessibility, involves a social aspect and is diverse. Based on the literature, privatisation of this public space can therefore be described as a place that is publicly owned, has a public function, but is used by a

private party. The complexity of the term liveability is discussed in section 2.3. A liveable place was ultimately described as a place with a social component that can be used for various purposes, is accessible and is experienced as pleasant and inviting.

Based on the Place Diagram (Figure 2.1) from Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a), the conceptual framework of this thesis (Figure 2.2) was created. In this model, privatisation of public space is the independent variable and liveability is the dependent variable. As mentioned in section 2.2, liveability will be measured by the four key elements of the Place Diagram. By measuring these four elements the influence of privatisation of public space on the liveability of Faberplein will be measured. As indicated in section 1.1, four sub-questions will be used, each containing one of the four elements of the Place Diagram. In this way, the influence of privatisation on each core element will be examined in order to provide a structured answer to the main question, despite the complexity of the term liveability.

Figure 2.2: Conceptual framework.

As discussed in section 2.4, privatisation of the public can affect liveability in different ways. It is therefore plausible that privatisation of public space affects the liveability of Faberplein as well. In what way this is the case at Faberplein will be examined in this thesis.

The next chapter will explain how the conceptual model, as shown in Figure 2.2, and the theory discussed above will be used in this research through the research methods. Furthermore, the subsequent chapters will reflect on the literature described in this chapter.

Chapter 3 Research approach and methods used

In order to determine the ways in which privatisation of public space affects liveability, a qualitative study was conducted. In order to formulate an answer to the research question of this thesis, field research was conducted using fourteen semi-structured interviews. In addition, several policy documents were also analysed.

3.1 Faberplein as an object of research

Although privatisation of public space is nothing new (Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013), the current COVID-19 crisis makes it an incredibly topical subject. Because of the COVID-19 measures entrepreneurs throughout the Netherlands are under pressure. Due to these measures there are less people allowed inside cafes, so they divert to outside which causes increasing pressure on public space (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021a).

Faberplein was chosen as the study object, which is a square in the centre of Nijmegen, surrounded by several hospitality businesses as shown in Figure 1.2. Although privatisation of public space is a trend that is also visible outside Nijmegen (Sanz et al., 2021), the expansion of sidewalk cafes at Faberplein were remarkable because of their dominant appearance all over the square. Flyers on the aforementioned petition and media attention (De Gelderlander, 2021) made the case stand out. Although Willems (2020) shows in his article that this situation might be a wider problem in Nijmegen, the petition made clear that Faberplein is a place where the effects of privatisation are most discussed. Therefore, in this thesis a choice was made to study a specific case from Nijmegen in order to shed more light on the discussion.

Throughout the past 36 years, a lot has changed around this square. In 1985, Cafe Faber established itself on this square (Online bedrijvengids, n.d.). Before that, the cafe had a different name, namely De Karseboom. Cafe Faber was the beginning of Fabergroep. Over the years, the other Fabergroep businesses followed; Toon, The Fuzz, Fresca and The Lobby. Since 1 June 2020, all these cafes have been allowed to temporarily expand their sidewalk cafes (Omroep Gelderland, 2020). Both the sidewalk cafes adjacent to the buildings and those on the square have been expanded. Because the situation on this square is partly dependent on how COVID-19 develops, the situation is constantly changing. During the writing of this study (September 2021 to February 2022), it was therefore clearly noticeable that the situation is still in full swing.

3.2 Collecting data

As can be read in the comments in Willems' (2020) article, opinions are divided on whether the changes and expansions of Faberplein are a positive or a negative thing. By using qualitative methods, the process of sidewalk cafe expansions was examined in depth. In contrast to quantitative methods where the focus is often more on breadth and coverage, interviews are often used for case study approaches, as is the case in this research.
The aim of qualitative methods is to investigate what happens in a specific environment, in order to reach a deep and detailed understanding. Human actions, experiences and feelings are important aspects here (DeLyser, Herbert, Aitken, Crang, & McDowell, 2009). These experiences are also very

important in the case of this study because liveability, as already discussed in Chapter 2, is partly depending on people's interpretation.

Based on the theoretical framework, semi-structured interviews were prepared. As discussed in section 2.3, liveability is measured using the various components from the Place Diagram (Project for Public Spaces, n.d.-a). These components (sociability, uses and activities, comfort and image, and access and linkages) form the basis of the interviews (Annex 1).
The first interviews were conducted with the representative of the municipality of Nijmegen and the representative of Fabergroep. These interviews were extensive in-depth interviews and were to serve as the basis of the data. In addition to the various aspects of liveability, these interviews mainly focused on policy and the case in general (Annex 1.1 and 1.2). These two stakeholders were chosen to be interviewed because they have the greatest stake in the sidewalk cafe expansions. On the one hand, Fabergroep because they own five hospitality businesses around the square and can apply for a permanent permit. On the other hand, the municipality of Nijmegen because she is the one making decisions about this permit and the associated sidewalk cafes.
In addition, it was decided to interview local residents and two representatives of nearby hospitality businesses (not owned by Fabergroep) in order to get as complete a picture as possible of the situation around the square. The two representatives of nearby cafes are included in the group of local residents because they spend a substantial part of the day in the vicinity of the square and because they were interviewed using the same interview guide as the local residents.

Local residents will experience the situation differently from the municipality and the hospitality owner, making them a necessary supplement to the interviews with the municipality and Fabergoep. In this way, an attempt was made to include a variety of opinions in the study. Several local residents were approached, both through personal contacts, through a post on LinkedIn which was shared by several people and through the owner of Fabergroep. He is in regular contact with various local residents, both people who are happy with (the expansion of) the sidewalk cafes and people who are strongly opposed to (the expansion of) the sidewalk cafes. However, one must beware of the snowball sampling effect. By approaching respondents through contacts of Fabergroep, there is a chance of biases in this research (Iphofen & Tolich, 2018). In addition, the aforementioned petition would have been a good way to approach respondents. However, a conscious decision was made not to approach respondents via the petition because those who cast their votes were clearly in favour of the sidewalk cafe expansions.

In the end, twelve people from the Faberplein area were interviewed. These interviewees all live within a 50-metre radius of Faberplein. In other words, they live around Faberplein, or in the adjacent streets. By also including respondents from different locations on and around the square in this research, a statement can ultimately be made based on the opinions of a heterogeneous group of respondents. The interviews with these twelve respondents were somewhat akin to a street interview and were significantly smaller in scope than the interviews with the municipality and Fabergoep. These interviews mainly focused on the various aspects of liveability and the experience of local residents instead of focussing on policy aspects (Annex 1.3).
The composition of the total group of respondents, including information about the various interviews, is shown in Table 3.1.

Number of interviewee	Relationship to the case study	Gender	Date of interview	Recorded/not recorded	Student/non-student
1	Representative of Fabergroep	Male	November 2, 2021	Recorded	Non-student
2	Representative of the municipality of Nijmegen	Female	November 24, 2021	Recorded	Student
3	Local resident	Female	November 24, 2021	Recorded	Student
4	Local resident	Male	November 26, 2021	Recorded	Student
5	Representative of nearby restaurant	Male	November 27, 2021	recorded	Non-student
6	Local resident (adjacent street)	Male	November 27, 2021	Recorded	Student
7	Local resident (adjacent street)	Female	November 29, 2021	Recorded	Student
8	Local resident	Male	November 29, 2021	Not recorded (notes were taken)	Non-student
9	Representative of nearby restaurant	Female	November 29, 2021	Not recorded (notes were taken)	Non-student
10	Local resident (adjacent street)	Female	November 30, 2021	Recorded	Non-student
11	Local resident	Male	November 30, 2021	Recorded	Student
12	Local resident (adjacent street)	Female	November 30, 2021	Recorded	Student
13	Local resident (adjacent street)	Female	December 3, 2021	Recorded	Student
14	Local resident (adjacent street)	Female	December 3, 2021	Recorded	Student

Table 3.1: Composition of respondent group.

As highlighted in Ramsden's (2016) article, the question of how many interviews are needed to provide a well-founded answer to the research question cannot be answered unequivocally. A possible approach is to reach the point of saturation. When, after conducting a number of interviews, it is unlikely that more interviews will yield new information, the point of saturation has been reached. In this study, that point seemed to have been reached after conducting fourteen interviews.

In addition to the fourteen interviews, policy documents and a recording of an official municipal meeting were also used as data. For the policy analyses, several policy documents of the municipality of Nijmegen were reviewed (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2020, 2021a, 2021b, n.d.-a, n.d.-b, n.d.-c, n.d.-d). These policy documents contain important pronouncements and rules of the municipality of Nijmegen with regard to sidewalk cafe expansions and the general policy applied in the city.

A recording of an official municipal meeting was also analysed (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021c). This meeting concerned, among other things, the advice on the council proposal on sidewalk cafes. One of the important people present at this meeting was Mayor Bruls. Questions from various political parties were dealt with and subsequently the current state of affairs regarding the policy on sidewalk cafes was discussed. By combining the municipality's interview with data from policy documents and the municipal meeting, a comprehensive picture of the municipality's vision was gathered. The findings from these several sources were compared with each other and used to make connections between the several findings.

3.3 Data analysis

The recorded interviews were transcribed, whereafter these transcripts were uploaded into Atlas.ti and then coded. First, five interviews were chosen that were expected to contain the most information. The parts of these interviews which were useful for answering the main and sub-questions were coded openly. Next, axial coding was used, where similar codes were combined to reduce the number of codes. After the first five interviews were coded, the codes from these interviews were used to analyse the remaining interviews. This was an iterative process in which codes were regularly redrafted and adjusted. After the coding process, we looked at the results and relations of these codes. In this process, the two interviews that had not been transcribed were also looked at and included in the analysis. The results of the analysis are discussed in Chapter 4.
During the interviews, in many cases an extensive conversation took place. However, this also meant that not all parts of the conversation were useful in this research. During the analysis in Atlas.ti, the unusable part of the collected data was not included in the analyses.
During the analyses the findings of the interviews, the policy documents and the municipal meeting were translated into English because all this data is Dutch spoken and/or written.

3.4 Validity and reliability

Despite the advantages of case study methods, the aspects of validity and reliability remain in doubt according to Riege (2003). These aspects are often more difficult to ensure in case studies than in other forms of research because, as already discussed in section 3.2, case studies reach for a deep and detailed understanding rather than focus on coverage and a broad understanding.

Validity
For the sake of validity, the interviews were drawn up using existing scientific literature and the Place Diagram as described in the theoretical framework. By also analysing municipal policy documents and an official municipal meeting, various sources were used as a basis for the conclusion of this study. By then comparing these different sources and examining relationships within the case, an attempt was made to ensure validity as far as possible.

Besides, twelve of the fourteen interviews were recorded and notes were taken. This way, there is no doubt about the content of the interviews.

External validity refers to the extent to which results and conclusions can be generalised. External validity can be guaranteed by taking a random sample. Because there is a slight influence of a snowball effect in this research, and because there was a conscious choice to interview respondents from all the different corners of the Faberplein, there is no mention of a random sample. However, an attempt was made to interview a heterogeneous group of respondents in order to represent different groups of respondents in this study. Despite this attempt, one cannot speak of a random sample. In that case, the external validity of this research will not be high and the results of this research cannot be generalised. However, in the case of a case study, this is often not the aim, because the research is focused on a specific case (Korzilius, 2008). As discussed in section 1.2, privatisation of public space is not so much a good or a bad thing but depends on the specific place. Even though privatisation of public space is not only happening in Nijmegen, as discussed in section 3.1, the outcomes of this research are specific for this case.

One of the shortcomings of this research is that no baseline measurement was made. This research started while the sidewalk cafes were already expanded, so there was no baseline measurement of liveability before the expansions. Because of this, there is no certainty that privatisation alone influences liveability; there may be other factors that are unnoticed and which have not been taken into account in this study. This can affect internal validity, which is the quality of a study's conclusions. Korzilius (2008) states that the quality of these conclusions is determined by whether or not this conclusion is caused by other factors. If this is the case, the quality of the conclusions will be low. In order to guarantee internal validity as much as possible, these shortcomings have been taken into account in the interviews. During the interview, questions were asked to compare the situation with the one before the expansion of the sidewalk cafes. This way, the interviews provide a kind of baseline.

Reliability

The reliability aspect is about the extent to which repeating the study produces the same results. A reliable study is one in which the results found are independent of the time at which the study took place, the methods used and the researcher who carried out the study (Korzilius, 2008).
In the case of methods, a careful choice was made as to how respondents were included in this study. By deliberately opting for semi-structured interviews, the researcher is able to get a grip on the interviews, but there is also room for extra explanation if necessary. Before conducting the interviews, the interview questions were presented to several people to see if there were any uncertainties. In addition, the researcher was as objective as possible during the conduct of this study. In this way, we tried to ensure reliability as much as possible. However, the time in which the research took place may have influenced the results. As mentioned before, this research took place during the COVID-19 pandemic. On the one hand, this was the reason for this case study because it allowed the sidewalk cafes to be expanded. On the other hand, no baseline measurement took place because this research only started when the pandemic was in full swing. This could therefore have influenced the results of the interviews and the reliability of this study.

The results collected using the research methods described in this chapter will be discussed in the next chapter. Based on these results, the sub-questions of this thesis will be answered and in the following chapter an answer to the research question will be formulated. There will also be a reflection on the research methods used as just described.

Chapter 4 Results of this dynamic study

In order to be able to answer the research question, this chapter will discuss the results of the qualitative research that was conducted. Although, as discussed in section 1.1, the expansions have been allowed since 1 June 2020 due to the 1.5 metre rule, this temporary permission would expire on 31 December 2021. However, due to the ongoing COVID-19 crisis and the associated 1.5 metre measure, it has been decided to allow the expansions as long as the 1.5 metre measure is applied. As mentioned earlier, this study was conducted between September 2021 and February 2022, i.e. during the COVID-19 pandemic. During this period, cafes and restaurants were allowed to open again, had to close again and were then allowed to open again. In addition, the 1.5-metre rule was strictly enforced, after which it was dropped and then reinstated (Tijdlijn coronavirus, n.d.). Therefore it is important to mention that the situation was, and still is, very dynamic and constantly changing, which in turn can affect the results of this study. In order to discuss these results in a structured manner, the sub-questions, as described in section 1.1, are discussed one by one.

4.1 In what way does privatisation of public space affect the sociability of Faberplein?

As explained in Chapter 3, sociability is one of the elements used to measure liveability of Faberplein. This aspect is all about how sociable a place is. According to nine of the twelve local residents Faberplein and its sidewalk cafes have a social function. The representatives of Fabergroep and the municipality of Nijmegen also mentioned this in their interviews. A few local residents indicate that this was not so much the case for them personally, but they thought it was so for others. Those who indicated that the sidewalk cafes have a social function for them are all students. From three of these nine interviews it appears that the social attraction is greater than it already was, e.g. because there are more and different types of seats available than before the expansions; '*For example, with my student association, I go there in the summer more often because you have those big garden tables, which you don't have otherwise.'* (interviewee 14). The other six local residents did not explicitly indicate that it has become more so since the expansion of the sidewalk cafes*; 'I think that has always played such a role anyway.'* (interviewee 6). Interviewees indicated that the square plays an important role in the social network, for example of students, because many people meet there, have a drink there or go there for a coffee or lunch. There are also places to work or study, making it a place for networking; '*Of course, you can have lunch and drinks and such, but you can also work, for example. I see a lot of people, for example at Fresca or at The Fuzz or at The Lobby, who just sit there with a laptop and work quietly, or people who drink a coffee and want to relax for a while. And also as a meeting place. So it actually functions as much more than just a catering establishment, but really as a meeting place.'* (interviewee 6). So besides going there for hospitality purposes, the square is really seen as a meeting place for many. As the Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a) mentions, this often makes people feel more connected to the place, which has a positive effect on the aspect of sociability. However, this is not explicitly mentioned in the various interviews.

The above findings show that the current situation at Faberplein is appropriate to what the municipality has in mind. The aim is to make the city centre a meeting place with an important role for the hospitality industry (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021b). However, this did not come across clearly in the interview with the representative of the municipality. She said that the main focus of the municipality is on the attractive design and the rules for public space, and not so much on the social aspect of it.

Nine out of the fourteen interviewees indicate that this social attraction applies to a diverse audience, but it is notable that the group "parents with children" is explicitly mentioned in almost all interviews. The expansion of the sidewalk cafes has, according to many, increased the number of visitors which has probably also increased the number of possible encounters. This idea is supported by the theory of Sanz et al. (2021). Besides, one of the local residents mentioned that she thinks that people are meeting more purposefully in this square than before the expansions (interviewee 13).

Besides that the expansions had an impact on the number of visitors, the statements of interviewees about the diversity of these visitors is also something important to consider. Nine out of fourteen interviewees indicated that there is diversity in terms of visitors and that the expansions of sidewalk cafes have no impact on excluding certain groups of visitors. One of the interviewees states; *'The only thing I can think of is that the people who are really afraid of COVID-19 are not going to sit there in the square all day. Other than that, I don't think they exclude anyone. It's very much for young and old, so I think it's for everyone.'* (interviewee 14). So the sidewalk cafes in themselves would not cause exclusion, but the increased crowding combined with COVID-19 could cause some people to stop coming.

However, four of the fourteen interviewees indicated that they do think people are excluded by the sidewalk cafe expansions at Faberplein. One of the reasons given for this is that now that there are sidewalk cafes on the square, the square is no longer attractive and accessible to people who do not want to consume anything, but also to people who cannot afford to do so; *'The disadvantage of being looked at from all sides by people sitting on sidewalk cafes is big.'* (interviewee 10). According to this interviewee, it is important to have enough space in the city for non-consuming people.
In addition, it is mentioned that it seems that mainly older people who came there before the expansions are visiting less. The reason for this would be that some people may prefer to avoid the hustle and bustle of the expansions (interviewees 3, 7 and 10). It is striking that only one interviewee reported feeling excluded. He said that local residents, including himself, used the square, but that the square is now only inviting if you want to go to the sidewalk cafes (interviewee 8). The other three interviewees think that others may feel excluded, but that this is not the case for themselves. However, analyses by the municipality show that residents feel that the social cohesion of the square leaves much to be desired (Gemeente Nijmegen, n.d.-c).

The other nine interviewees think that people are not excluded because of the sidewalk cafe expansions. On the one hand, because there are many different kinds of hospitality businesses, there is something for everyone. The representative of Fabergroep indicates in the interview that this is also what they want to project on the square. Each cafe has its own scent and colour, with which they try to accommodate different types of public (interviewee 1). One of the local residents acknowledges this; *'You have so many different people there. Toon, for example, wants to attract people with their cooking skills and so on, and so you have a cafe where everyone comes and a restaurant that is a bit more luxurious. And that combination ensures that many different people visit the square.*' (interviewee 6). On the other hand, it is mentioned that before the expansions there were already a lot of bars and restaurants, so people who are looking for something other than bars and restaurants, would not come to the square anyway (interviewees 6, 11 and 13). One of the local

residents states *'Because I think the people who are not really a fan of sidewalk cafes, they don't really pass by, so I don't think it makes much difference either, to be honest.'* (interviewee 4).

What emerges from the above findings is that although the sidewalk cafes at Faberplein already had a big social function, in some cases it is indicated that the expansions have strengthened this function. The interviewees indicate that it is really a place where people meet each other, which is one of the important aspects of a public space (Staeheli and Mitchell, 2007). As mentioned in the interviews, diversity of visitors was already there, but the sidewalk cafe expansions have increased the number of visitors, especially the group of 'parents with children'. Although four local residents indicated that they thought people would be excluded by the expansions, the majority of respondents did not think this was the case. Although making profit is important to Fabergroep (interviewee 1), according to the majority of local residents this does not seem to have a negative effect on the social composition of the people visiting the square. Therefore, Mitchell's (2003) assertion that managers tend to prioritise profit making over social mixing and design quality of a place does not seem to be the case in this research.
Contrary to Mierzejewska's (2011) assertion that privatisation of public space can be unfavourable because it involves the appropriation, fragmentation and commercialisation of precious and indispensable space, this study shows that this does not always have to be the case.

4.2 In what way does privatisation of public space affect the uses and activities of Faberplein?

As explained in Chapter 3, uses and activities is the second element used to measure liveability of Faberplein. This aspect is all about how a place is used and what activities take place there. Perhaps this goes without saying after the sidewalk cafe expansions, but according to nine of the fourteen interviewees the most noticeable activity on the square is catering visits. As mentioned in section 4.1, visits by parents with young children in particular seem to have increased. Interviewees indicate that this was also the case before the expansions, but four of the interviewees explicitly mention they think the expansions have increased this somewhat. One of the reasons could be the fact that there are now some loose play objects in the square (interviewees 5 and 9), which are also visible in Figure 4.1. It is also mentioned that it is easier for parents to look after their children while enjoying the sidewalk cafes on the square, closer to the playing area; *'I just look out over the square, and I always saw many parents who came there, because they can just have a drink and their child can just play in the middle. You saw a lot more of that on the square, and you cannot do that when you're sitting at Faber's or Toon's on the sidewalk cafe, because then you have to cross the road first.'* (interviewee 4). As there are no parents in the respondent group, this is a finding based on the experience and thoughts of interviewees.

Figure 4.1: Parents with their children playing with loose play objects at Faberplein (source: De Gelderlander, 2021).

Furthermore, it was mentioned by seven of the interviewees that before the expansions, not much else happened on the square than visiting the sidewalk cafes that were already there. It is seen as a positive thing that this empty space is now being used; *'First it was a dead square, it was not used for anything. You could also see that all the space they had as sidewalk cafes was full, and the rest was empty.'* (interviewee 5).

According to one of the local residents it is noticeable that especially during the day the number of visitors have increased; *'I think it is busier everywhere, especially on Saturdays, because then the families are there a lot. I really notice that there are more of them than before, but that can also be because there are more places, which is logical.'* (interviewee 14). The fact that the square is particularly busy during the day, while at night it is also busy on the side of Toon and Faber, is something that the municipality seems to have noticed as well (interviewee 2). So, besides many visitors during the day, the sidewalk cafes are used more often for drinks in the afternoon and evening.

As mentioned earlier, eight of the interviewees felt that the square was busier than before the expansion of the sidewalk cafes. However, one of them thinks this is not because of the expansions but because of the COVID-19 situation; *'I think that is actually mainly COVID-19 dependent. I think in the evening that's not very much of a problem. I think in the evening it's always very busy, but that has nothing to do with the sidewalk cafe expansion.'* (interviewee 4).

The representative of the municipality also mentions other reasons for the increased number of visitors. She thinks that the people who are moving to the city are mainly young people (interviewee 2). This is in line with the information mentioned in one of the policy document published by the municipality (Gemeente Nijmegen, n.d.-c). In addition, she states that the city is a changing thing,

growing more and more and therefore also becoming more crowded. Several interviews have shown that these young people actually like the hustle and bustle, which will be discussed in section 4.3.

Furthermore, the event formula of the square is mentioned several times as a determining factor for the use of the square. Faberplein is used as an event venue for events up to 1.500 visitors (Gemeente Nijmegen, n.d.-b, 2021b), and on days such as King's Day or during the Nijmegen Four Days Marches, performances and parties often take place here (interviewees 1, 5, 6 and 10). In the interview, the representative of Fabergoep mentions that the layout of the square is partly determined by this event formula; '*If you have a set of fixed objects, then you are a bit tied to, for example, a very large swing or fourteen teeter-totters in the square. That's why the municipality has chosen this artificial turf; this is the playground for children and parents who can do a little picnic-like thing. That's what the field is made for.'* (interviewee 1). So, according to him, this layout and the accompanying activities were deliberately chosen because any other layout would have impeded these events. One of the local residents also notes that the layout and use of the square is partly dependent on the events formula; *'Well every summer there is a large event at the Faberplein with the Four Day Marches. Suppose there is greenery, except for the trees, there is just not much chance of survival for it. Fortunately, there are a few trees, but there could perhaps be more greenery. But it would simply not make sense to put a field of real grass there, so it is very logical that they have put green artificial grass there. And I think that is the best solution, because if you have the Four Days Marches every summer, with a stage and all those people, you have to sow new grass every year, and that does not work.'* (interviewee 6). Figure 4.2 gives an impression of what the Faberplein looks like during one of these events.

Figure 4.2: Faberplein during one of the events (source: Faberplein, 2021a).

According to some of the interviewees, the event formula does not only influence the activities and use of the square during those specific events, but also during the rest of the year. Several interviewees indicate the square seems more unified since the expansions. Because the sidewalk cafes are now more intermingled, the square seems like one big sidewalk cafes instead of sidewalk cafes of different businesses (interviewee 14). This is in line with the municipality's vision that various sidewalk cafes in an area should present a uniform image (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021b). Besides, these events are partly the reason why the square is called Faberplein; '*Everyone knows it as Faberplein. That's because of the summer festivals, of course. Actually, he tied that to his cafe when he started organising events there.'* (interviewee 5).

However, some of the local residents said that they would have liked to see the square filled with something other than sidewalk cafes (interviewees 9 and 10). For example, the municipality could have turned it into a football pitch (interviewee 14). Another local resident said; *'Or the municipality should have dressed it up nicely, and then really such a little Paris square, where you can sit quietly, or it is as it is now, but with lots of sidewalk cafes I think.'* (interviewee 10). One of the reasons given for the desire for a different filling of the square is that the square is said to have lost its public space function: *'You used to come back from the city with your shopping, not so much for the residents, but people would often sit there with their bags, but that whole public space function is now gone.'* (interviewee 10). Privatisation, they say, could therefore potentially restrict certain types of activities and uses of the square. These findings are in line with the statements made in the article of Varna and Tiesdell (2010). However, it seems to contradict the statement of Leclercq and Pojani (2021) that users are less concerned about publicness.

Furthermore, the expansion of the sidewalk cafes would also have an impact on surrounding businesses. On the one hand, it is said that these are positive effects, such as when it is busier at Faberplein, this also results in more visitors to surrounding shops and other cafes (interviewee 5). According to the representative of Fabergroep, this could become even more so (interviewee 1). By combining catering establishments, shops, cultural centres and hotels, for example, could give the square even greater appeal and ensure that many different activities take place there. So, different concepts with the different associated activities would complement each other rather than compete (interviewee 5). According to the representative of Fabergroep, the combination of different concepts makes Faberplein a unique square. That unique aspect is important, according to the Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a), because the activities that take place in a particular place make that place unique. However, the representative of another nearby restaurant claims that the expansion has two sides. Although the expansions result in extra visitors, they do lead to extra competition (interviewee 9).

What emerges from the above findings is that the biggest change with respect to use and activities is that the square is busier than before the expansions, according to interviewees. It is therefore not surprising that the sidewalk cafes are also used more often. According to local residents, the most striking thing about the increased visits is the larger number of parents with children.
Several interviewees indicate that they like the fact the square is now being used for a certain purpose, whereas before the expansions there was actually not much to do. According to the Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a) this is a good thing, because if a place is unused, it is in need of change.

Based on these results we can therefore state that privatisation has an impact on the aspect of uses and activities in terms of increased activities, especially in a certain type of visitors. However, it is pointed out that this could also be the result of the pandemic rather than a direct consequence of the expansion of the sidewalk cafes.

4.3 In what way does privatisation of public space affect comfort and image of Faberplein?

As explained in Chapter 3, comfort and image is the third element used to measure liveability of Faberplein. This aspect is all about how people experience a place in terms of cleanliness, safety and the availability of places to sit. This aspect is important because if people have good experiences, they tend to come back more often.

The interviews clearly show that the majority of respondents find Faberplein with its expanded sidewalk cafes attractive. The main reasons given for this are the atmosphere and appearance of the square. Eight out of fourteen respondents even find it more attractive than before. This is also evident from analyses by the municipality, which show that 24% of local residents feel that the attractiveness has increased over the past year, while 14% thinks is decreased (Gemeente Nijmegen, n.d.-c).
Local residents see it is a big improvement; *'I think before the expansion a 6.5* [on scale of 1-10] *or so and now I would really give it an 8.'* (interviewee 4), *'I came to live here during the pandemic, so there was nothing there at the time, and I think it was a 7 if I had to give the square a mark. I thought it looked friendly, and because of Fresca there were a lot of people who came to take away, so there were a lot of people with take-away coffees sitting on those stones there. But I honestly think it's a 9 since the expansions when it was allowed to reopen, there is just always a nice atmosphere no matter what day of the week it is. And yes, I do like all those tables there.'* (interviewee 13), *'I've been living there for two, three years, so also for a while before that expansion. Yeah, I think it's just cosier now with the expansions. I have the idea that more families go there, because in the middle you also have play objects. So at the beginning I would give it a 7, and now an 8.'* (interviewee 14).
Figures 4.3 and 4.4 reflect the situation at Faberplein before and after the sidewalk cafe expansions.

Figure 4.3: Faberplein before the expansions (source: Faberplein, 2020).

Figure 4.4: Faberplein after the expansions (source: RN7, 2021).

Several reasons are given for considering the expansions an improvement. One of the reasons is the combination of different concepts that have developed there, both hospitality and cultural aspects. The whole area has become more attractive as a result (interviewees 5 and 10). Another reason mentioned in one of the interviews is that people like to visit places where there is a lot of activity; '*I do think that people are looking for activity and when you walk along there, you see all the lights on those trees and if your children are having a good time, I think it has only become more attractive.'* (interviewee 7). As also discussed in sections 4.1 and 4.2, the combination of different concepts is something that contributes to the social aspect of the square and provides additional activities. So these aspects are very much intertwined with each other. Besides, as also discussed in section 4.2, six interviewees think that the square got more attractive because it is now used, whereas it was empty and quiet before the expansion.

Half of the interviewees explicitly state that they consider the expansions to be an asset to the city and that it suits the future vision and image of the city of Nijmegen. Although this is a good basis, according to the representative of the municipality, it is even more important that rules and policies are complied with (interviewee 2). This statement is supported by Varna and Tiesdell (2010) who state that privatisation of public space involves management, control and redistribution of rights, roles and responsibilities (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010). The representative of the municipality states that when rules are followed, the expansions fit within the city of Nijmegen. However, if these rules change, it must be re-examined whether this is still the case.
According to the municipality, it is important that there is a balance between liveability and liveliness in order to meet everyone's wishes as much as possible (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021a). If rules and policies are followed, the municipality believes that this should be a liveable place. Important aspects in the policy are noise pollution and safety. These aspects are assessed by experts from different departments; noise measurements are made and safety is monitored by enforcement. So far, the municipality is convinced that the situation in the city is acceptable (interviewee 2). However, it must be taken into account that the municipality makes policy for the city as a whole, instead of making policy on specific incidents (interviewee 2, Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021c), because Carmona (2021) argues that the situation and the influence of privatisation of public space differs per place.

The interviews show that local residents experience a lot of noise coming from the sidewalk cafes. This mainly concerns the voices of people sitting outside; *'Because in the summer when I have my windows up, I can really hear a lot of sidewalk cafe noises and a lot of people talking and a lot of voices. But you don't hear very specific sounds or anything. And yes, that's just mainly from the sidewalk cafes below me, and not really from the sidewalk cafes on the square.'* (interviewee 3). Eight of the interviewees, mostly students, indicated that they did not experience this as a nuisance, whereas five interviewees said that they did experience the expansions and the increased noise as a nuisance. It is mainly the accumulation of voices with the noise from the surrounding area, such as traffic, that bothers people (interviewees 6, 10 and 14). Nuisance is a difficult concept and often difficult to measure. According to the municipality, nuisance is about noise pollution (interviewee 2). However, ambient noise and voice noise are not included in the measurements (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021c). According to a local resident (interviewee 10), important aspects of the nuisance are therefore not included in the measurements.

However, municipal documents show that despite the increased number of catering establishments in the city, no more noise and drink nuisance was experienced (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021b). However, it is mentioned as a point of attention (Gemeente Nijmegen, n.d.-c). As for the noise, it is mentioned several times that people think the experience people have in this square depends on the purpose with which they come there (interviewees 2, 3, 7 and 10). Besides, most of the people living around the square are students, and they take the noise a bit more for granted (interviewee 13). On the one hand, because they like to sit on the sidewalk cafes themselves and enjoy the hustle and bustle, and on the other because they say that it is part of living in the city. *'I think it depends a bit on who you are. But as a student, I think it has become more attractive. It's more fun, more people together and every student likes that. But if you are older and want to have a quiet cup of coffee, then I think it has become too busy.'* (interviewee 13). However, there are also older people living there, who indicate that the hospitality industry is becoming increasingly dominant in the city and that places of rest are lacking (interviewee 10). The above findings are in line with the results of analyses done by the municipality. According to district professionals, the city centre of Nijmegen is an attractive residential environment for young workers and students. At the same time, residents of new buildings, mostly owner-occupied or more expensive rental, experience their living environment to be under pressure because they have more expectations such as more tranquillity (Gemeente Nijmegen, n.d.-c).
The representative of Fabergroep acknowledges that there may be more noise pollution from time to time. However, he also states that he feels that this is a bit part of living downtown and that if one wants to live in a quiet place, the city is not the right place for it (interviewee 1).

A positive aspect about the expansions is that thirteen of the fourteen respondents think the square is clean. One of the interviewees had no answer to the question (interviewee 2). The fact that interviewees (interviewees 8 and 10) indicate that it is even cleaner and better maintained than before the expansions seems to support the theory of Leclercq and Pojani (2021) that privately managed places are often cleaner than public places. This could be the case because the business itself benefits from keeping it attractive (interviewee 7), which is confirmed by the representative of Fabergroep (interviewee 1).

Besides, people feel safe at the square; *'There was never much agitation in my opinion. But because there are now so many people, which was perhaps less before, you would think that there would be less agitation because you would feel safer with more people around you.'* (interviewee 14). The aspect of social control is, for several interviewees, a reason why they feel safe (interviewees 7 and 12). And because, as discussed in section 4.2, more people have been coming to Faberplein since the expansions, social control might have increased as well. Analyses by the municipality confirm that people feel safe(er) (Gemeente Nijmegen, n.d.-c).

However, nine out of the fourteen interviewees explicitly mention that the speeding cars around Faberplein do occasionally cause nuisance and unsafe situations. Five of these respondents think this was already the case before the expansions and it is also mentioned that this is not just happening around Faberplein but it is a problem visible within the whole city (interviewees 1 and 10). Four of the interviewees think that this has increased because of the expansions. The additional crowds attracted by the expanded sidewalk cafes make it even more attractive for the speeding cars to show off; *'Because you have people in the city who like to drive around in their car to show it off a*

bit. (…) And I do think that this is a kind of consequence of the extra places at Faberplein, because they don't do that where nobody is, they prefer to do that where people are watching.' (interviewee 6). Thus, while the sidewalk cafe expansions themselves do not seem to have a direct impact on the feeling of safety, some local residents do indicate that they think the number of speeding cars has increased as a result. Analyses by the municipality also show that relatively many residents experience nuisance from traffic (Gemeente Nijmegen, n.d.-c).

According to two local residents, the expansion of the sidewalk cafes does lead to more unsafe situations. Staff has to cross the road every time with food and drunk guests have to cross the road to go to the toilet (interviewee 8). In addition, because more people visit Faberplein and cross the streets, it is more chaotic than before; *'I think, and in terms of pedestrians, I think it has become busier and staff also have to cross of course, so in that aspect I think it has become a bit more unsafe because everyone just takes priority on that crossing and it is often chaotic. And I think that now there are more pedestrians, that it is more unsafe than it was before.'* (interviewee 13).

Another aspect of safety is cited by the representative of Fabergroep; *The advantage, of course, are all the chairs around it. Now, that's a very important one, you have a natural fence. As it were of people, of parents, of also the chairs at the tables. But there are also a lot of parents, or grandparents, who just keep an eye on their children, but also on other people's children. So a child never just runs off the road here.'* (interviewee 1). That a natural fence has been created around the square is also recognized by local residents (interviewee 13). This natural fence may make it less easy for children to run into the street, but it may also effect other aspects of the liveability of the square, such as reduced accessibility. The aspect of absolute accessibility will be discussed further in section 4.4, but the aspect of relative accessibility is relevant in this sub-question. As mentioned earlier, the square would have lost some of its public function due to the sidewalk cafe expansions. Although there are still benches and public seating areas in the square, it is felt by interviewees that these places are no longer inviting because of the surrounding sidewalk cafes (interviewees 10 and 13).

What emerges from the above findings is that the expansion of the sidewalk cafes has an impact on the comfort and image aspect of liveability of Faberplein. The majority of respondents seems to find the square more attractive since the expansions. Besides, it seems to be more clean. This seems to be in line with the article of Leclercq and Pojani (2021) describing that privatised areas are appreciated because of the clean, safe and pleasant environment and the entertainment opportunities. Despite the traffic situation and the speeding cars, Faberplein is overall experienced as a safe environment and an attractive place. Although this already seemed to be the case before the expansions, it appears that people experience that this has increased. Local residents really like the atmosphere and the majority of respondents therefore say that the expansion of the sidewalk cafes are an improvement of the public space. However, a small number of interviewees say that due to the expansion of the sidewalk cafes, the public seating areas are no longer attractive. The square would no longer be inviting without consuming drinks or food from one of the cafes, so the public space function has been lost.
Although the local residents clearly experience more noise coming from the sidewalk cafes since the expansions, in many cases this is not experienced as more nuisance. The expansion of the sidewalk cafes therefore have several impacts on the aspect of comfort and image of Faberplein, which are sometimes opposites and seems to depend on the type of resident (student/non-student).

4.4 In what way does privatisation of public space affect the access and linkages of Faberplein?

As explained in Chapter 3, access and linkages is the fourth element used to measure liveability of Faberplein. This aspect is all about the (absolute) accessibility of a place. The accessibility aspect is important because according to Vuchic (2017) it enables mobility which causes interactions between people. As discussed in section 4.1, these interactions are an important aspect of liveability because they contribute to sociability.

Based on the interview results, it is difficult to say whether the expansion of the sidewalk cafes has affected the accessibility. As already mentioned in section 4.3, according to some interviewees the expanded sidewalk cafes would form a natural fence around the square. And although this may have a positive effect on the safety around the square, according to some local residents this does not mean less accessibility (interviewees 4, 7 and 14). One of them mentions; *'It's very accessible to sit down anyway because it's so open. You basically look through everything to see if you see a seat somewhere.'* (interviewee 7).
A total of six respondents indicated that the square was (still) easily accessible and six respondents said that the square was less accessible after the expansions. Two of these respondents indicated that this varied from time to time and therefore had something to say about both sides. The other four respondents have no specific opinion about good or bad accessibility.

However, according to four of the interviewees (interviewees 3, 8, 9 and 10), the many bicycles parked on the sidewalks stand out since the expansions. The many bicycles on footpaths can be seen in the photos below (Figures 4.5 and 4.6).

Figure 4.5: Bicycles on the pavement. Photo: Klaver, K.

Figure 4.6: Bicycles on the pavement. Photo: Klaver, K.

Although some of the respondents indicated that this was not an extreme obstacle, they did mention that people were making detours across the street more often. One of the other local residents mentions; *'You can easily get around it, but I would indeed say pay a little more attention to the bikes. There should be more bike racks and more space for bikes. (…) And of course that's annoying, but the bikes are not really in the way now.'* (interviewee 12). Thus, although there are often many bicycles on the sidewalk, only a few interviewees consider it a nuisance. This is contradictory to what analyses by the municipality show. Neighbourhood professionals do in fact observe considerable nuisance from parked bicycles. Partly because visitors are often unwilling to park their bicycles further away (Gemeente Nijmegen, n.d.-c).
Additional, others do indicate that because of the many chairs and tables on the sidewalks, the accessibility got worse after the expansions. According to local residents, it is too crowded and because of the people sitting on the sidewalk, it is less attractive to walk past (interviewees 4, 7, 10 and 13).

As also discussed in section 4.3, the policies and associated rules are very important according to the municipality. As mentioned by the representative of the municipality, also in the case of accessibility there are reviews done and cafes must follow strict rules. One of these rules is that the passage on sidewalk cafes must be at least 1.80 metres to ensure accessibility (Gemeente Nijmegen 2021b, interviewee 2). However, according to interviewees, the cafes do not adhere to this and it is not enforced by the municipality (interviewees 8 and 10). One of them mentions an interesting point; a business owner is in control of enforcement on the sidewalk cafe, but according to the rules he does not have to do more than address and/or warn visitors. It is indeed stated that entrepreneurs are trusted to do enforcement themselves as much as possible and the municipality tries to confront entrepreneurs with as few checks and fines as possible (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021b). However, if enforcement comes by several times but does not intervene when necessary, nothing changes which is not good for the accessibility of the square (interviewee 8). This is striking, because in one of the

policy documents the municipality indicates that residents and entrepreneurs indicate that the rules are observed, but that enforcement requires attention (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021b)

Another important point of accessibility is parking facilities. This is a well-known problem in the city centre of Nijmegen (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021a, n.d.-c). Parking facilities are scarce, which was also the case before the sidewalk cafe expansions. During the expansions Fabergroep was allowed to use one parking lot to expand their sidewalk cafe (interviewee 1). As interviewees also indicate, parking is a problem in general. The taking of a parking lot thus makes parking opportunities even scarcer but has only a minor impact on the existing problem (interviewees 6 and 9).

However, people approaching the square from other parts of the city is a positive aspect of Faberplein's accessibility. Both the representative of Fabergroep and local residents see that people come to Faberplein from different parts of the city. One of the reasons given for this is the proximity of other catering establishments and cultural sites (interviewees 1, 5 and 10). Especially the flow from LUX is something that seems to stand out, for example people coming to eat or drink something on the square before or after a film. In addition, the proximity of public transport could be a reason (Gemeente Nijmegen, n.d.-b). However, some interviewees indicate they think that Faberplein is located slightly outside the city centre and therefore less in the usual walking route. One of them said: *"People who are not from Nijmegen will probably go to Molenstraat or Koningplein or something like that. These places are all super easy to reach from the station, and Faberplein is just a bit further.'* (interviewee 6). However, it is not clear from the interviews that the approach to the square has changed, except for the fact that there is more approach as previously discussed in 4.2.

What emerges from the above findings is that it is not really clear in what way the sidewalk cafe expansions influence the aspect of access and linkages of Faberplein. The opinions of interviewees are very divided. What has been mentioned several times is that the footpaths do look noticeably fuller since the expansions. On the one hand with tables and chairs, on the other hand with bicycles. Part of the interviewees experience this as disturbing, while an equal number of others do not. However, analyses by the municipality do show that the many bicycles are causing a nuisance (Gemeente Nijmegen, n.d.-c). This supports the previously mentioned statement of the Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a); liveability is a concept that partly depends on people's experience, which means that the experience can differ per place.

4.5 Conclusions

To be able to answer this research question, a qualitative study was conducted including fourteen semi-structured interviews with a representative of the municipality of Nijmegen, the representative of Fabergroep and local residents. The results of this study are discussed in sections 4.1 to 4.4, based on the aforementioned sub-questions. These results show that privatisation of public space affects the liveability of Faberplein in different ways.

Firstly, it appears that privatisation of public space at Faberplein has an impact on the social aspect of liveability. The sidewalk cafes at Faberplein already had a big social function, but the expansions seem to have strengthened this function because it enabled an increasing amount of encounters

between people. In addition, it is stated that the group of visitors is still diverse, but that the group of parents with children has increased significantly. However, a small minority indicated that they thought people would be excluded by the expansions.

Secondly, privatisation of public space also seems to affect the aspect of uses and activities of Faberplein. The biggest difference is that interviewees feel that the square is busier since the sidewalk cafe expansions. Not much seems to have changed in terms of use and activities, except that the number of sidewalk cafe visits has increased, mainly by parents with children. According to the interviewees, before the expansions, there was nothing to do on the square, and it is seen as positive that the public space is now being used more. So, privatisation of public space seems to have an impact on the aspect of uses and activities in terms of increased activities.

Thirdly, privatisation of public space at Faberplein also seems to have an impact on the aspect of comfort and image. In general, the expansion of the sidewalk cafes is seen as a positive thing, and a majority of interviewees believe that it has made the square more attractive. However, a small number of interviewees stated that, due to the expansion of the sidewalk cafes the public seating areas are no longer attractive. Because the square would no longer be attractive to sit without consuming drinks or food from one of the cafes, the public space function seems to have been lost. Despite the traffic situation, people still feel safe on the square. In addition, most local residents do not experience the increased noise as a nuisance.

Fourthly, it is hard to tell whether the privatisation of public space at Faberplein has an impact on the aspect of access and linkages. The results of this study show that the opinions of interviewees are very divided. Mainly the parked bicycles are notable. On the one hand, some respondents indicated that they did not experience this as a nuisance, while on the other hand, others indicated that they did find it annoying. However, analyses by the municipality show that this is a point of attention because they observe great nuisance from the bicycles.

What emerges from the above conclusions is that the privatisation of public space affects the various aspects of liveability of Faberplein in many ways. These conclusions will be the basis for answering the research question of this thesis in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 Conclusion and discussion of the Faberplein case study

5.1 Answering the research question

This thesis sought to answer the question: 'In what way does privatisation of public space affect the liveability of Faberplein in Nijmegen?'. Based on the Place Diagram (Figure 2.1) from the Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a), liveability has been divided into four separate aspects: sociability, comfort & image, uses & activities and access & linkages. Each of these aspects has been dealt with as a sub-question in the previous chapter. The answers to these sub-questions will form the basis of the answer to the research question.

As discussed in section 2.4, privatisation of public space can affect the liveability of a place. Based on the previous findings of this research, the same conclusion can be drawn for the Faberplein case study. The results of this study show that privatisation of public space affects the liveability of Faberplein in terms of sociability, comfort & image and uses & activities. However, it is not entirely clear from this research whether privatisation of public space also affects the aspect of access & linkages of Faberplein. Although the influence differs per aspect, overall it can be concluded that privatisation of public space affects the liveability of Faberplein in various ways.

Privatisation of public space seems to influence liveability by increasing the social aspect, mostly because of the increased number of encounters between visitors. In addition, the square seems to be (still) accessible to a diverse public, but the group 'parent with children' seems to have increased significantly. Therefore, Mitchell's (2003) assertion that profit making is prioritised over social mixing does not seem to be the case in this research. This is confirmed by the representative of Fabergroep (interviewee 1).
The increased number of visitors causes an increased social component on the one hand, but also influences the use of Faberplein on the other hand. According to most respondents, initially there was not much to do on the square and the expansions have ensured usage increased. According to the Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a) this is an improvement. Although the majority of respondents said they experience this as something positive, it is also mentioned that the expansions have caused the square to lose its public function and become accessible only to people who want to get consumptions at the sidewalk cafes (interviewee 10). This statement is in line with Sepe's article (2017) in which it is mentioned that commercialisation of public space can lead to highly restrictive measures on the use of that space, with the risk of codifying any kind of behaviour. However, the representative of Fabergroep states that people who do not want to consume anything are still welcome on the square (interviewee 1).
The increased activities in turn affects how the square is perceived. Due to the expansions and the higher number of visitors, more noise is generated. Some local residents experience this as a nuisance, while others say they are not bothered by it. This is in line with the findings of the municipality (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021c).
Besides, it is mentioned by most local residents and shown in analysis of the municipality of Nijmegen (Gemeente Nijmegen, n.d.-c) that people think the square is more attractive and cleaner than before the sidewalk cafe expansions. This is in line with Leclercq's and Pojani's (2021) findings that privately managed places are often cleaner and better maintained. However, a minority of the respondents indicates that they Faberplein became less attractive (interviewees 4, 7, 10 and 13).

Because of the expansions the square is in some cases experienced as less attractive because it is too crowded and people do not feel welcome anymore because they feel like activities are restricted. The fact that privatisation has made the square relatively less accessible for some does not mean that it has also become less accessible in absolute terms. The aspect of absolute accessibility cannot be conclusively evaluated because the data collected on this subject is too varied.

What also emerges from this research is that the various aspects of liveability are multidimensional. They are closely related and may influence each other. Some aspects seem to reinforce each other while others seem to be opposed. For example, because of the increased number of visitors people feel safer because of increased social control, while others feel less safe because the square is more chaotic.
In addition, previous findings show that for some respondents, the expansion increases the social component because of the increased number of visitors, while for others it creates obstacles and they feel less welcome. This shows how complex and interconnected the different aspects of liveability are. The experiences of the different respondents seem to be related to the type of residents. Students, for instance, generally seem to like the expansions more than non-students. As Devereux and Littlefield (2017) argue, by trying to benefit everyone, you may not really benefit anyone. So, while the current situation at Faberplein may not meet everyone's wishes and needs, it may now meet the preferences of the vast majority.

5.2 Discussion of the conducted research

As mentioned earlier, it is important to realise that this study was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic. The situation that currently exists at Faberplein is a result of this pandemic. Because the situation around COVID-19 is very changeable, so is the situation at Faberplein. This should be taken into account when interpreting this study.
Because the expansion of the sidewalk cafes started during this pandemic and this study only started during these expansions, there is no baseline against which the results of this research can be compared. As indicated in Chapter 3, in the interviews an attempt was made to get a picture of the situation before the expansions compared to the situation during the expansions.
In addition, because these expansions took place during the pandemic, it cannot be said with certainty that only the expanded sidewalk cafes have an impact on liveability. For example, because lockdown meant that indoor spaces were often not accessible, people might go outside more. This might influence the number of visitors at Faberplein. It is therefore not possible to say with certainty that the increased number of visitors are only due to the expanded sidewalk cafes. This would be something to consider in follow-up research and offers opportunities for further research after the pandemic.

Besides, the group of respondents consisted of a representative of the municipality of Nijmegen, a representative of Fabergroep and local residents. As a result, not all types of visitors or residents of a city are represented. Although an attempt was made to include a heterogeneous group of respondents in this study, it appears that the group of local residents is mainly represented by students. This seems to be a one-sided group, but because mainly students live around Faberplein, this group is representative. As discussed earlier, respondents differ in how they experience the privatisation of the public space and students generally look at the expansions in a more positive

way than non-students. As the Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a) states, liveability is partly dependent on experience and it will therefore be interesting for follow-up research to see how privatisation of public space affects liveability in a place where there is a more diverse group of residents.

Furthermore, it is relevant to reflect back on the Place Diagram (Figure 2.1) of the Project for Public Spaces (n.d.-a). As discussed in section 2.3, this model was used in this study to investigate the liveability of Faberplein and is therefore an important part of this research. This diagram was initially drawn up to see what qualities a place needs to be successful. However, this thesis shows that creating a perfect place may be impossible. The results of this research show that the different elements in this diagram can influence and undermines each other. In some cases a variable, for example safety as discussed in section 5.1, may increase and decrease simultaneously. Based on these findings, it is therefore advisable to take a critical look at the applicability of the Place Diagram.

Finally, as discussed in section 4.3, the municipality of Nijmegen makes policy for the city as a whole instead of making policy on specific incidents (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2021c). This may be good from the viewpoint of uniformity, but it does mean that policy may not always be appropriate for the situation that arises somewhere. As a result, important aspects such as experiences of local residents, may be missed.
As Carmona (2021) states, privatisation is not so much a good or bad thing, but it depends on the place. It is therefore a recommendation for the municipality of Nijmegen to look more closely at specific cases rather than Nijmegen in general when it comes to policy relating to liveability. Taking this into further consideration could potentially help to avoid conflicts and be an asset to current policy.

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Annex 1 Interview guides

1.1 Interview guide representative of Fabergroep

- Ik stel mezelf voor
- Ik vraag of de geïnterviewde akkoord is met het opnemen van het interview en het noemen van hun namen (of dat ze liever anoniem blijven)
- Vraag of de geïnterviewde zichzelf voor kan stellen

1) Leg het onderzoek uit en benoem het aandeel van de geïnterviewde.
    a. Leg uit waarom ik dit onderzoek doe.
    b. Leg uit wat ik met dit interview wil doen, en wat ik uiteindelijk met mijn onderzoek wil doen.
    c. Benoem de hoofdvraag; Wat doet privatisering van openbare ruimte voor de leefbaarheid rondom het Faberplein?
        i. Benoem de termen privatisering, openbare ruimte en leefbaarheid.
    d. Benoem de casus/het conflict dat ik wil belichten.

2) In hoeverre heeft volgens jullie de uitbreiding van terrassen invloed op de leefbaarheid op en rondom het Faberplein?
3) Waarom willen jullie een verzoek indienen voor een blijvende terrasvergunning (naast alleen van het economische aspect)?
    a. Welke argumenten gebruiken jullie hiervoor en waarom?
        i. De uitbreiding zou hebben gezorgd voor veel plezier van velen (zwoele zomeravonden)
        ii. De uitbreiding is de enige fijne plek in het stadscentrum van Nijmegen voor ouders met (kleine) kinderen
        → Hoe zit het dan met het parkje bij Down town, Bairro alto en De Waagh?
        iii. De uitbreiding zou de veiligheid hebben bevorderd? Hoe dan?
        iv. De uitbreiding zou ondenkbaar zijn uit de bruisende binnenstad van Nijmegen

Zoals de gemeente aangeeft, vinden zij de kernpunten veiligheid, toegankelijkheid en leefbaarheid de belangrijkste aspecten waar naar gekeken moet worden m.b.t een beslissing omtrent de terras uitbreidingen. Onderstaande vragen zullen betrekking hebben op deze kernpunten.

4) Leefbaarheid is een brede term, die ik wil toetsen aan de hand van verschillende kenmerken; sociability (dus het sociale aspect), uses and activities (dus gebruik en activiteiten), comfort and image (dus comfort en imago), access and linkages (dus toegang en verbindingen).
    a. In hoeverre heeft het plein een aandeel in het sociale aspect van openbare/deels private ruimte?
        i. Hoe is dit veranderd met de uitbreiding van terrassen; dus voor vs nu?
        ii. Welke rol speelt het plein en de uitbreiding van terrassen voor sociale netwerken en interacties tussen mensen (ontmoetingen, social city)?
        iii. In hoeverre is de diversiteit van het publiek veranderd (uitsluiting van bepaalde groepen; winnaars en verliezers)?

b. In hoeverre heeft de uitbreiding van terrassen invloed op het gebruik en activiteiten op/rondom het plein?
    i. Waar wordt het plein allemaal voor gebruikt door bezoekers? En in hoeverre is dit anders dan voor de uitbreiding van terrassen?
    ii. In hoeverre heeft het Faberplein een andere functie gekregen binnen de stad Nijmegen?
    iii. In hoeverre is er iets veranderd qua drukte/levendigheid op en rondom het plein na de uitbreiding van terrassen? In hoeverre verschilt dit per tijdstip/dagdeel?
    iv. In hoeverre is het plein een place to be ipv een place to buy geworden? Of is dit juist andersom? (Doorstroom o.a.)

c. In hoeverre heeft de uitbreiding van terrassen invloed gehad op de aantrekkelijkheid en het imago van het Faberplein?
    i. Hoe heeft de uitbreiding van de terrassen invloed gehad op de veiligheid op en rondom het plein?
        1. Verkeer
        2. Geweld
        3. Inbraak
        4. Sociale controle
    ii. Hoe heeft de uitbreiding van de terrassen invloed gehad op hoe schoon het is op en rondom het plein?
    iii. Hoe heeft de uitbreiding van de terrassen invloed gehad op de overlast op en rondom het plein?
    iv. Op welke manier is het plein meer of minder uitnodigend geworden?
    v. In hoeverre vervult het plein een rol als huiskamer/gevoel van thuiskomen?

d. In hoeverre heeft de uitbreiding van terrassen invloed gehad op de toegankelijkheid en verbindingen op en rondom het plein?
    i. In welke mate is er sprake van een andere verkeerssituatie/verkeersgebruikers op en rondom het plein?
        1. Auto's
        2. Fietsers
        3. Voetgangers
    ii. In hoeverre is het plein meer of minder afgesloten van de rest van de stad door de uitbreiding van de terrassen? (Hoe staat het plein met de rest van de stad in verbinding?)
    iii. In hoeverre is er kostbare openbare ruimte (groen of voetpaden bijv.) ten koste gegaan door de uitbreiding van de terrassen?

5) Hoe is het geregeld qua handhaving, rechten en verantwoordelijkheid omtrent de terras uitbreidingen?
6) Waarom is de uitbreiding van de terrassen op het Faberplein wel of geen aanwinst voor de stad Nijmegen?

7) In hoeverre denken jullie dat de huidige invulling van het Faberplein past binnen de ideeën en ambities van gemeente Nijmegen?
8) De gemeente geeft aan input te hebben opgehaald via een participatief traject.
    a. In hoeverre hebben jullie dit meegekregen?
    b. In hoeverre hebben jullie hier aan deelgenomen?
    c. In hoeverre hebben jullie het gevoel dat jullie gehoord worden?
        i. Welk aandeel heeft de petitie hierin?
9) Hebben jullie nog vragen voor mij?

- Bedank geïnterviewde
- Vraag of er bij onduidelijkheden of tussentijdse vragen opnieuw contact mag worden opgenomen
- Vraag of de geïnterviewde interesse heeft om de resultaten van het onderzoek in te zien/hiervan op de hoogte wil worden gebracht

1.2 Interview guide representative of the municipality of Nijmegen

- Ik stel mezelf voor
- Ik vraag of de geïnterviewde akkoord is met het opnemen van het interview en het noemen van hun namen (of dat ze liever anoniem blijven)
- Vraag of de geïnterviewde zichzelf voor kan stellen

1) Leg het onderzoek uit en benoem het aandeel van de geïnterviewde.
    a. Leg uit waarom ik dit onderzoek doe.
    b. Leg uit wat ik met dit interview wil doen, en wat ik uiteindelijk met mijn onderzoek wil doen.
    c. Benoem de hoofdvraag; Wat doet privatisering van openbare ruimte voor de leefbaarheid rondom het Faberplein?
        i. Benoem de termen privatisering, openbare ruimte en leefbaarheid.
    d. Benoem de casus/het conflict dat ik wil belichten.
2) In hoeverre heeft volgens jullie de uitbreiding van terrassen invloed op de leefbaarheid op en rondom het Faberplein?
    a. Waarom moet er wel of geen blijvende terrasvergunning worden verstrekt aan de Fabergoep? (Ik weet niet hier antwoord op kan worden gegeven, wellicht wel de voor en tegens)
    b. Welke argumenten gebruiken jullie hiervoor en waarom?
    c. Hoe kijken jullie naar de argumenten van de Fabergroep en de bijbehorende petitie?

Zoals de gemeente aangeeft, vinden zij de kernpunten veiligheid, toegankelijkheid en leefbaarheid de belangrijkste aspecten waar naar gekeken moet worden m.b.t een beslissing omtrent de terras uitbreidingen. Onderstaande vragen zullen betrekking hebben op deze kernpunten.

3) Leefbaarheid is een brede term, die ik wil toetsen aan de hand van verschillende kenmerken; sociability, uses and activities, comfort and image, access and linkages.
    a. Op welke manier en in hoeverre heeft het plein een aandeel in het sociale aspect van openbare/deels private ruimte?
        i. Hoe is dit verandert met de uitbreiding van terrassen; dus voor vs nu?
        ii. Welke rol speelt het plein en de uitbreiding van terrassen voor sociale netwerken en interacties tussen mensen (ontmoetingen, social city)?
        iii. In hoeverre is de diversiteit van het publiek veranderd (uitsluiting van bepaalde groepen; winnaars en verliezers?

    b. In hoeverre heeft de uitbreiding van terrassen invloed op het gebruik en activiteiten op/rondom het plein?
        i. Waar wordt het plein allemaal voor gebruikt door bezoekers? En is dit anders dan voor de uitbreiding van terrassen?
        ii. In hoeverre heeft het Faberplein een andere functie gekregen binnen de stad Nijmegen?

iii. In hoeverre is er iets veranderd qua drukte/levendigheid op en rondom het plein na de uitbreiding van terrassen? In hoeverre verschilt dit per tijdstip/dagdeel?
iv. In hoeverre is het plein een place to be ipv een place to buy geworden? Of is dit juist andersom? (Doorstroom o.a.)

c. In hoeverre heeft de uitbreiding van terrassen invloed gehad op de aantrekkelijkheid en het imago van het Faberplein?
    i. Hoe heeft de uitbreiding van de terrassen invloed gehad op de veiligheid op en rondom het plein?
        1. Verkeer
        2. Geweld
        3. Inbraak
        4. Sociale controle
    ii. Hoe heeft de uitbreiding van de terrassen invloed gehad op hoe schoon het is op en rondom het plein?
    iii. Hoe heeft de uitbreiding van de terrassen invloed gehad op de overlast op en rondom het plein?
    iv. Op welke manier is het plein meer of minder aantrekkelijk/uitnodigend geworden?
    v. In hoeverre vervult het plein een rol als huiskamer/gevoel van thuiskomen?
    vi. In hoeverre vervult het plein een rol als visitekaartje voor de stad?

d. In hoeverre heeft de uitbreiding van terrassen invloed gehad op de toegankelijkheid en verbindingen op en rondom het plein?
    i. In welke mate is er sprake van een andere verkeerssituatie op en rondom het plein?
        1. Auto's
        2. Fietsers
        3. Voetgangers
    ii. In hoeverre is het plein meer of minder afgesloten van de rest van de stad door de uitbreiding van de terrassen? (Hoe staat het plein met de rest van de stad in verbinding?)
    iii. In hoeverre is er kostbare openbare ruimte (groen of voetpaden bijv.) ten koste gegaan door de uitbreiding van de terrassen?

4) Hoe is het geregeld qua handhaving, rechten en verantwoordelijkheid omtrent de terras uitbreidingen?
5) Jullie geven aan dat er input is opgehaald via een participatief traject, hoe zag dit traject eruit en in welke mate wordt dit meegenomen in beslissingen omtrent terras uitbreidingen?
6) In hoeverre denken jullie dat de huidige situatie past binnen de visie van gemeente Nijmegen en haar ambities (zoals o.a. benoemd in de terrassennota 2022 en Actieplan Nijmegen)?
    a. Waarom is de uitbreiding van de terrassen op het Faberplein wel of geen aanwinst voor de stad Nijmegen?

7) Hebben jullie nog vragen voor mij?

- Bedank geïnterviewde
- Vraag of er bij onduidelijkheden of tussentijdse vragen opnieuw contact mag worden opgenomen?
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1.3 Interview guide local residents

- Ik stel mezelf voor
- Ik vraag of de geïnterviewde akkoord is met het opnemen van het interview en het noemen van hun namen (of dat ze liever anoniem blijven)

1) Leg het onderzoek uit en benoem het aandeel van de geïnterviewde.
    a. Leg uit waarom ik dit onderzoek doe.
    b. Leg uit wat ik met dit interview wil doen, en wat ik uiteindelijk met mijn onderzoek wil doen.
    c. Benoem de hoofdvraag; Wat doet privatisering van openbare ruimte voor de leefbaarheid rondom het Faberplein?
        i. Benoem de termen privatisering, openbare ruimte en leefbaarheid.
    d. Benoem de casus/het conflict dat ik wil belichten.
2) Welk cijfer geef je het plein momenteel, en waarom? En is dit veranderd na de uitbreiding van de terrassen?
3) In hoeverre heeft volgens jullie de uitbreiding van terrassen invloed op de leefbaarheid op en rondom het Faberplein?

Zoals de gemeente aangeeft, vinden zij de kernpunten veiligheid, toegankelijkheid en leefbaarheid de belangrijkste aspecten waar naar gekeken moet worden m.b.t een beslissing omtrent de terras uitbreidingen. Onderstaande vragen zullen betrekking hebben op deze kernpunten.

4) Leefbaarheid is een brede term, die ik wil toetsen aan de hand van verschillende kenmerken; sociability (dus het sociale aspect), uses and activities (dus gebruik en activiteiten), comfort and image (dus comfort en imago), access and linkages (dus toegang en verbindingen).
    a. In hoeverre heeft het plein een aandeel in het sociale aspect van openbare/deels private ruimte?
        i. Hoe is dit veranderd met de uitbreiding van terrassen; dus voor vs nu?
        ii. Welke rol speelt het plein en de uitbreiding van terrassen voor sociale netwerken en interacties tussen mensen (ontmoetingen, social city)?
        iii. In hoeverre is de diversiteit van het publiek veranderd (uitsluiting van bepaalde groepen; winnaars en verliezers)?

    b. In hoeverre heeft de uitbreiding van terrassen invloed op het gebruik en activiteiten op/rondom het plein?
        i. Waar wordt het plein allemaal voor gebruikt door bezoekers? En in hoeverre is dit anders dan voor de uitbreiding van terrassen?
        ii. In hoeverre heeft het Faberplein een andere functie gekregen binnen de stad Nijmegen?
        iii. In hoeverre is er iets veranderd qua drukte/levendigheid op en rondom het plein na de uitbreiding van terrassen? In hoeverre verschilt dit per tijdstip/dagdeel?
        iv. In hoeverre is het plein een place to be ipv een place to buy geworden? Of is dit juist andersom? (Doorstroom o.a.)

c. In hoeverre heeft de uitbreiding van terrassen invloed gehad op de aantrekkelijkheid en het imago van het Faberplein?
    i. Hoe heeft de uitbreiding van de terrassen invloed gehad op de veiligheid op en rondom het plein?
        1. Verkeer
        2. Geweld
        3. Inbraak
        4. Sociale controle
    ii. Hoe heeft de uitbreiding van de terrassen invloed gehad op hoe schoon het is op en rondom het plein?
    iii. Hoe heeft de uitbreiding van de terrassen invloed gehad op de overlast op en rondom het plein?
    iv. Op welke manier is het plein meer of minder uitnodigend geworden?
    v. In hoeverre vervult het plein een rol als huiskamer/gevoel van thuiskomen?

d. In hoeverre heeft de uitbreiding van terrassen invloed gehad op de toegankelijkheid en verbindingen op en rondom het plein?
    i. In welke mate is er sprake van een andere verkeerssituatie/verkeersgebruikers op en rondom het plein?
        1. Auto's
        2. Fietsers
        3. Voetgangers
    ii. In hoeverre is het plein meer of minder afgesloten van de rest van de stad door de uitbreiding van de terrassen? (Hoe staat het plein met de rest van de stad in verbinding?
    iii. In hoeverre is er kostbare openbare ruimte (groen of voetpaden bijv.) ten koste gegaan door de uitbreiding van de terrassen?

5) In hoeverre denken jullie dat de huidige invulling van het Faberplein past binnen de ideeën en ambities van gemeente Nijmegen?
    a. Waarom is de uitbreiding van de terrassen op het Faberplein wel of geen aanwinst voor de stad Nijmegen?
6) De gemeente geeft aan input te hebben opgehaald via een participatief traject.
    a. In hoeverre hebben jullie dit meegekregen?
    b. In hoeverre hebben jullie hier aan deelgenomen?
    c. In hoeverre hebben jullie het gevoel dat jullie gehoord worden?
7) Hebben jullie nog vragen voor mij?

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