

The cultural ecosystem of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt

*A qualitative case study of a local shopping street and its cultural ecosystem
services*



A master thesis in Human Geography

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Preface

Coming from a small town in the Achterhoek, it might seem strange when I tell you that I have been fascinated by cities my entire life. Their complexity, the design, but also the way people are living in cities are all aspects that have my interest. Moving to Nijmegen to study Geography, Planning and Environment has been one of the best decisions for me. Experiencing a city to the fullest while learning a lot about cities in the meantime has been great. When I received my bachelor's degree, I knew I wanted to learn more about the urban life. That is why I decided to study Urban and Cultural Geography for my master's degree.

I am very grateful for the opportunity to conduct research in the city of Eindhoven. It has been refreshing to study a new environment and to start this thesis with a blank canvas. Therefore, I want to thank Seinpost, the company I was able to do my internship, for the introduction to this space. I have learned a lot during my research, and it felt amazing to put the theory into practice. In the first place I would like to thank Seinpost and John Bardoel in particular for guiding me through this process and for providing me with new insights. I also would like to thank my supervisor, Friederike Landau-Donnelly for the great support and flexibility.

The only thing that is left to say is thank you for reading this thesis and I hope you enjoy it.

Abstract

Local shopping areas can be under pressure because of a lack of diversity, empty premises and the rise of online shopping. The shopping areas that are designed in the past, are due to change in the future. This causes friction between the actors that can be present in such an area. Approaching a local shopping area as an ecosystem is a way to understand the complexity of a shopping area, by discovering the relations and dependencies that are present. This research aimed to gain information about the human actors and the living environment that are present in a local shopping area in Eindhoven, to discuss whether the area can be seen as a (cultural) ecosystem. Therefore, the following research question is used: *To what extent can the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt be considered a (cultural) ecosystem?*

This research can be qualified as a qualitative case-study, using in-depth interviews as well as policy documents. The in-depth interviews are held with different actors that are present in the area of interest. The empirical data is analysed through ATLAS.TI and the policy documents are analysed by the means of a policy document analysis.

The analysis of the data shows that there are numerous actors that play an important role within the research area. The actors do not always have the best relation and distrust is a problem the actors are dealing with. Shopping areas are changing and not all actors are used to this yet. However, the actors do like to be involved in plans regarding the change of the neighbourhood.

Concluding, the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt can be seen as a cultural ecosystem. It is an ecosystem that is working decently in an economic way, however it should be acknowledged that there is room for improvement to make the ecosystem more sustainable.

Due to the area being 'over researched', the data collection of this research had to be adapted. This might have influenced the results of this research. For future research it would be suggested to apply the theory used in this research on a similar area that has not been researched yet.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Project framework

1.1.1 Local shopping areas

Visiting local shopping areas is an activity that humans have been doing for centuries. At first, going shopping was just seen as a necessity and not seen as a fun activity. Though by the end of the 1800's shopping received more of a social character, especially for women who gathered at large warehouses. In the 20th century the leisure character of shopping only became larger and shopping was no longer seen as just a necessity (Klaffke, 2003). During the 1960's, city centres were the places to shop with their large department stores and their own cultural identity (Zukin, 1996). When suburbs arose this went hand in hand with the shopping malls in these areas, that formed an addition to the downtown shopping streets (Longstreth, 1994). Though, according to Zukin (1996) the urban culture of local shopping streets did not go to waste because of the new ways of shopping, since the shopping streets with their own ethnicity still exist.

It is clear that the ways people are shopping have changed over time. Butchers, bakeries and green grocers are now businesses that can also be found in regular supermarkets and the number of chain stores has risen as well. Shopping areas have changed geographically too, from local streets to suburban malls. Though the 21st century brought up another trend: online shopping, which is a totally different and new way of shopping that does not require people to go to a shopping area. This trend leads to a decrease in visits of local shopping areas, which will eventually lead to a decrease in necessary floorspace. This will also influence the other service function that a local shopping area has. It appears that in the Netherlands, people who live in cities tend to shop online more than people in rural areas (Maat & Konings, 2018). The Covid-19 pandemic has only increased the share of online shopping compared to shopping physically. As a result of online shopping, vacancy rates of retail premises are increasing. Additionally, the focus on shopping in these streets is shifting from mainly shopping, to shopping in combination with food concepts and other businesses. The increase of online shopping can have an amplifying effect to the rise of restaurants. It is not only a place to buy anymore, but a place to meet as well. However, the shopping function also brought a social function along. The decrease of stores thus can also cause a decrease in the social function of a local shopping area (Maat & Konings, 2018).

The changes in the ways shopping streets and areas are used can cause tension between the different groups of people in the area. People might have been living in the area for a long time, which means the area might have been a lot different when they moved in. When there were mainly clothing stores, supermarkets and pharmacies in the past, it can be a switch to see mainly restaurants in the present. Shopping areas change and this is not to everybody's liking. Also, certain

types of businesses attract the same types of businesses, which means the diversity of the shops can be decreased. Entrepreneurs tend to follow their competitors, which can lead to two businesses of the same sort next to each other (Evers et al., 2012). The loss of diversity, in combination with vacancy and a loss of liveability for the residents, can cause a shopping area to become economically vulnerable.

1.1.2 National and local policies on urban planning

The Dutch urban planning policies have been influencing the retail structure in the Netherlands since the 1960's. Urban planning policies were created by the Dutch government at first, through the 'Eerste Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening' (van der Cammen & De Klerk, 2010). The Christaller theory was the main inspiration for this note, which shows the hierarchy of centres (Tool, 2018). From the 1970's, the number of independent stores decreased and chain stores were upcoming. Therefore the Dutch government created a retail establishment policy which decided that stores could no longer establish themselves in peripheral areas (Nozeman, 2012). This was also done to prevent large shopping malls in peripheral areas, to prevent people from using their car too much and to decrease the distance for travel (Maat & Konings, 2018). As a result, the pressure on city centres increased in the 1980's and they experienced an extensive growth (Tool, 2018).

In 2004, the Nota Ruimte was released. This note has been of great importance for the Dutch urban planning of the retail structure (Ruizendaal, 2018). The Nota Ruimte describes how the Dutch policies should be more decentralized in the future regarding retail structures. Instead of the Dutch government, the municipalities became responsible for the urban planning of retail structures. This implies that the influence of the Dutch municipalities regarding shopping areas has grown over the years. This also resulted in an increase of shopping areas outside the city centres (Maat & Konings, 2018).

At this moment, municipalities are the most important actor when it comes to creating policy. To implement policy regarding spatial planning, there are a few aspects that are relevant when it comes to Dutch municipalities. First, they need to own a structural vision that contains the main spatial policy. It also shows that this policy is feasible. The structural visions made by the municipality are an important base for creating destination plans. These destination plans are required in all the areas that contain spatial development (VNG, 2011). Destination plans are meant to clarify the destinations of municipal land, for instance whether it should be used for living, retail, restaurants, culture and leisure etc. The relationship between municipalities and citizens is important, since citizens can request a permit or present a plan at the municipality. On the other hand, the municipality can also help to improve liveability, through monitoring the neighbourhood

and preventing nuisance. The municipality is supposed to be a helpful actor that focuses on the possibilities on behalf of the citizens. However, this is not always the case. There are areas and neighbourhoods that have become vulnerable, due to empty buildings. Problems can pile up in such neighbourhoods and municipalities might not know how to solve these problems. Therefore, a good relationship between citizens, business owners and the municipality can be of great importance to improve an area.

Recently, the national government has come with the 'Impulsaanpak Winkelgebieden', which is an impulse approach to shopping areas. This approach shows that the national government acknowledges the importance of local shopping areas, since this approach is meant to help municipalities to transform their shopping areas into future proof shopping areas (VNG, 2022). City centres are starting to become less liveable and appealing. The national government wants to provide a strong social and economic base for these areas, to prevent them from deteriorating because of vacant premises. Municipalities were given the chance to participate in this approach, by requesting financial support. The total budget for the Impulsaanpak Winkelgebieden was 100 million euros (RVO, 2021).

1.1.3 Neighbourhoods and their reputation

It is known that the media plays a significant role in forming a certain reputation of a neighbourhood. All types of media contribute to forming negative ideas and images about neighbourhoods that can lead to negative reputations (Haynes et al., 2013). Media are often looking for sensation that attracts readers and especially with today's social media the focus is on short appealing headlines. These reputations can influence the residents of the neighbourhood in their self-image and the chances they have in life. Also, the ways how people outside of the neighbourhood look at the neighbourhood can cause the residents to leave (Permentier et al., 2009). In most cases, when neighbourhoods occur negatively in the media this leads to a stigma. In the case of the research done by Permentier et al. (2009), the negative media attention resulted in a bad image of the areas as well as the entire city. Additionally, the negative media attention has obstructed the plans to revive the areas. Wacquant (2007) emphasizes how residents also maintain this stigma the media has created, by creating distance between residents, putting the blame on other people and leaving the area.

1.1.4 Case Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt

This research will focus on a specific case that is geographically formed. The focus will be on the city of Eindhoven, particularly on the Kruisstraat and the Woenselse Markt. This street and marketplace are in the neighbourhood of Oud Woensel. The Kruisstraat is a street with around 150 businesses, which vary from supermarkets to restaurants and hairdressers. Above the businesses are apartments that are being used for long stay as well as short stay. There also are some houses on the ground floor, next to the businesses. The stores and owners of the stores have a very diverse background. For example, there are supermarkets from Poland, Iraq and Asia. Additionally, the restaurants are among others Turkish, Indonesian, Chinese, Greek and Japanese.

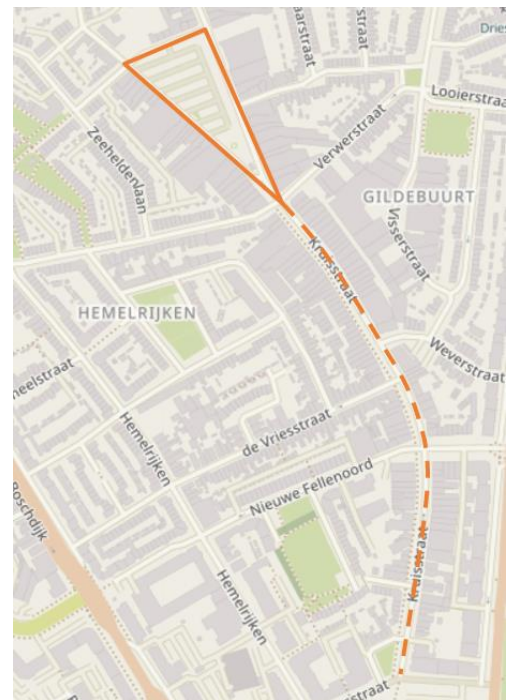


Figure 1: Map of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt

Even though the businesses are very unique, the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt have not been seen as the greatest streets the last years. The amount of newspaper articles about money laundering, violence, drug trafficking and the problems around the traffic situation rise above the positive articles. For example, one of the headlines says: “Fights, drug trafficking and open without a permit: arrests and fines in the area around Kruisstraat” (Cleven, 2022). Another headline is: “Police discover shop with fake designer clothes and shoes in Eindhoven hair salon” (Bombala, 2021). Furthermore, the businessowners in the area have not been connected at all, so the ability to change was lacking.

To decrease the bad reputation the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt have, Seinpost has been brought in by the municipality of Eindhoven. Seinpost also is the company that provided the opportunity for this research. At this moment, Seinpost has been active in Oud Woensel to improve the connection between business owners and hopefully improve the general image of the neighbourhood. Seinpost is a company with an economic geographical point of view, through which spaces and places are being approached. They have done a number of projects around the Netherlands where they have focused on improving reputations of urban areas focusing on economic vitality and liveability. The company does not only give advice, but they also ensure that the advice is implemented afterwards. This provides involvement in the area of research, which is important. In cooperation with the municipality of Eindhoven Seinpost is doing their best to make the area economically thriving again. This is done through a neighbourhood manager, who is in contact with all of the business owners. The neighbourhood manager also facilitates the business association,

which did not exist before Seinpost was active in Oud Woensel. Seinpost likes to call the involvement in the area a “process”, since it is supposed to be a long-term cooperation to improve the quality and reputation of the neighbourhood mainly for economical purposes (J. Bardoel, 2022, February 15).

One example of how Seinpost tries to connect people, is by making a small book that includes recipes and information about all the different cultures that can be found in the Kruisstraat. This book is called Parti-recepten, which refers to participation-recipes since each recipe is made in collaboration with a business owner from the Kruisstraat or Woenselse Markt (D. Asthari, 2022, February 1).

In the case of this research, the focus will be on the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt only. The reason for this is that the Kruisstraat is the main shopping street of the neighbourhood, together with the Woenselse Markt where the weekly market is being held every Saturday. The area of focus can be seen at the map, where the dotted line displays the Kruisstraat and the triangle above is the Woenselse Markt.

1.2 Research objective

The aim of this research is to gain information about the human actors and the living environment that are present in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt, to discuss whether the area can be seen as a (cultural) ecosystem. Through conducting research with the business owners, residents, visitors and the municipality, the aim is to acquire insight into their opinions and relations. The aim also is to use cultural ecosystem services, to contribute to the research of this concept since it is not been researched a lot. This way the effect that ecosystems can have on humans are aimed to be discovered. The specific focus of cultural ecosystem services on culture within geographic areas makes this theory indispensable. Additionally, the aim for Seinpost is to find scientific support for their ecosystem theory, which can be reached throughout this research.

1.3 Research question

This research focuses on the network of actors in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt and how it can be seen as a (cultural) ecosystem. This thesis will define a network as the way people, businesses and other actors are linked to each other within the neighbourhood. Thus, it is not a visible, material network but a network consisting of non-material relations. The network in this case is a way to define the actors and to make the relationships clear. Considering this network as an ecosystem goes one step further since the dependency of the actors also is taken into account. Ecosystems are systems that rely on all parts to function and that sometimes need specific actors to thrive again. A network is not that detailed and elaborated in this case. An ecosystem can be brought back to a

network by leaving out the systemic view, to create a more simplistic view of all the actors and relations.

To consider the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt as an ecosystem, the actors and relationships should first be made clear. This will be done by the sub questions, whereafter the main question will be answered.

The main question of this research is:

To what extent can the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt be considered a (cultural) ecosystem?

The following sub questions will be used:

- *What (human) actors can be defined as part of the ecosystem and what do the relations between the actors look like?*
- *To what extent do cultural ecosystem services play a role?*
- *How can cultural ecosystem services contribute to a better understanding of the ecosystem approach?*

1.4 Societal relevance

This research is of importance in many social ways, since people and their neighbourhood are central in this research. Discovering the ways people are connected in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt can help us understand how to enhance this connection. Also, this research will emphasize the importance of local shopping areas, which is very important for local business owners. Valuing local businesses can be helpful to ensure their existence. In the past the social needs of the customers in a local shopping street have not been the priority at all. This has changed over the years, since visitors of a shopping area do not only come to buy things, but they also want a place to meet each other. This 'social added value' causes a deeper connection with residents and visitors. The need of visitors for a place to be pleasant to stay and to meet other people has grown. This interaction between people leads to more social added value and makes a place appealing to visit (Retailand, 2020). This research can show the social importance of local shopping streets and the social added value of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt, that might become more and more relevant in the future. The Covid-19 pandemic has also shown us how important local businesses can be when it is not possible to buy across the border. Now that most of the borders are opened again, it is important to not forget about the shops that are right around the corner.

Using the approach of cultural ecosystem services can bring more insights into the importance of local shopping areas. Since cultural ecosystem services can be linked to the

interactions people have with the environment they are in, they are able to show the connection people have with local shopping areas. The future of local shopping areas is under pressure because of online shopping and changing customer needs. Also the pandemic has shown us how vulnerable local shopping areas can be, with a lot of businesses permanently closing (Mehta, 2022). When it is shown how important these areas are for residents, visitors and business owners, local shopping areas might be seen as valuable places. This can help to maintain local shopping streets.

The outcome of this research can be used in other areas that contain local shopping areas with a lack of connection as well. Municipalities can use this research to discover the possibilities of improving the area and to make clear how important local shopping areas are. Additionally, the use of the ecosystem approach for local shopping areas can be used in more cases to discover the relations between different actors in an area.

1.5 Scientific relevance

Researching ecosystems within cities is not necessarily new. A lot of research focuses on the ecological ecosystem within cities, based on nature. For instance, original ecosystem research has a very strong focus on the natural elements within an ecosystem. When searching for sources that contain a social view on ecosystems, most of the times the only results are sources about animals, insects and nature. There are not many scientific articles and sources that can be found when it comes to the social side of the ecosystem in a local shopping street. The reason this research is relevant, is because this research combines the ecosystem approach with the cultural ecosystem approach and applies it to the city of Eindhoven. Local shopping streets in cities are not often seen as important spaces, they are more seen as normal spaces that are just supposed to be there. That is why these areas have not been the topic of social-cultural research a lot. These streets are not only a place to buy, but also a place to meet. They are places of social interaction where people form a cultural identity (Zukin, 2012). Since this research does focus on a local shopping street and it is not a topic of research that is seen often, this research can contribute to the scientific field.

Previous research on cultural ecosystems all has in common that cultural ecosystems have not been the primary focus of the research. Cultural ecosystems have been seen as a part of a larger research, where it has been used only to answer a broader research question (Milcu et al., 2013). This research however, will have a strong focus on cultural ecosystems where the focus is present in the research question as well. Since according to Milcu et al. (2013) this is not the common way of using cultural ecosystem services, this research can be considered renewing. Also, using cultural ecosystem services is not burdened by traditions in the academic field since it is a relatively new and

young field of research. Therefore, contributing to this field of research will contribute to new insights and expand the collection of research in this field.

1.6 Overview

Chapter 2 of this thesis will focus on the theory of the research. The different definitions and characteristics of ecosystems are discussed. Theory on local shopping areas will be reviewed, whereafter the cultural ecosystem services are explained. After the operationalisation of all the relevant terms, in chapter 3 the methodology of this research is central. The methodology is divided into four parts: the research material, research strategy, data collection and data analysis. Afterwards, in chapter 4 the results of the conducted research will be discussed. This will be done by first giving a general description of the neighbourhood, after which every actor group will be discussed. In chapter 5 the conclusion, recommendations and discussion are central. The results of the empirical data analysis will be discussed. The recommendations will include advice for the municipality of Eindhoven and Seinpost, together with recommendations for future research. The discussion will address some weaknesses of this research that can be improved in the future.

2. Theory

2.1 Theoretical concepts

2.1.1 Ecosystem approach

The ecosystem approach is a popular way to view cities and urban networks. Viewing the city as an ecosystem is just one of the many ways a city can be approached. For instance the city can also be approached mentally, socially or economically (Douglas, 1981). These different approaches all have their own characteristics that are used to unfold cities. Using the ecosystem approach therefore is not new. However, there are several different takes on this approach and various principals can be distinguished. Douglas (1981) for instance refers to the biological characteristics that are involved in ecosystems, such as chemicals and energy. Though, he also mentions human beings and how they can form a habitat within an ecosystem. Ecosystems are all about flows and connections between the different actors within the ecosystem.

According to Parlange (1998) it is time to acknowledge that humans are playing a significant role in the ecosystem, instead of keep thinking humans and nature are on different sides. More recent literature on the dualism between humans and nature refers to the 'more-than-human world' that we are living in these days. This means that the world is viewed as an open cycle of relations between humans, nature and non-living objects (Souza Júnior, 2021). This focus on non-living objects as well means that the urban area, including everything that comes with it, can be seen as an ecosystem from now on. This means using ecosystem theory can be very inclusive, since it is believed that everything contributes to the value of the ecosystem. However, when certain actors have a more important role than others, it might feel exclusive in a way as well.

It is generally known that the actors within an ecosystem contain a certain dependence of each other. That is what makes an ecosystem thrive, when all the actors are connected and make it work. This is what Seinpost focuses on: dependence, cooperation and working together to make the ecosystem a success. This focus is based on how an ecosystem in nature works. To do so, Seinpost distinguishes four main principals that can make an ecosystem successful. These principles have been formed in collaboration with professor van der Putten, who is part of the Dutch Institute for Ecology. In the thesis the principles will be used as a guideline throughout the research and possible improvements or changes will be made.

The first principle is diversity. This principle can be applied to shops and stores mostly. Seinpost-ZKA (n.d.) mentions that it is important to maintain diversity, so there are several kinds that can help each other. Diversity contributes to long term success, since the risks are being spread and setbacks can be overcome. For instance, imagine a street that only contains stores that sell fish. A great environmental problem occurs that spreads a disease around all fish. Fish can no longer be

sold. This means that this entire street will not be able to help their clients, so this entire street will (temporarily) not attract people anymore. On the other hand, when not all stores would have sold fish, the effects of the disease would have been a lot smaller. The second principle is connectedness. Actors in an ecosystem interact with each other in different ways. They can compete, when it comes to finding food, but they can also help each other. All these different interactions contribute to a large biodiversity. Put into practice, this can also be applied to stores. Storeowners can support one another to improve both services, but it is also possible that they would compete when they for

instance sell the same goods. The third principle contains the carrying capacity and circularity. This represents that ecosystems are never fully closed. In nature, nutrients are divided and passed between different ecosystems. Other ecosystems can contain a larger carrying capacity and circularity. For instance, clients that come to a certain street of stores can be seen as nutrients for this ecosystem. Though, this does not mean that these clients will never go to another street, so another ecosystem, of stores. These different ecosystems can share or divide their clients. The fourth and last principle is anthropogenicity, or human action. Humans are able to have a long-term vision, which gives them the availability to invest money because humans know that it is possible that this money has more value in the future. Humans can invest in development that shows its effects in the long term.

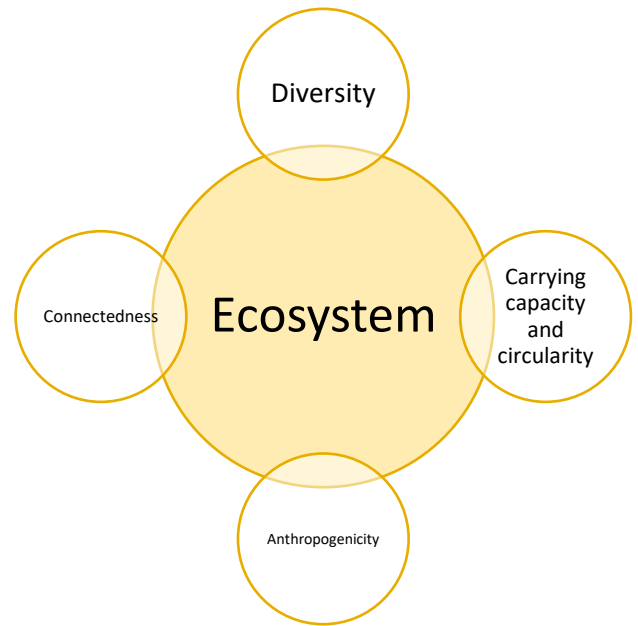


Figure 2: Ecosystem principals, based on Seinpost-ZKA (n.d.)

2.1.2 Local shopping areas as ecosystems

Zukin (2012) has done research into local shopping areas and the way these areas are forming an ecosystem. She also acknowledges that local shopping areas can contain intangible cultural heritage because of their public spaces. However, these public spaces are rarely seen as cultural heritage by the government. The tangible buildings are being preserved when they have a particular historical value, but the processes and activities that occur in local shopping areas are not treated the same. According to Zukin (2012) local urban spaces are the foundation for cultural heritage, since these are the spaces where interaction between people takes place. Throsby (2011) specifies the similarity among social capital produced by social interactions and cultural capital that is intangible. This

similarity lies with the concept of cultural ecosystems as cultural networks that create interaction within a group. This interaction can either be cultural, social or economic.

Local public areas such as cafés or restaurants are known to be possible third spaces. However, local shopping streets are rarely seen as significant public spaces on their own. They are dependent on the decisions of local businesses, do not have a clear organization and they might be chaotic. Though because of the fact that local shopping streets are used on a daily basis and that they can make a local area self-sufficient, these areas are the spaces where cultural ecosystems are being produced (Deener, 2012; Hall, 2012; Zukin & Kosta, 2004). Additionally, local shopping streets are spaces where cultural, social and economic values are exchanged. These spaces make the local identity visible (Zukin, 2012).

Local shopping streets can be at risk for several reasons. First, the rise of chain stores and gentrification causes a marginalization of local shopping areas. This is all part of the economic modernization that is driven by certain state policies. Second, the preferences of consumers are changing. People tend to prefer larger shopping malls that can be reached easily by car, or they rather shop online. Of course these trends are huge competitors for local shopping streets (Zukin, 2012). The recent Covid-19 pandemic also has shown the vulnerability of local shopping streets. Though, it has also made clear that there are numerous options to run a shop even when in lockdown. Local shopping streets became places to see each other, to exchange services and to communicate. It is even stated that local shopping streets have transformed into neighbourhood ecosystems, meaning that the people within the neighbourhood became the focus of the street (Mehta, 2022).

2.1.3 Cultural ecosystem services

Cultural ecosystem services are part of the general ecosystem approach. These services relate to the benefits that ecosystems can provide in terms of culture. In other words, they relate to the contributions that ecosystems can bring to the comfort and happiness of humans (Satterfield et al., 2013). Cultural ecosystem services can bring a deep connection within communities (Daniel et al., 2012). Next to cultural ecosystem services, there are two other services related to ecosystems that have been defined. These other two forms of services are provisioning services and regulating services. These three forms are considered to be able to show international cultural differences and how (non)-human communication is developed (Díaz et al., 2015). To create a common approach when talking about ecosystem services, the European Environment Agency has formed a 'Common International Classification of Ecosystem Services', also called CICES. The advice that came as a result, was to include all the nonmaterial outputs and outputs that cannot be consumed of ecosystems that

have an influence on the mental and physical well-being of humans. Additionally, it was also mentioned that other definitions often do not consider the difference between benefits and services, which is seen as a problem (Haines-Young & Potschin, 2012). This immateriality goes along with the definition of cultural ecosystem services that the Millennium ecosystem assessment (2005) uses: “the nonmaterial benefits people obtain from ecosystems through spiritual enrichment, cognitive development, reflection, recreation and aesthetic experiences”.

The UK National Ecosystem Assessment Follow-on (Church et al., 2014) has established an approach on ecosystem services that places them in their cultural geography, which helps to understand where the cultural character can come from. This approach focuses on the interpretation of human importance and experience to be discovered within material individuals and processes. The NEAFO acknowledges the view on cultural ecosystem services that Chan et al. (2011) have. They consider cultural ecosystem services to be co-created results of the interaction that people have with ecosystems. They also propose that the cultural outcome of ecosystems can be presumed materially. This is in contrast to the definition that the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment uses, since they propose that the benefits are only nonmaterial. Other definitions state that cultural ecosystem services include the “aesthetic, spiritual, psychological, and other benefits that humans obtain from contact with ecosystems” (Kumar, 2012). Daniel et al. (2012) have set certain conditions for culture to be an ecosystem service. There should be demonstrated a “significant relationship between ecosystem structures and functions specified in the biophysical domain and the satisfaction of human needs and wants specified in the medical/social/psychological domain”. These definitions go beyond the (non)materiality of the services and focus more on characteristics. There are more scientists entering the debate on whether cultural ecosystem services are material or nonmaterial. According to Satterfield et al. (2013), expecting that cultural services are immaterial can be considered a problem since many cultural services in fact are material. Therefore, Fish et al. (2016) choose to maintain the following definition of cultural ecosystem services: “cultural ecosystem services are the contributions ecosystems make to human well-being in terms of the identities they help frame, the experiences they help enable and the capabilities they help equip”. Cultural practices between humans and different spaces are considered to be the beginning of cultural ecosystem services (Fish et al., 2016).

Research that has been done regarding cultural ecosystem services, has leaned towards an ethnographic and participatory dimension. Understanding the cultural ecosystem services has appeared to relate to a more broad assumption of an ecosystem approach (Orchard-Webb et al., 2016). Put differently, cultural ecosystem services coincide with understanding ways of living that people are a part of, that establish and show the values and history that is shared by people. Adding

to that, it is also about the material and non-material practices they are involved in and the places where they live (Fish et al., 2016).

To understand cultural ecosystem services better and to understand how they work, Fish et al. (2016) have formed four characteristics of cultural ecosystem services. The first characteristic contains environmental spaces. These are the places where people communicate with one another and the natural environment around them. The second characteristic is cultural practices, which relates to the communication that people have with the natural environment. This communication can be symbolic, interpretive or expressive. The third characteristic is cultural benefits. This links to the different ways the well-being of people can be related to the communication between humans and the natural environment. Lastly there are cultural goods. Cultural goods means that the communication between services, benefits and values can sometimes be responsive to economic transactions. This means that cultural goods can be tradeable. Cultural practices, the communication with the natural environment, can be divided into four forms: creating and expressing, playing and exercising, gathering and consuming and lastly producing and caring. These four forms of communication with the natural environment play a fundamental role in forming cultural ecosystem services (Fish et al., 2016).

The Millennium ecosystem assessment (2005) has established categories of cultural ecosystem services, to understand how cultural services can have an influence. The categories are aesthetic, cultural heritage, educational, inspirational, recreation and ecotourism, sense of place and spiritual and religious. Additionally, there also are several challenges that come along with cultural ecosystem services (Norton et al., 2012). For instance it is hard to find a relation between cultural ecosystem services that can be linked to particular parts of the ecosystem (Vejre et al., 2010). What this means is that parts of the ecosystem can have more than one function, which does not always have to be a cultural ecosystem service. Next to that, cultural ecosystem services should not be added to more than one category, which means that there should be an agreement on which service belongs to which category (Hernández-Morcillo et al., 2013). Something else that can be problematic is the inability to value cultural ecosystem services. Tourism for instance is a service that can be paid for, however the sense of place is not valuable. One of the main reasons for this is the immateriality of certain services (Chan et al., 2011). Another aspect of importance is that not only the services that an ecosystem provides should be thought of, but it is also important to include the relationship between the people in the ecosystem and the environment. Characteristics of the people in the ecosystem, such as their habits, religion, lifestyle and cultural background also have an effect on how cultural ecosystem services are experienced (Kumar & Kumar, 2008).

When considering the use of cultural ecosystem services in management plans, it is seen as problematic that cultural ecosystem services are not included much in management plans (de Groot

et al., 2005). This means that cultural ecosystem services are not significantly being used to arrange new policy. The reason for this can be found in the fact that cultural ecosystem services are a relatively new field of research. Another problematic aspect is that they are rarely taken into account in economic guidelines. For instance, the prices of real estate are not determined by the amount of ecosystem services a certain area has. Though Carpenter et al. (2009) state that there will be an increasing demand for cultural ecosystem services in the future, especially in societies that are industrialized. The reason for this mostly can be related to the growing budget that is available for recreation (Vandewalle et al., 2008). Guo et al. (2010) confirm that people will be more dependent on cultural ecosystem services in the future, because of economic development. However other ecosystem services will be less of interest to people.

Cultural ecosystem services have a variety of benefits to the academic world. For instance, cultural ecosystem services can be used to form a link between intellectual heritage, research communities and different disciplines. Cultural ecosystem services is a field that is not being studied for that long yet. This has the advantage that certain traditions in the academic field do not apply to studying cultural ecosystem services. Moreover, when the societal relevance that cultural ecosystems have is being emphasized, actual problems can be discovered. The well-being of humans can be linked to cultural ecosystem services. Lastly, cultural ecosystems services can form new conceptual connections affiliating to several issues concerning society and ecology (Milcu et al., 2013).

2.2 Conceptual model

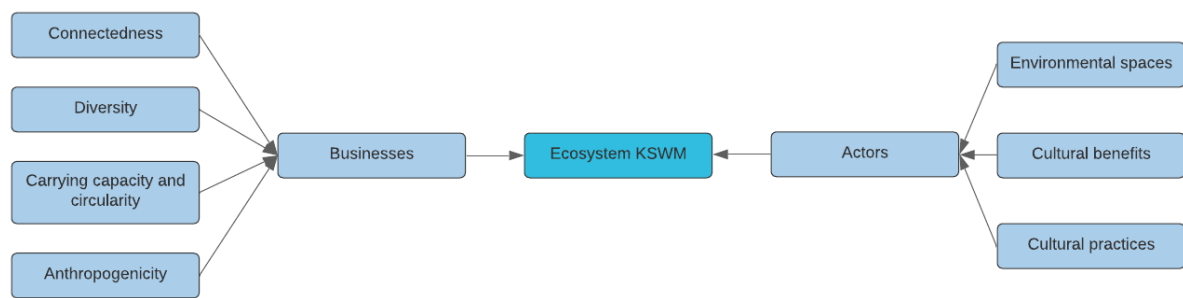


Figure 3: Conceptual model

The conceptual model above shows the predictions on how the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt can be an ecosystem. This is based on the theory discussed in chapter 2 on both ecosystems and cultural ecosystem services. The theory on ecosystems showed how four principals are of importance when considering an area as an ecosystem: connectedness, diversity, carrying capacity and circularity and anthropogenicity. These four principals mainly are applied on businesses. This is why there are arrows between the four principals and businesses. The four principals applied on businesses can lead to discovering if the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt are an ecosystem.

On the other side of the model the three characteristics of cultural ecosystem services are placed: environmental spaces, cultural benefits and cultural practices. These characteristics mainly apply on the actors within the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt and show whether or not these actors experience cultural ecosystem services. The extent to which cultural ecosystem services are experienced by the actors, can show if the area can be considered a cultural ecosystem.

2.3 Operationalisation

2.3.1 Ecosystem

Ecosystem is an ecological term to describe a collection of living and non-living organisms that is constantly moving. All of the organisms are connected through relationships and introducing a new specie or removing a specie can have drastic consequences for the ecosystem. In this research, the ecological ecosystem is translated to a cultural ecosystem in a local shopping street. A local shopping street can be compared to an ecological ecosystem, where the businesses are considered to be different species. Also the residents, visitors and the municipality are part of the ecosystem because of their relationship with the businesses and one another. Understanding the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt through the lens of the ecosystem can make missing aspects visible that can have a positive impact to the area. It can show how certain actors are dependent on other actors to thrive, just as in ecological ecosystems. The translation of the ecological ecosystem to a cultural ecosystem

creates a new perspective on local shopping areas that is different from the way local shopping areas have been seen before.

To make urban ecosystems visible and measurable, the actors and their relations are of importance.

The different actors in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt are:

- Business owners: people who own a business in the Kruisstraat or Woenselse Markt.
- Residents: people who live in the Kruisstraat or Woenselse Markt.
- Visitors: people who visit the area on a regular basis.
- Municipality: people from the municipality of Eindhoven that are active in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt.
- Property owners: people who own a property in the Kruisstraat or Woenselse Markt. Sometimes property owners are business owners or residents at the same time.
- Social organizations: all non-profit organizations focused on human well-being that are active in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt.
- Non-human actors, such as physical space and the stores.

2.3.2 Local shopping area

There is a lot of literature on local shopping streets in general, however in this research there is referred to the local shopping area as the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. The Kruisstraat is a long street with shops, restaurants, hairdressers etc. that leads to the Woenselse Markt. The Woenselse Markt is a Market Square that is used for parking spots during the week and where the weekly market is held on Saturdays. Surrounding the Woenselse Markt there also are supermarkets, restaurants and other shops. The Woenselse Markt contains more chain stores than the Kruisstraat does. The shops in the Kruisstraat can be considered more local and smaller.

It must be acknowledged that when only considering the economic aspect of a local shopping area, the cultural approach might not be appropriate. However, in this research a local shopping area is not only about the economic function it has. It also is about the physical space and the humans that are present in this local shopping area. Therefore, in this research a local shopping area is defined as the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt, with their businesses, physical space and all humans involved.

2.3.3 Cultural ecosystem services

As mentioned in chapter 2.1.4, cultural ecosystem services have numerous definitions.

Considering the complexity of the case that is central in this research, it is best to choose a definition of cultural ecosystem services that is most detailed. This way it is most clear how to measure cultural ecosystem services in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. Fish et al. (2016) use four characteristics to measure cultural ecosystem services, which can be used in this research as guidelines. The definition they maintain is as follows: “cultural ecosystem services are the contributions ecosystems make to human well-being in terms of the identities they help frame, the experiences they help enable and the capabilities they help equip” (Fish et al., 2016). This means the focus is on contributions to human well-being, identities, experiences and capabilities of humans. The four characteristics used by Fish et al. (2016) are environmental spaces, cultural practices, cultural benefits and cultural goods. Cultural practices are divided into four forms: creating and expressing, playing and exercising, gathering and consuming and lastly producing and caring. In the case of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt, three of four forms can be relevant. Creating and expressing can be related to several art galleries and art supply shops that are present. Playing and exercising cannot be applied to the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt but is more of importance in the other streets of Oud-Woensel where there are a lot of kids and playgrounds. Gathering and consuming is happening through the restaurants, meeting places outside and within the shops. Producing and caring also can be applied because of the residents and the social character.

To measure cultural ecosystem services in this research, the contributions to human well-being, identities, experiences and capabilities of humans will be used, as mentioned by Fish et al. (2016). Additionally, the four characteristics will be used as indicators. The contributions mentioned above are clear indicators for cultural ecosystem services, however the definitions of the four characters are very general. Therefore, it is necessary to transform the definitions into fitting definitions for the case of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. Also, the fourth characteristic ‘cultural goods’ might not be relevant in this case, since the focus is not on the tradability of cultural goods, but rather on the feelings and experiences that contribute to cultural ecosystem services. Therefore, only three characteristics will be used.

Contributions to human well-being, identities, experiences and capabilities of humans

Definition in this research: the emotions that are expressed by humans, the extent to which they feel at home and their experiences in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt.

Environmental spaces

Definition by Fish et al. (2016): “the places, localities, landscapes and seascapes in which people interact with each other and the natural environment”.

Definition in this research: the non-human actors such as physical space and the shops of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt.

Cultural practices

Definition by Fish et al. (2016): “expressive, symbolic and interpretive interactions between people and the natural environment.”

Definition in this research: the interactions that residents, visitors and business owners have with the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt through creating and expressing, as well as gathering and consuming.

Cultural benefits

Definition by Fish et al. (2016): “dimensions of human well-being that can be associated with these interactions between people and the natural environment”.

Definition in this research: the way the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt contribute to the well-being of residents, business owners and visitors.

2.3.4 Indicators

To measure the potential of the cultural ecosystem services in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt, different actors are being interviewed. Besides from the interviews, other documents have also been helpful to measure the indicators. The characteristics, definitions, indicators and necessary data are displayed below.

Characteristic	Definition	Indicator	Necessary data
Contributions to human well-being, identities, experiences and capabilities of humans	The emotions that are expressed by humans, the extent to which they feel at home and their experiences in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Expressed emotionsFeeling at homeExperiences	Primary data <ul style="list-style-type: none">Opinions of all actors on living in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt Policy document analysis <ul style="list-style-type: none">Toekomstbeeld Oud WoenselNotes
Environmental spaces	The non-human actors such as physical space and	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Area description	Primary data <ul style="list-style-type: none">Description of area by residents.

	the shops of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Description of area by municipality, in the past and present. <p>Policy document analysis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Toekomstbeeld Oud Woensel Actieplan impuls wijkaanpak
Cultural practices	The interactions that residents, visitors and business owners have with the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt through creating and expressing, as well as gathering and consuming.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Involvement of citizens Role of municipality Experiences of the actors Relationship between actors and the municipality Relationship between residents and other residents or business owners 	<p>Primary data</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Opinions of citizens on changes in the street. Opinions of citizens on the municipality and their measures. Feeling about the new traffic measures Explanation of what the municipality is doing. Experiences of the municipality towards distrust by residents and business owners. Interests of the municipality. Effort of municipality to gain trust again. The view of business owners towards the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt in the past. Notes <p>Policy document analysis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Toekomstbeeld Oud Woensel Actieplan impuls wijkaanpak Onderbouwing verkeersmaatregelen Kruisstraat – Woenselse Markt
Cultural benefits	The way the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt contribute to the well-being of residents, business owners and visitors.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feelings of actors Experiences of actors Opinions of actors Relationships between actors 	<p>Primary data</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contact between business owners and residents. Interaction between residents. Better interaction between residents and business owners in the future. Notes <p>Policy document analysis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Toekomstbeeld Oud Woensel

Table 1: Indicators for cultural ecosystem services

3. Methodology

3.1 Research strategy

This research has a qualitative research strategy. The reason for this is that qualitative research is more holistic than quantitative research, meaning that it looks at the entirety instead of small parts. During this research it was important to have a holistic view, since the aim was to discover a network and describe an ecosystem. The difference between quantitative and qualitative research is described in a clear way by Polit and Beck (2012). They state that quantitative research can be linked to preciseness and control. Phenomena are researched in a very structured and statistic way. This can be done by for example surveys or controlled experiments. Qualitative research on the other hand has a focus on storytelling. This is done by applying an in-depth approach that is holistic on phenomena. In practice this means that methods such as interviews, focus groups, videography or photography can be of interest. For this research it means that the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt were the central place, where all the viewpoints were welcome. There has been tried to make the respondents feel as free as possible, to ensure that they could open up about their experiences. This way the story of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt is told.

As mentioned before, the holistic character of qualitative research has been an important reason to choose for qualitative research instead of quantitative research in this case. Other reasons to choose for qualitative research were the in depth focus on a certain group of people and the focus on their feelings. This research is really focused on a specific neighbourhood and the feelings and experiences of the residents and the people that work there can provide this research with interesting insights. Quantitative research might not have been able to bring all the feelings and experiences to the front. Using interviews has provided the opportunity to ask questions based on the answers the respondents gave, which makes this research more in-depth. Additionally, during interviews the facial expressions and the body language of the respondents could also be seen. There are different forms of qualitative research, that Creswell and Poth (2018) have described in their book. One of these forms is a case study, which is what this research will be. A case study focuses on a specific case in a geographical area and the understanding of this case (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The reason this research is classified as a case study is because this research has a specific focus on the Kruisstraat/Woenselse Markt area. When conducting a case study, using different methods and sources is very important (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The case study that has been conducted in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt has been brought together by using methods such as interviews, as well as observations and reviews of already existing literature and policy documents through a policy document analysis. This so called triangulation of sources enhances the

reliability of the research (Vennix, 2016). Since the goal of this research was focused on understanding and describing the area, this form suited best.

3.2 Research material

The initial idea for this research was to focus on interviews to gather the relevant data to answer the main question, rather than doing desk research. However, during the field research it became clear that the business owners and the residents were not as open to interviews as they used to be. Before this research, the municipality and other organisations had been doing a lot of research into the business owners and the residents. For this reason, the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt have become a bit “over researched”. An area being over researched can cause ethical implications, since the humans might complain about the research and a conflict of interest can be caused between the current researcher and the former researchers. It also has caused limitations during the research process since it was not possible to find as many respondents as initially hoped. It costs more time and there has to be worked with less respondents and other research material instead. This has resulted in the fact that this research is not based on the number of interviews that was planned, but secondary data has been equally important. A policy document analysis has been equally important as a method next to the primary data. There has been made use of a lot of reports and policy documents that were the result of previous research in the area. Also, there has been made use of own experiences and observations in the neighbourhood. To capture more deep opinions, five interviews have been conducted with two residents, the municipality and two employees of Seinpost.

3.3 Data collection

As the start of this research, there have been a lot of conversations with Seinpost to form a general idea of the area. A conversation/interview with two of the employees of Seinpost, where one of which is the neighbourhood manager, has helped to gain deeper insights in the potential ecosystem that the area is. Seinpost is very active in the area and has the contact information for a lot of business owners and residents, which made it very straightforward to blend into the people in the neighbourhood. Since the neighbourhood manager has also been facilitating the business association, he knows a lot about the business owners and the opinions and feelings they have. Through attending a meeting of the business association, it was possible to hear more of their opinions. Since Seinpost has been working very closely with the municipality of Eindhoven, they also brought me into contact with the project manager of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. An

interview with the project manager has been helpful to discover the interests of the municipality and to hear their story.

WIJeindhoven is a social organization that is active in multiple neighbourhoods in Eindhoven, which means they are active in Oud Woensel as well. They are in contact with a lot of residents living in the neighbourhood, so they have helped to gather residents who were willing to talk about the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. Two respondents have been found through WIJeindhoven, one of them preferred to chat through WhatsApp only and the other respondent was willing to give two interviews. In the beginning of this research the plan was to talk to more residents and business owners, however the fact that they have been interviewed so many times in the past made it difficult to find more respondents. Therefore, it was decided to also use the documents that contain the results of the research that has been done in the past. Most of these documents were public and could be found on the website of the municipality of Eindhoven.

The data that has been collected is as follows:

- Interview: two employees of Seinpost
- Interview: project manager of the municipality of Eindhoven
- Two interviews: resident of the Kruisstraat
- WhatsApp conversation: resident of the Kruisstraat
- Notes: made when attending the meeting of the business association
- Notes: made when having small conversations with business owners when spreading the newsletter of the business association
- Photographs taken while walking through the Kruisstraat

The existing documents that have been used for the policy document analysis are:

Name	Document description	Public/internal	Number of pages
Actieplan impuls wijkaanpak Oud Woensel	Integral approach to tackle problems regarding safety, nuisance, trash, traffic, future and society.	Public	39
Samenvatting Actieplan Oud Woensel	Summary of the actionplan with a future perspective.	Public	4
Resultaten onderzoek BuurtBudget	Results of the survey regarding the neighbourhood budget that has been made available for citizens.	Public	24
Evaluatierapport Pilot inwonersbegroting Oud Woensel	Evaluation of the pilot that has been done with the neighbourhood budget.	Public	7
Onderbouwing verkeersmaatregelen Kruisstraat – Woenselse Markt	Explanation of the traffic measures and the research that has been done to design the measures.	Public	20
Samenvattende conclusies bezoekersonderzoek Kruisstraat – Woenselse Markt	Results of the survey regarding the visitors of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt	Public	11
Toekomstbeeld Oud Woensel	A vision on how the neighbourhood should be in the future, with opinions from all actors.	Public	41

Table 2: Documents used in policy document analysis

3.4 Data analysis

The data that is mentioned in chapter 3.3 has been analysed through ATLAS.TI. Using ATLAS.TI is helpful to analyse textual documents and makes it possible to code sentences or words. In the case of this research this was needed to form a clear image of the opinions and feelings of the different actors in the area. Because there are different types of sources that are being analysed, such as interviews, notes and policy documents, it has been decided to add them all to one project in ATLAS.TI. When doing so, the same codes can easily be applied to all the documents and all the documents can be analysed in the same manner. For both the interviews as the policy documents, the text has been read thoroughly first. Afterwards, based on the indicators in chapter 2.3.4, the text has been coded. In the beginning open coding was mainly used, whereafter the codes have been reused when they suited other quotes. For the policy documents, the focus has not been on the way the policy document is written or the ways certain measures have been transferred. The focus has solely been on collecting more data regarding the actors within the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt and the situation that is causing the need to write those documents. Since the documents contain a lot of opinions, experiences and feelings, they have been very suitable to fulfil this goal.

To answer the sub questions, leading to answering the main question, certain data has been used. To answer the sub question “What (human) actors can be defined as part of the ecosystem and what do the relations between the actors look like?” the conversations held with Seinpost have been helpful, together with the interview with two employees of Seinpost. The relations between the actors have also become visible through the interviews with the resident and the project manager of the municipality, since the way every actor describes the other actors has shown their opinions and feelings. The ‘Toekomstbeeld’ also shows these relations through the opinions of the actors.

The sub question “To what extent do cultural ecosystem services play a role?” could be answered by using the characteristics of cultural ecosystem services explained in chapter 2.3.5. Comparing these characteristics with the data that has been collected shows the extent to which cultural ecosystem services play a role.

When it is clear to what extent cultural ecosystem services play a role in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt, it is visible if these services can be helpful to understand the ecosystem approach better and if these services could be linked to the actors within the ecosystem. The sub question “How can cultural ecosystem services contribute to a better understanding of the ecosystem approach?” is answered this way.

After answering all of the sub questions and working out the findings through the actor map, the main question “To what extent can the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt be considered a (cultural) ecosystem?” is answered. To do so, it was important to have a clear view of all the actors and relations within the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. Moreover, the way actors are dependent on each other was also a criterion to find out to what extent it is a (cultural) ecosystem.

4. Results

This chapter will show the empirical results of the interviews, policy document analysis, phone conversations and observations that have been done. First, a more elaborate description of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt will be given to discuss the non-human actor of physical space. Afterwards, the paragraphs will be divided according to the different actor groups. These groups are residents, business owners, visitors, the municipality, property owners and social organizations.

The interviews that have been conducted, have been conducted Dutch. This means that the direct quotes that are shown in this chapter have been translated from Dutch to English, in the most literal way possible. To maintain the privacy of the respondents, the respondents will be referred to as 'Respondent X'. The respondents are as follows:

Respondent	Age	Gender	Nationality	Background
Respondent 1	44	Male	Dutch	Resident of the Kruisstraat. He has been living in the Kruisstraat for 20 years.
Respondent 2	72	Female	Dutch	Resident of the Kruisstraat. She has been living in the Kruisstraat for 17 years.
Respondent 3	43	Male	Dutch	Employee of Seinpost and neighbourhood manager of Oud Woensel. He has been working at Seinpost for 12 years.
Respondent 4	33	Female	Born in Iran and moved to the Netherlands to go to university.	Employee of Seinpost. She has been working at Seinpost for 1,5 years.
Respondent 5	Unknown	Male	Dutch	Project manager of the municipality of Eindhoven. He has been working at the municipality for 1 year and used to be an entrepreneur before.

Table 3: Background information on respondents

4.1 Neighbourhood description

4.1.1 Neighbourhood statistics

The neighbourhood the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt are positioned in, is called Oud Woensel. This neighbourhood can be divided into two sections: Hemelrijken and Gildebuurt. The Kruisstraat divides these two sections of Oud Woensel. Gildebuurt contains 938 households and 1681 residents, where Hemelrijken contains 1841 households and 3870 residents. In Gildebuurt, a little over 50 percent of the residents are native Dutch. The other half of the residents are both people with a western migration background and people with a non-western migration background. In Hemelrijken about 40 percent of the residents has a non-western migration background. The same goes for the native Dutch people, who also cover 40 percent of the population. About 20 percent of the residents has a western migration background. When comparing the age of the residents of Oud Woensel to the age of the residents of Eindhoven, it is remarkable that the age group 20-34 is rising far above the average of Eindhoven (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021b). This means that Oud Woensel has a lot of young residents, comparing to Eindhoven as a whole.

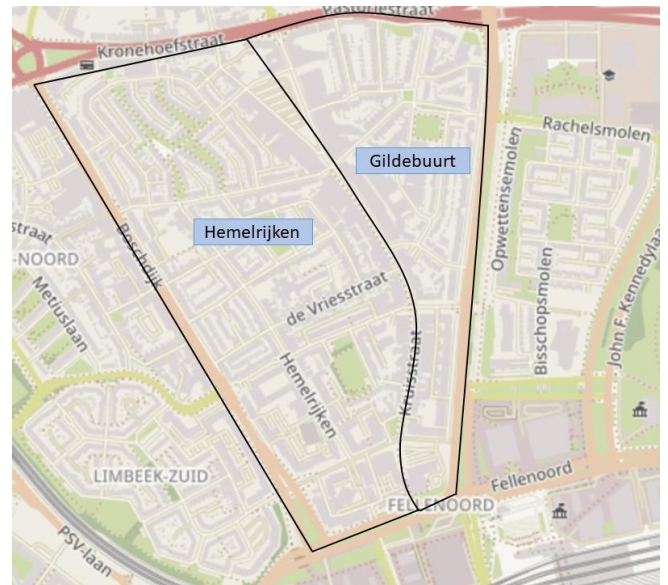


Figure 4: Oud Woensel with Hemelrijken and Gildebuurt

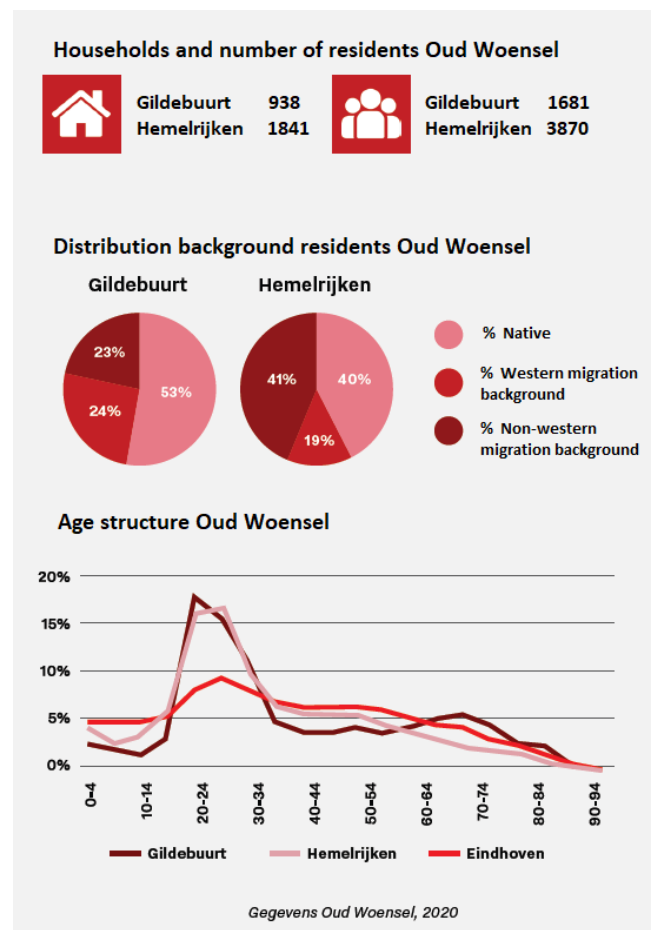


Figure 5: Background information on residents of Oud Woensel (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021b)

4.1.2 Social description

According to Respondent 5 (2022, April 20) Oud Woensel can be described as a residential area with a lot of small streets that contain houses and a very busy centre positioned in the middle of the area. This busy centre consists of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt, which are the main shopping streets of Oud Woensel. The residents and business owners in Oud Woensel are very diverse, which can relate to their ethnic background but also their personality. The neighbourhood contains a lot of social rental houses and Oud Woensel scores poorly on social-economic themes towards the rest of the city. Hemelrijken and Gildebuurt appear to contribute to this low score in particular. Woensel Zuid, the overarching neighbourhood Oud Woensel is positioned in, has the lowest number of working people, the lowest incomes, the highest number of people who receive an unemployment benefit and a lot of people with low education (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021a). Next to the fact that the residents are relatively young, there also are residents who have been living in the area their entire lives and people who are working in the Netherlands but are originally from another country: expats. According to the residents Oud Woensel is a neighbourhood where people support each other and where people are having a good time with each other. However it is also a neighbourhood with problems that require a lot of attention (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021b).

‘So, in terms of residents and entrepreneurs there are also many different entrepreneurs. The entrepreneurs who are there could be a bit more diverse, so to speak, or a bit more mixed. And in terms of residents, it is a lot of social housing and many people who are having a harder time.’ (Respondent 5, 2022, April 20).

4.1.3 International, but complex streets

When approaching the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt as a shopping area, the complexity of it should be acknowledged (Respondent 3, 2022, April 5). It is an interplay of numerous factors and actors that have led to the area being the way it is. The area has changed a lot during the years, because it changed from a street with mainly local shops to an area that also has a lot of (take away) restaurants (Respondent 1, 2022, March 17). “Eindhoven has never started as a city, but as several villages that have grown together. Many centres of villages can still be seen in Eindhoven. The Kruisstraat also had this village character, with the Woenselse Markt and the church” (Respondent 1, 2022, March 17).

The Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt are both very international shopping streets, which means that it could be an interesting place in relation to the surrounding neighbourhoods. The fact

that the area is so international, results in a large number of cultures being present among the business owners. This is not always positive, because communicating is an issue sometimes. It also appears that the diversity of the shops and businesses is low. In the last years the new businesses that have settled mainly in the Kruisstraat, are very similar. As mentioned before the number of restaurants has increased a lot, which can be related to (among others) the number of shawarma shops that has grown. There also are a great number of hairdressers and barbers located in the street, which also does not increase the diversity of the businesses.

4.1.4 Showing behaviour, traffic measures and changing functions

The traffic situation is a topic that has been under discussion for a long time. The Kruisstraat is a busy street, with traffic going in both directions. The street is accessible to cars, other motor vehicles, bikes and pedestrians. The parking spots in the Kruisstraat are diagonal towards the street. This means people have to drive backwards when they want to exit the parking spot, which can cause dangerous situations for other road users. It also is dangerous to cross the street for pedestrians because of the high intensity of bike riders and motor vehicles in combination with the loading and unloading of trucks on the road (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2022a). It is visible that visitors tend to park in the Kruisstraat, rather than the Woenselse Markt, because they are visiting a specific shop and would rather not walk too far. The result of this is that the parking lot at the Woenselse Markt is very empty in comparison to the Kruisstraat. However, since this area also is changing from a place to buy to a place to meet, parking directly in front of the stores should not be the primary option in the future. The municipality wants to change the sidewalks into places that are attractive places to stay and to meet each other. The function of the shopping area is changing, from a place where stores were the most important factor to a place where other functions also are important.

Another problem regarding the traffic in the neighbourhood can be related to 'showgedrag', as the municipality of Eindhoven named it. They are referring to certain cars driving very fast through the street, to show how great their cars are and to catch attention. This showing behaviour often causes dangerous situations and leads to noise disturbance for the residents. The unsafe traffic situation is often named as a reason for people to feel unsafe (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d). According to Respondent 2 (2022, March 11) it often is the case that cars are not parking in the parking spots, but people just place their car at the side of the road with the hazard lights on. In the meantime, the owner of the car is just drinking or eating something at a local restaurant and refuses to pay for a parking spot.

To tackle the problems stated above, the municipality has conducted a traffic research that has led to traffic measures that are being put into practice this year. The traffic measures are

invented in cooperation with the business owners and the residents of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. The reason for this is to listen to all the interests, to provide a situation that works best for most people. The goal of the traffic measurements is to improve the traffic safety, giving the car a less prominent role and provide more space for bikes and pedestrians. The attractiveness of the area in combination with the liveability also are important motives to change the traffic situation. There are several measures that will be taken in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. The first one is changing the driving direction in some parts to lower the traffic intensity and to stimulate parking at the Woenselse Markt instead of the Kruisstraat. Second, the amount of parking spots is reduced to provide more space for pedestrians and greenery. Third, the parking fees are being changed, also to stimulate parking at the Woenselse Markt. Lastly, several loading and unloading spots are being assigned to make sure the trucks will not park on the road anymore. Some smaller measures regarding these general measures are that there will be more spots for bikes and the parking spots in the Kruisstraat will change to parallel instead of diagonal (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2022a). Every measure will be monitored after the implementation, to ensure that they are working properly and the residents and business owners are content.

4.2 Residents

4.2.1 Nuisance is causing tension

As mentioned before, there are a lot of different people living in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. Some of the residents have been living there for a very long time, which means they have seen the area evolving into the place it is right now. Other residents have not been living there for that long yet, which means they do not know better than that the area is the way it is. The Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt also contain a lot of expats, which can be related to the property owners who choose to rent the spaces as short stay apartments. While speaking to residents who have lived in the Kruisstraat for around 20 years, it became clear that they do have a certain opinion about the changes.

‘The Kruisstraat really was a street full of Dutch specialty shops, retail and craft shops. Next to that there were a few exotic restaurants, such as a Chinese-Indonesian restaurant and a Greek restaurant. This gave some colour to the image of the street, and it made it more diverse. It was a nice appealing mix: mainly shops, a busy street during the day and at night it was calm (...) now it mainly is a street with Islamic restaurants and cafés, Islamic supermarkets and butcher shop concepts. The character the street had before is nowhere to be found. The early restaurants are still there, but the rest has taken over the character of

the street. These are so massively represented now that the rest does not stand out anymore' (Respondent 1, 2022, March 17).

The rise of restaurants and cafés has resulted in a rise of nuisance experienced by the residents as well. The use of the street has shifted from during the day, to during the evening. This is what leads to the nuisance experienced by the residents (Respondent 3, 2022, April 5). Respondent 1 (2022, March 17) experiences nuisance because of some restaurants that use barbecues on charcoal. They do use an extraction system, but do not use a filter which results in a bad smell and particulate matters that are being blown into the street. When asking Respondent 2 if she has ever made a complain at the municipality, she answered: "Yes, last week. Is a person first referred to neighbour mediation. Takes a moment and then they reject you. Haven't heard from the environmental service yet. We are quite bothered by the smell of fried fish. And that's not pleasant when you're sitting on your roof terrace" (Respondent 2, 2022, March 25). The smell of fried fish she mentions is caused by a restaurant in the street.

The municipality also acknowledges the high amount of nuisance, since according to the municipality 20% of all the nuisance reports in Eindhoven regarding a bad smell come from Oud Woensel (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021a). Nuisance is not only caused by business owners, but by visitors as well. People driving very fast, showing their cars, parking in strange spaces, making a lot of noise: it all contributes to nuisance for the residents. In the 'Toekomstbeeld' nuisance because of traffic is mentioned by almost all of the residents that participated (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d). Respondent 1 thinks it is important not to blame the business owners for this type of nuisance. "Though, the nuisance isn't to blame on the business owners, but there is a correlation because the people that cause nuisance are attracted to the businesses" (Respondent 1, 2022, March 17). There also is concern about the quality of businesses, because some restaurants attract strange customers or no customers at all. This gives residents a feeling that something is not right (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d). To resolve the tensions caused by certain visitors, the street has been temporarily closed in the evening during a period in 2021. However, this caused only more tension since the business owners did not agree with this. Talking to the business owners about the experienced nuisance is not always easy for residents. Cultural differences and the language barrier make it hard to communicate.

'It is hard though to make contact with the business owners. Most of the new faces are from foreign descent. They are very creative with understanding or not understanding Dutch. When I want to talk to them about the nuisance, they all of a sudden do not understand

Dutch anymore. However, when they need something from me, their Dutch is fine’
(Respondent 1, 2022, March 17).

‘I think if you all have the same background, the same traditions, the same customs, then it's easier to find each other than when you don't. In that respect it is an extra step that you have to take to achieve that cooperation’ (Respondent 3, 2022, April 5).

Respondent 1 (2022, March 31) thinks it is important to open the dialogue between business owners and residents, because there are a few business owners who do have good contact with the residents, but they cannot reach something on their own. When communicating is hard, it is easy to start avoiding each other which is not good for anyone. This way the relationship will not improve at all. When agreements are made between the residents and the business owners and it is checked regularly whether the business owners keep this agreement, the relationship might improve (Respondent 1, 2022, March 31).

Even though it might sound as if the restaurant owners are only causing nuisance, this is not the case. Respondent 2 (2022, March 11) for example mentions that she does really like the multicultural character of the businesses. In the ‘Toekomstbeeld’ it is also shown that residents are very supportive of the international business owners. “In the Kruisstraat there are a lot of international business owners who are doing a great job! As a resident of Oud Woensel I like to come there and I noted that there is so little attention for them in the media” (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d).

4.2.2 Distrust towards the municipality

Since the municipality is in charge of providing the means for an area to stay liveable, it is important to also look into the relationship between citizens and this actor. The municipality is there to receive complaints when residents and business owners do not line up. Residents are encouraged to report as much of the nuisance they experience as possible to the municipality. This is the only way the municipality can be aware of the experiences of the residents. However, the residents feel as if the municipality is not doing a lot with their complaints. The measures that are being taken by the municipality are not being supervised enough by the municipality, so they are not aware if they are working (Respondent 1, 2022, March 31). There is a lot of distrust towards the municipality because of negative experiences the residents have had in the past.

‘We are being encouraged by the municipality to make as many complaints as possible, because when we do not complain they do not know what is going on. However, after years of complaining the result is a new environmental vision focused on traffic and parking. What is this new measure going to change? Out of all of the complaints there is not one measure that is going to change anything. There should be more supervision on who gets a permit. When the municipality doesn’t have the time to check on the different businesses, than don’t give them the permit to start their business.’ (Respondent 1, 2022, March 17).

The municipality is seen as a slow, difficult organisation that does not think with the resident enough (Respondent 1, 2022, March 31, Respondent 2, 2022, March 25). The criticism of Respondent 1 (2022, March 31) is mainly based on the lack of decisiveness when it comes to the visions of the municipality. He believes that the visions that are stated in the Toekomstbeeld and other municipal documents are not clear enough, which leads to multiple interpretations of the plan and contradictions. Respondent 1 (2022, March 31) is referring in particular to the traffic measures the municipality has taken. In his opinion these measures are not clear enough and try to please everyone, which is not possible. The municipality is aiming for an accessible street, while it should also be pleasant for bike riders and pedestrians. They try to listen to the interests of both business owners and residents; however, residents often feel as if they are not being listened to. According to Respondent 5 (2022, April 20) the residents of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt do want change in the area and they also feel as if the municipality is responsible for this change. He does recognize the distrust against the municipality, but he notices that keeping up the dialogue really works to restore the relation between residents and the municipality.

4.2.3 The physical space is open for change

The physical space of the Kruisstraat and the Woenselse Markt is a place where residents are not always satisfied with. It makes sense when people have been living there for over 20 years and have seen the area changing into a less liveable environment. In the Toekomstbeeld a lot of opinions on the physical space are stated. Residents would like to have more trash cans in the streets, because the trash cans that are placed in the area right now are often overflowing which annoys everyone. Around the Woenselse Markt the amount of litter that is left after the market on Saturday also is a problem. Additionally, youngsters who eat food to go do not always put their litter into the trash can. When residents try to approach them, they are not taken seriously (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d).

There also is a lot of unsafety experienced by residents because of homeless people, or people addicted to drugs or alcohol in Oud Woensel. Because of the inexpensive housing stock and the placement policy of the municipality, a lot of people in need of social services are living in the same area. The services provided for homeless people attract drug dealers. Also because of the opening hours of the services and day care provided for homeless people, they are walking the same route through the neighbourhood every day. This causes nuisance for residents as well as business owners and visitors. A resident of the Kruisstraat mentions: "After 22:00 we don't dare to go outside because of the people who then walk around outside and address you or cause nuisance" (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d). They also experience a hard time sleeping at night because of the nuisance. The sense of feeling at home is decreasing because of this (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d).

The amount of green in the neighbourhood is not enough, according to many residents (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2022a). Residents would like to reduce the amount of parking spots to increase the amount of green and spaces for encounter. Other residents see an opportunity in adopting parts of the public green together with business owners, to create a connection between residents and business owners. They also notice that there is a lot of space for little gardens and flower beds (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d). Respondent 1 (2022, March 31) is a bit sceptical about the addition of more greenery, because he thinks that adding more greenery right now does not take away the problem of nuisance that is still there. In general, residents mention that the area could use some more colour and ambiance (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2022a).

The connection between residents is okay, but it appears that it could be better. Residents are there for each other and lots of people are very involved, but not everybody feels the need for this. Hemelrijken and Gildebuurt also are often seen as two different worlds, which is a pity to some residents because it causes a lack of connection. There also is a wish for more collaboration and solidarity when it comes to the neighbourhood (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d). To increase the amount of involvement by residents, the 'buurtbudget' or neighbourhood budget was created. A budget of 50.000 euros was made available for Oud Woensel and the residents were able to submit ideas for where this budget should be spent on. Afterwards the residents could vote for the ideas they liked best. One third of the residents of Oud Woensel has actively participated in the project and their main reason to participate was to share their own opinion. The evaluation of this project also showed that residents liked the active involvement it created (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2022b). This shows that residents do like to be involved regarding the design of their neighbourhood.

4.3 Business owners

4.3.1 A difficult relationship with the municipality

Business owners are often feeling very left out when it comes to their relationship with the municipality. Because of the bad reputation of the Kruisstraat and the Woenselse Markt, it appears that the municipality has the opinion that all the business owners are not right. This feeling became clear during the observation at the meeting of the business association, the small talks that have been held with business owners and the experiences of Respondent 3 (2022, April 5). According to Respondent 3 (2022, April 5) this feeling of distrust towards the municipality is caused by the number of BITE-controls together with other controls by the police. Business owners feel as if they are constantly being checked. It also appears that the municipality has admitted they have not given the area the amount of attention it needed. The problems that were present have not been tackled and the focus has been on the traffic situation too much. Also, the local council appears to speak about the business owners as if they are all criminals, when there are a number of family businesses and people who try their best to run a successful business. All these factors result in the fact that the business owners have gained such an amount of distrust against the municipality, which makes it hard to communicate. When business owners are invited to participate in a business association, or when they are asked to think along when it comes to the new traffic situation, they react very sceptical and would rather not participate at all.

When speaking to a local business owner he mentioned how his shop was invaded by the police and how he was accused of selling fake brands. The media also plays a role in this story, since the way articles are written do not improve the reputation of the area as well. The business owner had the opinion that the municipality wants to ruin the business owners with all the controls and police that are active in the area. He said that the municipality will always do what they want, when talking about the traffic measures (Notes newsletter, 2022, April 5). Even though many business owners did not share their opinion on the traffic measures with the municipality, some did during the meeting of the business association. The business owners were very upset about the traffic measures and the plan was not appreciated at all. They have a strong focus on their own business and are afraid for the loss of clients because of the new traffic measures. The new loading and unloading spots together with the smell that will be caused by the trucks was mentioned as a reason for the shops to have their doors closed more often which could cause a loss of clients. The business owners that showed up do not feel heard by the municipality (Notes business association, 2022, March 22). In the Toekomstbeeld one business owner mentions how the mayor of Eindhoven should come to the area himself, to taste all the different delicacies and to show him around. Now it is mostly about

negative aspects. The bad reputation that is created by the media also is not appreciated by business owners. One business owner says:

‘The newspaper of Eindhoven puts all entrepreneurs in the same category, as if no one is good in this street, there is never anything positive about it. I have been in this business for 33 years and I try to do my best. Many of us are unfairly portrayed in a negative light.’
(Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d).

4.3.2. Lack of connection

According to Respondent 3 (2022, April 5) connectedness is a base for a well-functioning and resilient area. When the neighbourhood manager first started in Oud Woensel, there was hardly any connection at all between the business owners on a business level. They were just doing their own thing and were connected to a few other business owners. Respondent 4 (2022, April 5) mentions that she also noticed the disconnection between the business owners.

‘I also felt that at the beginning everyone was so disconnected from each other. Even at the Turkish community, I expected that they would be more connected, the entrepreneurs. But I saw that many of them are not connected to the area. But I think it is growing, but very slowly’ (Respondent 4, 2022, April 5).

Business owners are also complaining about each other, for example about putting out the trash in the wrong way (Notes business association, 2022, March 22).

To increase this connection, Respondent 3 has facilitated the start of a business association. Starting a business association also is one of the goals the Toekomstbeeld points out (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d). Respondent 3 (2022, April 5) mentioned that when doing this, it is important to see the business owners as four different types of people. First, there are the people who want to change something and who are able to as well. Then there are people who want the change but are not able to participate. Third, there are the people who do not want to change anything but are able to participate. Lastly, there are people who do not want to change anything and are not able to participate as well. It is important to start a business association with the first group, the people who want to change the area and are able to participate. This is what was done in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt with five business owners. However, it is remarkable that the other business owners are reacting quite sceptical when asking them if they had heard about the new business association. People do not have time or are not interested in participating, which corresponds to the

four types of business owners that are present in the area. The key is to slowly convince the people who are able to participate, but do not want to. The initiative of Parti-recepten might also contribute to the growing connection between business owners, to help the people who want to participate but do not have the means to (Respondent 3, 2022, April 5).

Even though the connection between business owners is increasing very slowly, “you can see the network becoming more intense because of the business association” (Respondent 3, 2022, April 5). Respondent 4 (2022, April 5) agrees and mentions that one of the largest shops in the area first was very hesitant when it came to participating in initiatives, but they now seem to have more trust.

4.3.3 Business owners also want change

Especially in the Toekomstbeeld, it becomes clear that not only residents are calling for action when it comes to the physical space and general situation in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. Business owners are also ready for change. For instance, they would also like the area to have a better ambiance and a friendly character. “More new people through diversity, more integration. But don't ignore that all cultures take part in shaping society” is what a business owner says (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d). Another business owner agrees: “Take each other into account and enjoy each other's cultural backgrounds” (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d).

It appears that the business owners are really struggling with the negative image that has been created of the Kruisstraat. They want to turn this image around, by highlighting the success stories of the street and by collaborating with other business owners. Because several business owners have made their opinions on the new traffic situation heard, it might appear that all of the business owners do not like the loss of parking spots. However, there also are many business owners who do like this idea because it contributes to more greenery, encounter and more arranged terraces at the restaurants that contribute to the ‘place to meet’. Another business owner would like to make the street entirely car-free, to create a walking boulevard (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d).

4.4 Visitors

4.4.1 Types of visitors

As in every street, there are several reasons why someone would visit a street. In the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt there are many people who are using the street as a transit road while being on the way to another place. Especially bike riders use the street as a transit road, which could be because it is leading to the city centre. Additionally, there are visitors who come to visit the businesses in the area, or who come to visit a resident of the area. The way visitors come to the area can be divided into three categories: walking, by car and by bike. Hardly anyone uses public transport

to go to the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. About 20 per cent of the visitors visits the area on a daily basis, 30 per cent a few times a week and 30 percent a few times per month. 15 per cent of the visitors hardly ever visits the area (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021c).

4.4.2 Customers are essential

Customers might be the most important actor group in the area. Without customers, businesses cannot exist. Therefore, it might be most important to ensure that the visitors of the area like the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. The people who come to the Kruisstraat to shop and to visit the restaurants, are the determinant group. Since the Kruisstraat knows a lot of specialty stores, they may attract a very specific group of customers. A large number of visitors does not live in the Kruisstraat or Woenselse Markt, but lives in another part of Eindhoven or even another city in the Netherlands or Belgium (Respondent 3, 2022, April 5). Some customers come to the Kruisstraat specifically for one store or restaurant, because it is so special and it can hardly be found elsewhere.

‘And then you hear that a very important part of the visitors does not come from this area, so that also says something about what you should think of the signals you receive from residents (...) and then you can say, should we then assume that everything is based on those two residents who suffer from a car that is driving too fast? Should that be the focus? I do not know’ (Respondent 3, 2022, April 5).

The visitors really appreciate the area and the businesses located there. They like it there and love to visit the weekly market on Saturday as well. It should be questioned whether the opinion of the residents outweighs the importance of visitors, when the visitors are essential when it comes to the economy of the area.

Visitors also like the convenience of the Kruisstraat and the fact that parking in front of the store is possible. The visitor survey shows that visitors tend to park their bikes or cars as close to the place they need to be as possible (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021c). A business owner also mentions how important the possibility to park close to the store is, because customers often buy a lot at once which makes it inconvenient to walk a distance with heavy boxes (Notes business association, 2022, March 22).

4.5 Municipality

4.5.1 Interests of municipality

It is clear how residents and business owners often do not have a positive view on the municipality of Eindhoven. However, the municipality is a governing organisation that is supposed to be there in favour of the citizens. Regarding the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt, the municipality is aiming for a liveable environment that appeals entrepreneurs to start a business and no criminal activities. Additionally, the physical space should be clean, safe and green according to the municipality (Respondent 5, 2022, April 20). Adding more greenery also is in favour of the heat resistance of the streets.

The interests of the municipality are mostly made visible through certain visions, such as the Toekomstbeeld, but also land use plans that give an indication of what type of buildings are allowed. Additionally, the national policies should not be forgotten, since the municipality is led by the national government in the end.

The municipality is trying to change the image that citizens have about them, by being present in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt and by showing decisiveness. The execution of the traffic measures shows that the municipality can be decisive and that they dare to implement their plans. Besides being decisive, the municipality also likes to show their presence. This is done by several afternoons where the project manager is present in the small office in the Kruisstraat. Residents and business owners are welcome to stop by, to ask questions or to share their opinions (Respondent 5, 2022, April 20).

4.5.2 Different point of views

The municipality of Eindhoven is aware of the image that business owners have of the municipality. However, according to the municipality this can be changed through showing the business owners that the municipality is willing to solve problems.

‘In any case, I think by showing that the municipality also has decisiveness, that they dare to take action. For example, with those traffic measures, that you really show that you can perform actions. So that something happens when you talk to the municipality. That it's not just talking. Because a resident or entrepreneur does want to see results and then that trust comes very slowly after that. I also think by trying to organize processes in such a way that you stay very close to residents and entrepreneurs. That it is not pushed through from above and that contact is no longer possible. So, we are actually trying to get a little closer to the residents and entrepreneurs’ (Respondent 5, 2022, April 20).

Additionally, most of the times miscommunication or very deep feelings play a role. Being around in the office in the Kruisstraat also is a way to improve the relationship, to make the municipality more accessible (Respondent 5, 2022, April 20).

It is clear that the municipality is trying to improve the relationship between them and the business owners. The municipality is convinced that they are showing themselves in the area and being very active. However, the business owners might not experience this the same way. According to Respondent 3 (2022, June 10) business owners and the municipality might not even speak the same language, in a figurative sense. Business owners are used to act quickly, because they do not have a choice most of the times. For instance, when Covid-19 came and the world was in a crisis, they did not have the time to think about their decisions for too long because their business was at stake. Solutions for the measures taken by the government needed to be found quickly, to run their businesses in a way that was possible. Now after the crisis, they immediately have to deal with a scarcity of employees which causes a scarcity of time for the businesses. The municipality on the other hand is used to having lots of meetings, thinking and elaborating before a plan is really executed. These two forms of working are very different and might be a cause for distrust. Business owners have a strong sense that none of the plans made by the municipality are really executed, because it takes a long time and not a lot is visible yet. The municipality might be busy behind the scenes, however this is not clear to the business owners. Respondent 3 (2022, June 10) is also questioning the Toekomstbeeld for its clarity. The Toekomstbeeld might be too vague for business owners, because it does not include a time frame. Because of this, it is not clear when the plans should be executed exactly.

The municipality relates being active in the area to being in the small office in the Kruisstraat to answer questions and bringing around a newsletter. However, the definition of 'active' possibly is not the same for business owners and they might feel as if the municipality is acting rather passive. Sitting in the office, waiting for the citizens to stop by maybe is not that active. They still expect the citizens to come to them. Business owners expect more decisiveness, even though the municipality feels as if they are doing this already. People can have different perceptions of the same concept. Therefore, it might be good for the municipality to adapt to the business owners more, to gain more trust. This can be achieved by taking an active role and communicating differently (Respondent 3, 2022, June 10).

4.5.3 Citizen participation

Involving citizens in the process of changing the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt, or Oud Woensel as a whole, is important to the municipality. The coding also shows this, because the code 'involvement of citizens' or 'cultural practices' when translated to cultural ecosystem services, are quoted 29 times. Business owners as well as residents have been involved in meetings during the process of making new plans. The traffic measures, the action plan and the Toekomstbeeld are all made in collaboration with citizens. The largest involvement of citizens however can be brought back to the buurtbudget. As mentioned before, citizens were able to vote and choose themselves where 50.000 euros would be spent on in the neighbourhood. This direct form of involvement has released a lot of energy from the citizens that were involved, when thinking about initiatives and ideas (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021b). Also, in the future the plan is to remain citizen involvement, to have a clear view of the effectivity of the measures that have been taken.

4.6 Property owners

4.6.1 Property owners have the power

The businesses in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt are located in properties that are either rented from a property owner, or the business owner owns the property himself. This means that some property owners are business owners as well and run a business in their own property. Property owners might have the power to start change in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt, since they can decide who to rent their property to.

'They literally and figuratively hold the key. Who am I going to rent out this property to? And they can do that to the person who can pay the rent, or they can also ask themselves the question: is this the type of entrepreneur that has added value here? Does it contribute to the diversity we want in the area? They can also ask themselves that question. And then they have to make choices, not only based on euros, but also looking at whether this is an entrepreneur who really contributes. And that is sometimes difficult. The moment you have a building and there are only entrepreneurs who want to do something with shawarma, or who only want to open a hair salon. Should you ask the owner to leave the property empty for a few years? No, so there is also a challenge to see how we can get other types of entrepreneurs to the area. And it doesn't help that the area has a bad reputation' (Respondent 3, 2022, April 5).

This means it is not only about the property owners, but also the attractiveness of the area for new entrepreneurs is of importance. A bad reputation does not help in this case (Respondent 3, 2022, April 5).

4.6.2 Property owners are barely involved

Furthermore, the owners of the properties in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt are not always located in or around the area. They often live in other cities and do not have much of a view of what is happening. It is of their importance that the monthly rent comes in and whether this contributes to the diversity of the businesses or not, is not really on their mind (Notes, 2022, April 5). Also, property owners do not only have business properties in their possession. There also are lots of property owners who facilitate living spaces, such as apartments or student rooms located above the businesses. This does not always happen in the right way, because they do not always have a permit, people are living there illegally, and the rooms are not always registered as student rooms. The fact that many unsafe and illegal situations are created above retail premises, makes the municipality and social organizations think it would be better to have the premises be bought by housing cooperatives. This way they could be rented in a safe way (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d).

4.7 Social organizations

4.7.1 Social support

Oud Woensel knows a significant group people in need of social services who live in the neighbourhood. These people for instance struggle with addiction, are homeless or are dealing with health issues. The fact that social services for these people are located in Oud Woensel causes people to stay around in the area. The municipality is aiming for better support and more visibility of social organizations, because people often do not know they can ask for help. A professional partner mentions in the Toekomstbeeld:

‘Vulnerable residents often don’t even know of the existence of WIJ Eindhoven. It really is a maze: where do you find what? Taking people by the hand more, because they often have no idea where to start. Not too much pampering though (does everything have to be in different languages per se?’ (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d).

The municipality also admits that in the past ten years there has been too little attention for the neighbourhood that came from the social organizations. The social organizations themselves agree to

this and aim for more activities where the human being is seen behind the addiction or the problem (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d).

There not only is support towards addiction, but also more simple support such as helping people with financial tasks or digital problems is something the social organization WIJeindhoven is doing (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d). The door is always open for people that need help and the generalists at WIJeindhoven are in good contact with the residents of Oud Woensel.

4.7.2 Future plans regarding social facilities

In the future, professionals should be visible and approachable in the neighbourhood, to make it easier for residents who need them. A more active role for the GGD in the neighbourhood also is one of the resolutions. For instance, the GGD has been actively looking for people in need within the neighbourhood to accompany them towards the right help and support. The aim really is to improve the situation around the 'vulnerable' people that are in need of help (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021a). WIJeindhoven also wants to work in a more preventive way in the future, before the problems increase too much (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d).

The plan is to move the facilities for homeless people or people that struggle with addiction to another neighbourhood outside Oud Woensel. The supply of low rent houses also is going to be divided differently, so that the people living in this type of houses are distributed equally over the neighbourhoods (Municipality of Eindhoven, 2021d).

5. Conclusion, recommendations & discussion

5.1 Conclusion

This research has focused on the neighbourhood of Oud Woensel, with a specific focus on the Kruisstraat and the Woenselse Markt. This street and marketplace have been researched through the eyes of different actors in the neighbourhood and a number of policy documents regarding Oud Woensel. These sources have all contributed to the answering of the research question. The research question that was central in this research is as follows:

To what extent can the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt be considered (cultural) ecosystem?

Answering the main question will be done by means of the following sub questions:

- *What (human) actors can be defined as part of the ecosystem and what do the relations between the actors look like?*
- *To what extent do cultural ecosystem services play a role?*
- *How can cultural ecosystem services contribute to a better understanding of the ecosystem approach?*

5.1.1 Dependency of the actors

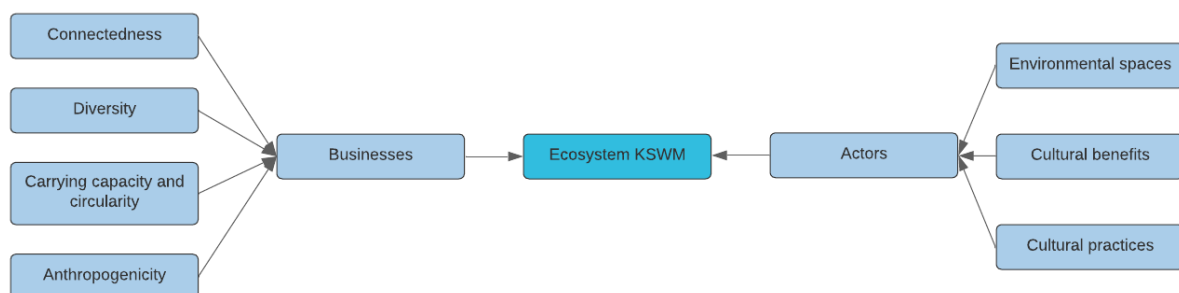


Figure 6: Conceptual model

It is clear that the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt are a very complex area to analyse. Numerous factors and actors play a role and have led to the situation that the area is in right now. To take away this complexity step by step, it is important to look into the actors that are present and the way they relate to each other. The conceptual model that is shown in chapter 2 shows the actors as one group, since the specific actors and their relations used to be unclear. Zooming in on the actors and their relations now, they can be specified through the empirical data that has been collected. The empirical data analysis has shown the amount of distrust that residents and business owners have towards the municipality. This distrust is caused by a lack of understanding and because residents

and business owners feel as if the municipality is not listening to them. At the same time, the analysis shows that the municipality does feel as if they are being decisive and as if they are improving the relationship with the business owners and residents. It is true that the municipality is involving the citizens in numerous ways, also shown in the analysis. However, this is also in favour of the municipality because they need the citizens in this case. When the residents need the municipality, for example because when they want to complain, this decisiveness is less present. In general, the communication between the municipality and the citizens is a sensitive aspect. However, the analysis has also shown that the municipality is trying to make the area more appealing to visitors. The improvement of the liveability of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt is an aspect that came forward while analysing. When approaching the ecosystem from an economic perspective, the visitors can be seen as the most important actor in this case. This is because visitors are customers of the businesses and are necessary to keep the economy going. However, visitors do not only come from outside the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. This means residents can also be visitors, which makes their existence of importance as well. The business owners are the actor group that, when supported by visitors, makes the area economically relevant. It is visible how every actor relies on each other, since they need each other to 'survive'. Property owners contribute to this by facilitating locations for businesses, whether the property owner is a business owner himself or not. The disconnection of business owners is another point that the analysis has brought forward. Before the business association, there was no significant connection that had a positive impact on the shopping street. It is also shown in the analysis how the wish for a more connected Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt is present. Many actors express their wish for a connected area.

When approaching the ecosystem from a more social perspective, the importance of liveability and the social relations between actors is shown. The motives of the municipality are focused on the change of physical space that is happening, where the 'place to meet' aspect is of importance as well. The trends Zukin (2012) describes in chapter 2 are important to keep in mind to substantiate the decisions of the municipality. The municipality might be trying to prepare the physical space for the future, where staying and meeting has a more prominent role. It appears that business owners still have to adapt to this change, because of the resistance they show towards the plans. Social organizations play an important role regarding the liveability as well. The empirical data shows how people are not always feeling safe in the area. Acting preventive and less passively should ensure that people who are now causing nuisance, will not do so in the future.

5.1.2 Application of ecosystem approach

The theoretical framework in this thesis showed the different principals that can specify an area as an ecosystem. These principals have also been incorporated in the conceptual model. The principals are diversity, connectedness, carrying capacity and circularity and anthropogenicity. When applying these principals to the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt, there are aspects to be improved regarding all the four principals. The diversity of the businesses in the area could be larger. At this moment there are lots of the same types of businesses and it appears that these businesses also attract each other. However, to make an ecosystem sustainable, diversity is necessary. Referring to the theoretical framework, diversity contributes to long term success, since the risks are being spread and setbacks can be overcome. For instance, when 10% of the business are hairdressers or barbershops, this can cause a problem when there is a new trend that makes people want to grow their hair very long. If this results in hairdressers and barbershops closing down, it would immediately mean that 10% of the businesses is closed down afterwards. When there is more diversity, this would not have such an impact on the street because risks could have been spread. Of course, this is an extreme example that is not too realistic, but it does show the importance of diversity in a local shopping street. Property owners are able to control the diversity by deciding what type of business fills up the building. However, as mentioned before, property owners are not really involved within the ecosystem when living far away. This makes it hard to bring awareness. Looking at the connectedness of the actors within the ecosystem, it can be claimed that the lack of connection is larger than the connection between the actors. Before there was a business association, the business owners were connected in no way except for the connections they made themselves, which were not many. Residents and business owners also are not really connected, since the residents experience nuisance because of the businesses which does not improve the relationship. The business association is supposed to provide a better connection among business owners in the future, which will help to strengthen the ecosystem.

The carrying capacity and circularity represents the closedness of the ecosystem. Especially the circularity in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt is very high, since the ecosystem contains a lot of customers that are not from the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. It could be said that the ecosystem thrives on customers from other ecosystems. The neighbourhoods or cities where these customers live, can be approached as an ecosystem as well. Not every resident only shops in their own neighbourhood, so this means that customers are being exchanged between neighbourhoods. This leads to circularity between ecosystems. In the case of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt this is positive because this means that the other ecosystems do not have the specific stores people are looking for and the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt are unique in a sense. However, this could also be a vulnerable aspect, since an ecosystem should not be dependent on customers from another

ecosystem. For instance, when a specific store also appears in another area, customers might not go to the Kruisstraat anymore because there is a store closer by.

The last principle, anthropogenicity or human action, shows the difference between an ecological ecosystem and a local shopping street as an ecosystem. The fact that people can make plans for the long term and invest money is of course something that is the case in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. People will start a business with a goal and will first have to invest money into this business to make it successful. Also, the influence of the municipality is something that is not present in an ecological ecosystem, but is present in this case.

Concluding, the principals of connectedness and diversity are open to improvement to transform the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt into a more sustainable ecosystem.

5.1.3 Application of cultural ecosystem services

As mentioned in chapter 2.3.4 and 2.3.5 cultural ecosystem services can be measured through three characteristics: environmental spaces, cultural practices and cultural benefits. These characteristics have been incorporated in the conceptual model as related to the actors in the ecosystem, because the actors are the ones who experience cultural ecosystem services. The characteristics have been translated into measurable definitions that are used during the interviews and coding process.

To begin with, there is the environmental space: the non-human actors such as physical space and the shops of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. The area of research could almost be seen as one large public space. The Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt are spaces for everyone, and all visitors are welcome to walk inside a shop or restaurant when they want to. People share the outside of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt through common places to sit and to park their bikes or cars. Additionally, the actual road of the Kruisstraat is used by everyone who visits, or by people who like to show their car. For the future the aim is to make the physical space more friendly and liveable, to make it more attractive to stay and to turn the space into a place to meet. This space is so important for the ecosystem of the Kruisstraat and the Woenselse Markt, that it could also be considered as a non-human actor.

Then there are the cultural practices: the interactions that residents, visitors and business owners have with the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt through creating and expressing, as well as gathering and consuming. In the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt this happens outside, where people sit at a restaurant, walk around or bike around. However, this might happen even more inside the shops and other businesses. The businesses are what make the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt such interesting and special places. In the future the plan is to facilitate more interaction with the outside world of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt as well, because of the many changes that are

planned. When people feel more welcome and there is more space to meet and connect, people will more likely be using the outside space to sit down and interact with their environment. In this research the cultural practices have been measured mostly through the involvement of citizens regarding the environment of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. After coding, it became clear that the municipality is really putting effort in involving the citizens when it comes to decision making and evaluating plans. Citizens also are happy to be involved.

Lastly there are the cultural benefits: the way the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt contribute to the well-being of residents, business owners and visitors. It appears that, regarding the data, there are not many cultural benefits the residents and business owners are experiencing. However, the multicultural character of the area can be seen as a cultural benefit. The fact that there are many stores from all over the world can make people feel at home, because there is always something that fits their needs. Also, the contact between residents and the fact that people take care of each other is a benefit the people can experience because they live in the area. The business owners can experience cultural benefits because of the other businesses in the area. Customers can be tempted to walk inside when they already are in the area because of another store. Business owners also are depended on the street for their income, so you could say that the area contributes to their well-being in this way. Visitors of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt can experience cultural benefits because of the ability to park in front of a store, which is not possible in every local shopping street.

Using cultural ecosystem services in this research has provided measurable characteristics for cultural ecosystems and therefore has been helpful to have a more in-depth view on ecosystems. When looking at a local shopping area or neighbourhood as an ecosystem, it can be overwhelming to discover all the relationships and effects of this ecosystem. To find out the effects an ecosystem can have on the human actors within the ecosystem, cultural ecosystem services have been very helpful. Also, the cultural heritage that goes along with viewing local shopping areas as ecosystems (Zukin, 2012) is seen when the residents express their feeling towards the changing businesses in the area. The stores that used to be in the Kruisstraat in the past and the feelings and experiences the residents have towards them, can be cultural heritage. This notion of cultural heritage has also made the ecosystem approach more tangible.

5.1.4 The future looks promising

Overall, there is room for more connectedness in this ecosystem. The communication is one of the main reasons that not all actors have a great relation. The way there is being communicated, or sometimes not communicated, does not contribute to the connectedness within the ecosystem. At the same time, there is a strong wish for connectedness and this is also one of the needs of an ecosystem. The role of the municipality should also be noted. The municipality is part of this ecosystem while trying to improve it. However, because of the lack of trust and scepticism, the municipality is not always taken seriously. This requires change from both residents and business owners, as from the municipality. The fact that citizens are being involved in the process does show that the municipality sees them as important actors within the ecosystem.

In the end, the human actors within the cultural ecosystem of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt are dependent on each other to keep the ecosystem alive. This is working partly, since the businesses are receiving customers and the residents are able to go to the stores they need. The number of visitors is also high, which contributes to the circularity of this ecosystem. Business owners and residents are dependent on the municipality as well, however this is where problems occur. Because business owners do not feel heard by the municipality and residents often do not hear anything after complaining, this relationship is disturbed. The role of social organizations is important when it comes to the people who need social support in the area. Currently the effects of the social organizations are there, but since they want to be involved more as well, the effects could be bigger in the future.

To conclude, the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt can be considered a cultural ecosystem. It is an ecosystem that is working decently in an economic way, however it should be acknowledged that there is enough to improve. This will eventually lead to cultural ecosystem services playing a more prominent role within the ecosystem. The future plans, the involvement of Seinpost and the creation of the business association are all factors that can contribute to the sustainability of the ecosystem. This is something that will be visible in the future.

5.2 Recommendations

After being involved in the processes and relations that are present within the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt, several recommendations can be done.

It would be recommended that the municipality of Eindhoven changes their stance towards the business owners and residents. It might be good to communicate in a different way to ensure that the citizens do not see the municipality as this large, powerful organization anymore but as helpful people as well. A more active attitude when approaching business owners can gain more trust, because it shows that the municipality is trying to put themselves in the shoes of the business owners. The municipality can do this by approaching the business owners and residents and ask them for their help, to make clear that their opinions are heard. Also, the way to approach the municipality should become less complex, without having to wait several weeks for an answer. When responding faster, the expectations of business owners are being fulfilled.

For the business owners it would be recommended to be more openminded for new ideas, such as the traffic measures and the business association. Traffic measures are meant to improve the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt, also in favour of the businesses. The business association also is there to improve the working environment for the business owners. The closedness of business owners does not contribute to a well-functioning ecosystem. Also try to be open for the connection with other business owners. The business association will make it possible to achieve more.

It would be recommended for the residents in the area to also acknowledge the economic importance of the businesses in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. The accessibility by car is of great importance for the businesses and the neighbourhood is not only made for residents.

To Seinpost it would be recommended to invest in delivering the message to all the human actors in the area. Step by step the connections and relations can be strengthened and Seinpost plays an important role in this process.

5.3 Discussion

As mentioned in the chapter 3, the methods of this research were planned differently than the way they worked out. The plan beforehand was to conduct a lot more interviews, speak to many more people and collect lots of experiences and feelings as primary data. When entering the field and speaking to the neighbourhood manager, it came to my attention that I was not the first person to research the area. The municipality of Eindhoven had been doing a lot of research regarding the residents, business owners and visitors in the area. They had been interviewed and their opinion had been asked, which resulted in the fact that the area had become a bit 'over researched'. When I told the neighbourhood manager that I really wanted to talk to the business owners to hear their feelings

and experiences, he advised against this. The business owners are really hard working, busy people and they might not appreciate another person asking for an interview. It was better to have short conversations with business owners while handing them the newsletter from the business association. I did manage to speak to some business owners this way, but a lot of the times they were busy and I felt that they did not have the time, or they just did not feel like talking to me. For this reason I decided to use secondary data as well to discover the experiences and opinions of the actors. This secondary data were the results from the large amount of research done by the municipality. It has been very helpful to use this data, because it showed many experiences and opinions. However, I do feel as if the fact that this data is from the municipality, might be a reason for the respondents to be a bit more holdback. Especially because many residents and business owners are quite sceptical about the municipality, their opinions on the municipality are not really shown in the documents.

Another issue I experienced is the approachability of the business owners. During my research I helped organizing an event for people who received an unemployment benefit. My task was to approach business owners who were open to hire someone, or just have a conversation with someone that did not have a job. I decided to email about 20 business owners with this question. I received no response from any of the business owners. The next step was to call the business owners and explain what the idea was. The obstacle with this was that most of the people I spoke to on the phone did not speak Dutch well. This made it hard for me to explain and one time I was forwarded to another phone number because this person did not speak Dutch at all. It is beautiful that there are so many different nationalities and cultures present in the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt, however this did make it hard for me to approach business owners as well.

The best results of this research would have been reached when there was more than enough time and money. The time I had to spend in the field were only three months. When I would have had more time and money did not play a role, it would have been great to actually live in the Kruisstraat for several months. I am sure this would make it possible to experience everything the residents are experiencing and to make contact with the business owners in a more casual way. For future research this would be a very interesting idea. It would also be interesting to redo this research in the future, to see whether the functioning of the ecosystem has improved because of the measures that are being taken in the present.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interviewguide residents

Allereerst ontzettend bedankt dat u tijd wilde vrijmaken voor dit interview. Ik zal u eerst even kort uitleggen wat mijn onderzoek precies inhoudt. Ik doe onderzoek naar de Kruisstraat en Woenselse Markt, met een specifieke focus op het benaderen van de wijk als een ecosysteem. Hierbij zijn de verschillende actoren van belang om het ecosysteem goed te laten werken. Bewoners zijn dus een van de actoren die genoemd zouden kunnen worden. Vandaar dat ik graag met bewoners wil spreken, om te kijken hoe jullie de wijk ervaren. Ik heb een aantal vragen opgesteld, maar als u zelf nog inbreng heeft dan is dit ook goed.

Area description

- Hoelang woont u al in de straat?
- Hoe zou u de Kruisstraat en Woenselse Markt omschrijven?

Relationship between residents and other residents of business owners

- Heeft u contact met de andere buurtbewoners?
- Hoe is de interactie tussen u en andere bewoners?
- Ik heb gemerkt dat het contact tussen bewoners en ondernemers niet altijd goed gaat. Hoe ervaart u dit en hoe denkt u dat dit kan worden verbeterd?

Opinions of residents

- Wat is uw mening wat betreft de maatregelen die de gemeente heeft genomen?
- Hoe heeft u de veranderingen in de straat gedurende de afgelopen jaren ervaren?
- Kan u omschrijven of u zich wel eens onveilig voelt?

Appendix B: Interviewguide employees Seinpost

Allereerst heel erg fijn dat jullie tijd wilden vrijmaken om het met mij te hebben over het ecosysteem in het gebied. Jullie weten natuurlijk hoe mijn onderzoek in elkaar zit, dus daar hoef ik verder geen toelichting op te geven. Ik zal wel even uitleggen wat mijn doel van deze sessie is. Ik hoop het ecosysteem meer te kunnen visualiseren door middel van jullie hulp en daarmee de verschillende actoren, elementen en verbindingen in beeld te brengen.

Vinden jullie het oké dat ik dit interview opneem?

Beginning of ecosystem

- Hoe zou je het ecosysteem KSWM omschrijven toen jullie hier net actief waren op basis van de vier principes (diversiteit, verbondenheid, draagkracht-circulariteit en menselijk handelen)?
- Wat voor sfeer heerste er onder de ondernemers toen je voor het eerst gesprekken voerde met de ondernemers?

Ecosystem now

- In hoeverre kan je zeggen dat de eventueel missende elementen uit het ecosysteem er inmiddels wel zijn?
- Is de sfeer veranderd onder de ondernemers?

Actors

- Hoe zou je de verschillende actoren binnen het ecosysteem omschrijven?
- Hoe zijn de verhoudingen en relaties tussen deze actoren?
- Welke actoren spelen de meest belangrijke rol in het ecosysteem? Als in: welke actoren maken het verschil?
- Er zijn natuurlijk veel gesprekken gevoerd met alle ondernemers en andere actoren, ook door middel van de ondernemersvereniging. Welke conclusies kun je hieruit trekken?
- Wat verwacht je van de ondernemersvereniging in de toekomst?
- Het contact met de gemeente gaat momenteel tussen zowel bewoners en gemeente als ondernemers en gemeente niet soepel. Wat is er nodig om hier verbetering in te brengen?

Ecosystem future

- Er zitten nu natuurlijk veel ondernemingen in het gebied, maar deze halen momenteel misschien niet het beste uit de straat naar boven. Hoe zie jij dit en welke ondernemingen zijn er volgens jou nodig om de straat te laten opbloeien?

The role of culture

- In de straat bevinden zich natuurlijk veel verschillende culturen, die soms kunnen zorgen voor moeilijkheden wat betreft communicatie bijvoorbeeld met de gemeente. Hoe vind jij dat mensen die opgegroeid zijn met de Nederlandse cultuur communiceren?

Parti-recepten as connecting factor

- Jij hebt voor het maken van het kookboek natuurlijk veel contact gehad met ondernemers en bewoners uit de wijk. Hoe heb je hen toen benaderd?
- Hoe reageerden de ondernemers en bewoners op dit idee?

Appendix C: Interviewguide municipality of Eindhoven

Allereerst ontzettend bedankt dat u tijd wilde vrijmaken voor dit interview. Ik zal u eerst even kort uitleggen wat mijn onderzoek precies inhoudt. Ik doe onderzoek naar de Kruisstraat en Woenselse Markt, met een specifieke focus op het benaderen van de wijk als een ecosysteem. Hierbij zijn de verschillende actoren van belang om het ecosysteem goed te laten werken. De gemeente is ook een actor in dit ecosysteem, dus vandaar dat ik u graag wilde spreken om ook de belangen en interesses van de gemeente te horen. Ik heb een aantal vragen opgesteld, maar als u zelf nog inbreng heeft dan is dit ook goed.

General

- Sinds wanneer bent u projectleider bij de gemeente Eindhoven?

Area description

- Hoe zou u het gebied Oud Woensel omschrijven?
- Kan u Oud Woensel, specifiek de Kruisstraat en Woenselse Markt, omschrijven voordat er een wijkmanager aan het werk was?

Opinions and role of the municipality

- Kan u uitleggen wat u precies doet in de Kruisstraat en Woenselse Markt?
- Wanneer we kijken naar de verschillende actoren in het gebied, wat is de rol van de gemeente hier?
- Ik heb ervaren dat er wat wantrouwen heerst tegenover de gemeente. Hoe ervaart u dit?
- Wat doet de gemeente om dit vertrouwen terug te winnen?
- Er zijn veel bedrijven in het gebied, er wonen mensen en mensen bezoeken het gebied. Probeert de gemeente er te zijn voor alle mensen tegelijk?
- Kan u uitleggen welke belangen er komen kijken vanuit de gemeente wanneer het gaat over het veranderen van het gebied?

Relationship between residents and other residents or business owners

- Kan u uitleggen hoe de relatie tussen ondernemers en bewoners momenteel is?

The future of the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt

- Wat is er veranderd in de Kruisstraat en Woenselse Markt wanneer we het vergelijken met twee jaar geleden?
- Hoe ziet u de Kruisstraat en Woenselse markt over twee jaar?

Appendix D: Interviewsummary Respondent 1

This respondent has been living in the Kruisstraat for almost 20 years. During these years he has seen a lot of change. "Eindhoven has never started as a city, but as several villages that have grown together. Many centres of villages can still be seen in Eindhoven. The Kruisstraat also had this village character, with the Woenselse Markt and the church." Respondent 1 moved to the Kruisstraat in 2004, when it was a street full of small shops. "The Kruisstraat really was a street full of Dutch specialty shops, retail and craft shops. Next to that there were a few exotic restaurants, such as a Chinese-Indonesian restaurant and a Greek restaurant. This gave some colour to the image of the street and it made it more diverse. It was a nice appealing mix: mainly shops, a busy street during the day and at night it was calm." The opinion of respondent 1 has changed during the years. "Now it mainly is a street with Islamic restaurants and cafés, Islamic supermarkets and butcher shop concepts. The character the street had before is nowhere to be found. The early restaurants are still there, but the rest has taken over the character of the street. These are so massively represented now that the rest does not stand out anymore." Respondent 1 does have an idea where the turning point has been. "The change from retail to restaurants and cafés has had a lot of impact. The Kruisstraat wasn't a street full of restaurants, but now it really is. There has been an explosion of restaurants and cafés, but I do not see any agreements that the restaurants and cafés have to commit to". According to Respondent 1 it is important to open the dialogue between the business owners and the residents. "There should be talked about what has changed for the residents and what agreements there are made regarding the nuisance the business owners are causing. I do know a few faces, for instance I do know the owner of Aktas. However he does not have enough power on his own to make the ideas work. I also know the owner of Antep. It is hard though to make contact with the business owners. Most of the new faces are from foreign descent. They are very creative with understanding or not understanding Dutch. When I want to talk to them about the nuisance, they all of a sudden do not understand Dutch anymore. However when they need something from me, their Dutch is fine." This does not result in a good relationship between business owners and residents. "You start to avoid each other and live past each other. This isn't good for residents and for the business owners. In the end it also isn't good for the visitors. It all has to do with the impact that the business owners have to the nuisance." Respondent 1 gives a few reasons for the nuisance in the street. "First there is the emission of particulate matters and a bad smell that I have to deal with. There are several restaurants that use barbecues that run on charcoal. They do use an extraction system, but they do not use a filter. The smell and PM are blown outside with full power. When I want to sit on my balcony during nice weather, I am constantly dealing with their emission." The municipality can play a role in solving this problem, however Respondent 1 does have an opinion towards the municipality. "We are being encouraged by the municipality to make as many complaints as possible, because when we do not complain they do not know what is going on. However after years of complaining the result is a new environmental vision focused on traffic and parking. What is this new measure going to change? Out of all of the complaints there is not one measure that is going to change anything. There should be more supervision on who gets a permit. When the municipality doesn't have the time to check on the different businesses, than don't give them the permit to start their business." The municipality itself also plays a role. "The municipality is always slow. Because they are a part in this story, things are going even less fluent." The area has been developing itself in the last 15 years. "The middle class has been dynamic. They have adapted themselves to the new situation. When they make clear what they want: an appealing neighbourhood and a safe situation when it comes to traffic, just start trying to provide this then. When this has succeeded, the middle class will adapt eventually. Right now, the focus lies too much at the middle class that is situated in the area at the moment. When the situation changes, there is a great chance that the middle class will change as well. Residents just want a liveable environment."

The lack of liveability shows itself in numerous ways. “The amount of motor vehicles. Back in the days people would come for groceries and they would leave after. Now people are driving around, showing how cool their cars are. All of the terraces cause noise disturbance to the residents. At night it’s the worst regarding the cars. In may the situation got out of hand, which resulted in the street closing for car traffic after 20:00”. This isn’t the situation anymore. Closing the street after 20:00 only was a temporary measure. “There aren’t that many problems anymore, so the closing of the street did help. However I do see it moving to the wrong side again. This is also related to the covid measures and the weather is also important. Right now, there aren’t any covid measures and the weather is great and sunny, which means the car traffic will increase again. Though, the nuisance isn’t to blame on the business owners, but there is a correlation because the people that cause nuisance are attracted to the businesses.”

I asked Respondent 1 how the relationship between business owners and residents can be improved. “It is hard to make the relationship between business owners and residents better. There are different interests that do not correspond. When it stays this way, there will be tension. It is just hard to do what everybody wants. In the end there will be a solution where nobody agrees with and nobody is satisfied. Everybody has to make concessions. The situation will stay the same. To have business owners and residents on the same page is almost impossible.”

“In the city centre there is no car traffic allowed. Customers can’t go there by car, but they can park their car nearby in a parking garage. Business owners in the city centre don’t complain about the fact that it isn’t allowed to park in front of their business. The concept fits with the location and because of that there is no resistance. Before everybody is on the same page in the Kruisstraat/Woenselse Markt there are two options that are important. First, the option is to listen to the business owners and leave the residents with a solution they don’t like. When the residents don’t agree, they can move to another place and there will be new residents that do like the situation. Second, there is the option to listen to the residents and come up with a solution that fits them. When business owners don’t like this, they can move to another property and there will be room for new business owners that will settle in the Kruisstraat because they do like the situation.”

“When I will move because the street is made for the business owners, it’s because I don’t feel at home. I move and there will be someone else. There will be a point where someone needs to give up more than the other. This will lead to a visible change. This way, new business owners and new residents will know from the start what the setting is and how the accessibility of the street is. For the people who already live there it can be within their vision. For me: I came to live in the Kruisstraat when it was a calm and quiet street. Because of the municipality it has become a completely different environment. The municipality made that happen. They are able to turn it around. When the municipality doesn’t do that and they leave it up to the market, the struggle will remain. It might be good if the municipality will come up with a controversial plan and the municipality will stick to it. The current plan actually is contradictory. The way it is presented right now, does not make it possible to implement the plan. They have tried to include all of the interests: it must stay accessible, but we do aim for a car-free space. However without measures this isn’t possible. The way the Toekomstbeeld is written will not work. The space should stay accessible and it should be pleasant to ride your bike and to walk there. It has to be safe. It is too demanding and because of that it will be impossible.”

“I have handed in a letter at the municipality with a zienswijze on different point with criticism. Criticism to the plan. I have received a reaction from the municipality. They said: “we have received your zienswijze but we will not do anything with it”. To say it in a very simple way. I have also spoken to Chris Swart and we have planned a moment to have a conversation about it. The municipality does not think with the resident. The criticism I have is based on the visions the municipality has. There

are visions where the aim for a car-free space is displayed. This aim is also displayed in the Toekomstbeeld for the Kruisstraat and Woenselse Markt. The plan for a the new parking situation will not have any effect at all. It is not going to reduce the amount of cars in the street. The vision isn't clear enough which leads to multiple interpretations of the plan. In the end you can ask everyone what they want and it will provide you with 300 different opinions. A choice needs to be made: we will design the neighbourhood like this. When that is clear, there will be business owners and residents who will say: I am leaving."

"Just start with a clear vision, without contradictions. The resistance won't be between the resident and the business owner anymore, because the vision is guiding and this makes the municipality responsible."

"The municipality does have the capability to guide and to make decisions about the future of the neighbourhood. The municipality isn't making any hard decisions, because they will hurt someone. Everybody has a different opinion. There will never be a decision that fits for everyone."

"The only thing this plan achieves is less parking spots. At the Woenselse Markt there is a surplus, when we look at an average day. The Kruisstraat will be a fish trap full of cars. It is hard to understand how they will realise the goals with this plan. They want to see how well it is going to work. What will come out of this plan, is not going to work."

"Start with a plan that can be proven to have a better effect. The vision isn't clear. The vision for the neighbourhood should fit the vision for the city. The vision for the city does say that there should be aimed for car free zones in the city centre. Everything that has a positive effect on cars should be taken out of the vision for the neighbourhood, because it is contradictory in comparison with the vision for the city. This way it will be much easier to make a decision for that project group. Build a parking garage underneath the Woenselse Markt. This way a hub with good accessibility will be created, together with a different image of the neighbourhood. Business owners as well as residents can say that the municipality has scored points because of this. You can't avoid hurting the business owners, so they can move afterwards. Another business owner will see an opportunity, when it is an opportunity that doesn't have customers who have to carry boxes to their car from the shop."

I asked Respondent 1 how he feels about the increase in green around the Kruisstraat, when the parking spots will be changed.

"It is fun that there will be more green, but it doesn't take away the problem. It is better to design the street with green and flowers later, because the important decisions haven't been taken yet. A flower pot in front of my door, but there will still be racing cars. The cars will still bother me. The absence of green bothers me less than the people that cause nuisance. That is a much bigger problem. With a few simple interventions, the nuisance will look less bad. I have been calling the police for years. I kept complaining, because without complaining they weren't aware. I have done this for years and finally, there is a plan but it doesn't have any value."

"The municipality is above the ecosystem. The ecosystem will never relax the way it is going right now. It will be good for your research to look how all the visions are connected to the ecosystem. Is it included or not? There should be made an external decision."

Appendix E: WhatsApp conversation Respondent 2

[11-3 09:59] Inge: Gezien u al sinds 2005 in de Kruisstraat woont hebt u vast veel verandering in de straat gezien de afgelopen jaren. Hoe heeft u dat ervaren?

[11-3 10:23] Respondent: Het gaat op en neer. Als er moeilijkheden zijn wordt er fors geklaagd en dan komen er regels vanuit de gemeente. Wel vervelend is dat er veel kapperszaken en shoarmatenten zonder clandiezie zijn. Hopelijk wordt daar ook wat aan gedaan. Het multiculturele aspect vinden wij wel erg leuk.

[11-3 10:57] Inge: Hebt u wel het idee dat de regels vanuit de gemeente hebben geholpen?

[11-3 12:28] Respondent: Jazeker. Het feit dat de restaurants nu om 23.00 uur dichtgaan is een stuk beter dan toen we tot 4.00 uur smorgens in de herrie zaten. Ook het rondvragen van opgevoerde motoren en auto's is minder. Wat mij nog wel een doorn in het oog is zijn de auto's die aan de rechterkant met pechinstallatie aan, een uur stilstaan. De eigenaar zit wat te drinken ergens. Dit geeft, zeker in een fietsstraat gevaarlijke situaties.

[11-3 12:28] Respondent: rondvragen = rond racen

[11-3 13:17] Inge: Oh ja snap ik!

[25-3 12:13] Inge: Ik heb nog wat vragen over de Kruisstraat, met name over de relatie met de gemeente Eindhoven. Heeft u bijvoorbeeld wel eens een klacht ingediend wat betreft overlast?

[25-3 14:31] Respondent: Jazeker, vorige week nog. Wordt een mens eerst verwezen naar burenbemiddeling. Duurt even en dan wijzen ze je af. Van de milieu dienst nog niks gehoord. Wij hebben nogal wat last van de stank van gebakken vis. En dat is niet prettig als je op je dakterras zit

[25-3 15:18] Inge: Vervelend zeg! Dus de gemeente zelf stuurt je eigenlijk door naar een andere instantie? Hoe kijkt u hierdoor naar de gemeente?

[25-3 15:59] Respondent: Het is een log orgaan. De medewerkers lopen niet zo hard. Maar in welke gemeente is dat wel?

[25-3 17:59] Inge: Dat is inderdaad iets dat ik vaker hoor en zelf ook wel ervaar ja

Appendix F: Interview transcript Respondent 3 and 4

X: Mijn eerste vraag is eigenlijk; we zien natuurlijk deze straat en de markt als een ecosysteem met de vier principes: diversiteit, verbondenheid, draagkracht-circulariteit en menselijk handelen. Hoe zouden jullie het ecosysteem omschrijven toen jullie hier net actief waren. Toen jullie hier eigenlijk net waren. Hoe waren die vier principes toen met elkaar verweven?

Y1: Dat is een moeilijke vraag. Ik denk dat er op zich in de afgelopen drie jaar niet heel veel veranderd is, dat er maar hele kleine stapjes zijn gezet als ik heel eerlijk ben. Als ik het heb over die diversiteit, dan zie je eigenlijk wel, dat is misschien ook wel relevant, dat er de afgelopen tien jaar het aantal winkels is afgenomen ten gunste van horecabedrijven. Dat is overigens iets wat we landelijk zien. Dus dat is op zich niet vreemd, maar hier uit het zich wel in toch best wel wat grillrooms, dus zaken waar shoarma wordt verkocht. Maar als je daar weer op inzoomt dan zijn er bedrijven die heel erg op prijzen concurreren, maar vrij recent is er ook weer eentje bijgekomen die zegt: 'nee ik wil juist in het bovengemiddelde marktsegment wil ik gaan zitten' en die heeft daar wel heel erg over nagedacht. Dus met andere woorden, de ene grillroom is de andere niet. Dus om enkel te zeggen er zijn te veel grillrooms dan ga je ook te kort door de bocht. Maar het feit dat is wel, doordat al die grillrooms erbij zijn gekomen dat dus het gebruik gedurende de dag is verschoven van overdag naar de avond. En dat leidt tot overlast bij de mensen die hier wonen. Daar zit volgens mij de problematiek, niet in het feit dat er tien, elf of acht grillrooms zitten. Dat is het probleem niet. En daarin zie je, dat gaat dan in op die diversiteit, dat je dus wel een probleem met die diversiteit ziet. En dat er dus druk staat op de draagkracht van het gebied, er wordt heel veel gevraagd van het gebied, van mensen die er wonen met name denk ik. En de verbondenheid tussen die verschillende onderdelen die het ecosysteem maken, die was beperkt. Daar is de afgelopen periode denk ik wel wat verbetering in gekomen door het receptenboek bijvoorbeeld en door de ondernemersvereniging zie je het netwerk wat intensiever worden. Dus daar zie je wel wat stappen. Dus dat zijn wat eerste beelden die bij mij dan zo opkomen.

X: En denk je dan ook dat die verbondenheid uiteindelijk zal leiden tot die andere punten, om die te verbeteren?

Y1: Ik vind verbondenheid wel een basis voor een goed functionerend en weerbaar gebied. Het zal niet automatisch leiden tot meer diversiteit, daar spelen andere mechanismen een rol denk ik. Maar over het algemeen wordt het gebied wel weerbaarder dan wanneer het zo slecht georganiseerd is denk ik.

X: En zou je die diversiteit op een andere manier kunnen reguleren, of is dat gewoon met het bestemmingsplan en wat daar in staat mag en dan verder kun je eigenlijk niks doen?

Y1: Je hebt de stok en de wortel en kaders. Ook het bestemmingsplan is een kader. En je kunt vervolgens met de stok, en dat ziet de gemeente ook, dat is die veiligheidsaanpak en kijken hoe je daar de bedrijven die zich niet aan de regels houden die worden aangepakt. En zo kun je, ik weet niet of je het beeld van het aquarium kent?

X: Nee.

Y1: Zoals je ook naar een ecosysteem kunt kijken, dat is een soort aquarium. Even kijken of ik snel een plaatje kan vinden. Dat is wel een heel treffend plaatje om het begrip ecosysteem te duiden. Maar ook om te duiden van hoe je daar mee om kunt gaan. Dit is ooit ontwikkeld als- Het aquarium, waarbij eigenlijk- Hier zie je dus ook een aquarium met een troebele onderlaag en dat is eigenlijk waar hier sprake van is. Dit gebied is als het ware een aquarium met een hele troebele onderste waterlaag. Het is niet gezond, het is niet vitaal. Wil je het vitaal maken, dan kun je dus, repressie he,

dan kun je zeggen we gaan die troebele waterlaag eruit halen met een kraantje openzetten. Of ze sturen controles die er plaats vinden in het gebied, de foute ondernemers eruit. En vervolgens nieuw water erbij. Dat moet je dus ook doen, je moet ook stimuleren dat er goede nieuwe ondernemers bij komen. Maar dan moet je wel weten wie dat dan zijn. En daar heb je dan weer een visie voor nodig, je hebt er een bestemmingsplan voor nodig en je kunt er ook met vergunningen kun je ook sturen. Dus je zult op al die elementen het kraantje en het toevoegen van water, daar zal je mee bezig moeten gaan. Dat is eigenlijk de kern van wat ik probeer te zeggen.

X: En welke rol kunnen vastgoedeigenaren dan spelen?

Y1: Die hebben letterlijk en figuurlijk de sleutel in handen. Aan wie en wie ga ik dit pand verhuren? En dat kunnen ze doen aan degene die de huur kan betalen, of ze kunnen zichzelf ook de vraag stellen van: is dit dan ook het type visie, het type ondernemer dat hier van toegevoegde waarde is? Draagt het bij aan de diversiteit die we willen in het gebied? Die vraag kunnen ze zich ook stellen. En dan moeten ze keuzes maken, niet alleen op basis van euro's maar ook kijken van is dit een ondernemer die echt wat bijdraagt. En dat is soms lastig. De eerlijkheid gebiedt ook te zeggen dat op het moment dat hier alleen maar, dat je een pand hebt en er melden zich alleen maar ondernemers die iets met shoarma willen doen, of die alleen een kapsalon willen openen. Ja, moet je dan de eigenaar maar vragen om het pand een paar jaar leeg te laten staan? Nee, dus er ligt ook een uitdaging om te kijken hoe kunnen we dan andere soorten ondernemers naar het gebied toe krijgen. En dan helpt het niet dat het gebied heel slecht bekend staat.

X: Precies, dus daar begint het eigenlijk.

Y1: Nou ja, dat is wat we net zeiden ook over het gesprek met die eigenaren. De neiging om het heel complex te maken en een soort van 'nou als we daar gaan beginnen, dan komt het wel goed'. Ik zou je echt willen uitdagen, probeer dat denken, dat lineaire denken en dat zwart-wit denken, probeer dat los te laten. Want zo werkt het niet. Het is niet dat als je zorgt dat die reputatie goed is dat dat dan wel goed komt, snap je. En het is echt, je moet echt op verschillende borden tegelijkertijd moet je schaken.

X: Eigenlijk vanaf verschillende kanten tegelijkertijd, en niet van de één naar de ander en steeds verder.

Y1: Nee, dat werkt niet. Want als ik hier aan die reputatie ga beginnen en ik laat allemaal ballonnetclowns door het gebied lopen zodat het allemaal heel gezellig is. Maar de volgende dag wordt er iemand neergestoken, weg je imago. Of als ik alleen maar die boeven aanpak en hier overal politie-eenheden neerzet dan is jouw gevoel: het gebied is niet veilig. Dus dan wordt dat beeld, dat wordt ook niet, het gaat zelfs naar beneden, het wordt negatief bijgesteld. Dus het is echt kijken, het is een soort mengpaneel: hoe kun je nou al die verschillende knopjes, hoe kun je die goed in elkaar instellen. Dat is eigenlijk de uitdaging.

X: Welke sfeer heerste er in het begin vooral onder de ondernemers? Want je hebt natuurlijk met iedereen veel gesprekken gevoerd. Wat voor sfeer heerste er vanuit hun, hoe kijken zij naar het gebied?

Y1: Het is helaas toch heel veel- Er zijn ook wel veel dingen veranderd hoor, maar ik denk toen we hier kwamen was het gewoon los zand. Iedereen deed gewoon z'n dingetje, nou ja niet helemaal want je ziet wel dat er bepaalde, en die heb je misschien ook wel kunnen merken, dat er wel bepaalde netwerken in het gebied zitten. De Turkse gemeenschap die elkaar toch wel heel goed kent, de Hollandse ondernemers die kennen elkaar in de verschillende delen ook weer een beetje en de Syrische ondernemers. Er zijn dus wel kleine sub-netwerkjes, maar het overgrote geheel was toch los zand. Iedereen deed gewoon z'n dingetje. En nu, we hebben dus, we praten met heel veel mensen. Eén, twee drie keer, om er een beetje doorheen te komen. Want er is ten eerste ook heel veel wantrouwen richting de gemeente. Dat had ook te maken met die BITE-controles, dus dat controlerende imago van de overheid dat heel sterk de nadruk had, dat was de manier waarop de ondernemers de gemeente zagen. Het begint met: je moet een vergunning aanvragen, dus je wordt gecontroleerd. Op het moment dat je je zaak opent komen ze kijken of het aan de regeltjes voldoet, je wordt gecontroleerd. Dan als je een keer voor je deur staat en je kijkt naar buiten, dan zie je iemand van handhaving, je voelt je gecontroleerd. Je ziet iedere dag zoveel keer politie langskomen,

je voelt je gecontroleerd. Dan zijn er eens in de zoveel tijd zijn er BITE-controles, wordt je weer gecontroleerd. Dus dat is het beeld wat veel ondernemers vinden: de overheid is een partij, die komt je controleren. En dan komen wij binnen van, wij willen samen leuke dingen met jullie doen. Hoe denk je dan dat je wordt ontvangen? Op zijn minst met de nodige scepsis van 'sure'. Dus dat vraagt wel dat wij- Dat is dan de karakteristiek van dat netwerk en wat je dan probeert te doen is te kijken of je dan wat voor type ondernemers je dan in zo'n gebied ook treft. Dan zou je kunnen zeggen, en dat volgt overigens ook uit de wetenschap, dat er altijd een soort van indeling te maken is van mensen die willen en die kunnen vooruit. Er is een groep die misschien wel wil, maar die kan niet. Er is een groep die wel kan maar die wil niet en een groep die en niet wil, en niet kan. En die groep die wil en die kan, dat is maar misschien tien, vijftien procent van alle ondernemers. Dus dat zijn de mensen waarmee je moet gaan bouwen. De rest die moet je informeren, die moet je op de hoogte houden, maar daar hoeft je niet heel veel van te verwachten. Die hebben een beetje die houding. Dus die hebben we gebundeld in een ondernemersvereniging. Dat zijn de koplopers. Daarmee moet je bouwen. En ook met zo'n initiatief als parti-recepten kijken, kan ik misschien richting die groep die misschien wel wil maar die kan niet, kunnen we die faciliteren? En kan ik misschien richting de groep niet wil maar wel kan, kan ik die misschien ook niet meekrijgen op een bepaalde manier. Dat er toch voor hem of haar iets in zit. Dus zo probeer je- Dat zou je ook kunnen zien als een soort van waterlaag als het ware, kun je daar dan op sturen, kun je die water samenstelling wat veranderen. Dus daar zijn we mee bezig geweest. En ik denk dat dat er ook toe leidt dat er bij die groep die wil en die kan, dat daar in het hoofd wel iets is gebeurd. Dat ze ook wel zien dat daar een ander hoofdstuk, een andere tijd is aangebroken. Dat geloof ik wel. Dat houdt ook weer verband dat je in dat hele traject ook het gesprek met die gemeente probeert vorm te geven. Dus dat er ook vanuit de gemeente wordt er dan gewerkt aan zo'n Toekomstvisie en dat ze dan praten van waar wil je naar toe et cetera. Dan is het voor ondernemers ook belangrijk om daar in mee genomen te worden en dat ze ook zien dat er vanuit de zijde van de gemeente, dat daar ook gewoon mensen zitten en dat die ook bepaalde ambities en wensen en dromen hebben voor zo'n gebied, dat is ook heel belangrijk. En dan krijg je dat samen gevoel en dat moet steeds meer gaan groeien denk ik.

X: Want hoe heb jij dat ervaren toen je iedereen ging benaderen voor het receptenboek?

Y2: Yeah, I also felt that at the beginning everyone was so disconnected from each other. Even at the Turks community, I expected that they would be more connected, the entrepreneurs. But I saw that many of them are not connected to the area. But I think it is growing, but very slowly. At the beginning, when I asked for example, Amazing Sang Lee, one of the largest shops in the area, they said: 'how and why should we do this?'. Lots of people came and went and nothing happened. You know, now it's different. When we asked for cadeaubon, many of them just answered very quickly and I think the group of those, they have trust. It can be bigger, but it is going very slow.

Y1: Het is heel kwetsbaar ook nu nog.

Y2: Yes. And I think one is also about the background, that what they expect from the municipality, the other cultures. Because it's mostly about paying taxes, or something like this, or controlling. But something different here, it's really difficult for them to adjust with it. I think.

X: Ja, want die verschillende culturen zijn natuurlijk ook een ding hier. Want in hoeverre denken jullie dat dat misschien een negatief effect heeft op- Of nou ja, wat is überhaupt het effect daarvan misschien op hoe het hele proces verloopt? Heeft dat invloed?

Y1: Ik denk dat als je allemaal dezelfde achtergrond hebt, dezelfde tradities kent, dezelfde gebruiken kent, dan is het makkelijk om elkaar te vinden dan wanneer dat je dat niet hebt. Het is in dat opzicht een extra stap die je moet zetten om met elkaar die samenwerking te krijgen. Dat is het denk ik.

X: En is dan de taal ook nog een ding?

Y2: Hmm.

Y1: Ja ik denk het wel.

Y2: Mostly cultural I think. Even the language also, yeah it's mostly about the culture that is different. Sometimes one word, they know the word in Dutch as well but I think their perception or understanding is different.

X: Ja ik merkte het ook toen ik net de nieuwsbrief ging rondbrengen, dat bij sommige bedrijven werd ik meteen weer doorverwezen naar iemand anders omdat de persoon die ik aansprak helemaal geen Nederlands kon bijvoorbeeld. Dat is natuurlijk ook wel-

Y1: Dat is ook wel een dingetje.

X: Ja, en hoe denken jullie dat de communicatie met de gemeente, dat er daardoor ook dingen fout gaan?

Y1: Wat heel kenmerkend is, is dat de gemeente Eindhoven, de gemeenteraad ook zegt 'we hebben dit gebied lange tijd te weinig aandacht gegeven'. Dus dat wil zeggen dat de problemen die er waren, die zijn gewoon niet aangepakt. En eenzijdig met dat veiligheidsprobleem bezig geweest, dat is denk ik ook gewoon een ding. Dus als je zo eenzijdig alleen maar- Anders gezegd, op een gegeven moment zat ik naar een raadsvergadering te luisteren over dit gebied. En er werd gesproken alsof iedere ondernemer een grote crimineel was. Dus dat is wel wat het neveneffect kan zijn wanneer je zo de aandacht hebt voor dat element veiligheid, dat het enorm het beeld laadt over zo'n gebied. En dat mensen denken, ja dat is allemaal tuig, criminelen, keihard aanpakken. Terwijl dat niet fair is, want er zitten hier ook familiebedrijven die al generaties lang op een hele eerlijke manier hun boterham verdienen. En er zitten ook rotte appels tussen, dat is zeker waar, maar die moeten ook hun aandacht krijgen dat is zeker waar. Maar het mag ook gaan over de mooie bedrijven en de hardwerkende ondernemers die er ook zijn. Dat hoor je veel te weinig in mijn optiek.

X: Een soort van tunnelvisie op het verkeer en veiligheid en de ondernemers die worden niet eens gezien als mensen zeg maar.

Y1: Ja. Soms niet nee.

X: Ik noemde net al de actoren die ik zelf heb bedacht, de groepen. De ondernemers, gemeente, bewoners, vastgoedeigenaren, bezoekers misschien ook. Hebben jullie daar nog iets aan toe te voegen, een andere groep die ik misschien ben vergeten?

Y1: Je noemt bezoekers misschien. Maar dat is uiteindelijk misschien wel de meest bepalende groep. Degenen die uiteindelijk komen om hun boodschap te doen, om te winkelen en de horeca te bezoeken, die maken dat een ondernemer hier wel of niet kan slagen. En dat bepaalt dus hoe die plinten gevuld zijn en in welke mate er al dan niet overlast is voor de mensen die er wonen. Dus ik zou, ik vind dat een heel wezenlijke actor. Als je dan op een gegeven moment allerlei onderzoeken doet, laten we dan ook een bezoekersonderzoek doen. Dat we weten waar die mensen vandaan komen en wat ze van het gebied vinden. En dan hoor je dus dat een heel belangrijk deel van de bezoekers niet uit deze wijk komt, dus dat zegt ook meteen iets over wat je moet vinden van de signalen die je van bewoners krijgt. Dat is één, en ook als ik inzoom op wat die bezoekers teruggeven, dan zit er ook heel veel waardering voor het gebied. Ze vinden het hartstikke gezellig, ze komen hier ook graag naar de markt.

X: Ja ze komen hier niet voor niks natuurlijk.

Y1: Nee en ze komen hier ook graag. Ze komen van heel ver. Dat zegt ook iets. En dan kun je zeggen van, moeten we dan alles laten uitgaan van die twee bewoners die last hebben van een auto die te hard rijdt. Moet dat dan de focus zijn? Dat weet ik niet.

X: En het zijn natuurlijk ook vaak de bewoners die een mening hebben die zich laten horen, en de rest hoor je niet als ze tevreden zijn.

Y1: Ja, nee. Dus dan heb je eigenlijk- Ja je moet eigenlijk blijven zorgen dat je een compleet beeld hebt. Dat je alle partijen in zo'n gebied goed meeneemt. Anders krijg je hele rare analyses en oplossingen.

Y2: I think, in general the groups that you mentioned are the main ones. But it is very important to consider sub-groups. Because when we talk about, for example, residents. There are many different groups. Some of them are Dutch people, they have their own group, students would have their own group. All the different backgrounds that maybe have lived here for a very long time. Also old people from other cultures, they don't have lots of connections here, they still don't have. They have their own gated community. And also entrepreneurs as well I think, many different groups should be considered. And otherwise if we only consider entrepreneurs and for example those that are more visible and more active, we would miss a lot I think.

Appendix F: Interview transcript Respondent 5

X: Ik zal allereerst heel even uitleggen wat mijn onderzoek precies inhoudt, want dan heb je daar ook een iets beter beeld bij. Ik loop nu stage bij Seinpost, via John dus, die ken je. John en Seinpost zijn heel erg bezig met de ecosysteembenadering, voor wijken en gebieden. Ik weet niet of hij daar wel eens over heeft verteld?

Y: Nee.

X: Oké. Zij benaderen dus wijken en gebieden vanuit de benadering dat het een ecosysteem kan zijn, en dat dus de ondernemers de verschillende actoren zijn in dat ecosysteem en dat die met elkaar samenhangen en dat dat dus invloed kan hebben op hoe goed een ecosysteem floreert of niet en dat daar dus dingen aan kunnen veranderen om het beter te laten werken. De Kruisstraat en Woenselse Markt benader ik nu als ecosysteem en ik wil dus nu de verschillende actoren in het gebied eigenlijk allemaal benaderen en interviewen om te kijken hoe iedereen met elkaar samenleeft. Eigenlijk om hier een beter beeld van te krijgen. Vandaar dat het ook heel fijn is om de gemeente ook te kunnen zien als een actor. Dus mijn eerste vraag is eigenlijk sinds wanneer jij projectleider bent bij de gemeente?

Y: Sinds vorig jaar april.

X: Oké ja, en daarvoor al wel bij de gemeente gewerkt of echt nieuw?

Y: Echt nieuw en ik ben hiervoor altijd ondernemer geweest en acht jaar eigenaar van een ketelhuis op Strijp-S.

X: Oké en wat is precies wat je als projectleider bij de gemeente momenteel doet?

Y: Je leidt dan verschillende projecten, dus toevallig zijn nu al mijn projecten, of nou dat is niet toevallig, die zijn in Oud-Woensel. Dus ik ben dan projectleider afvalproblematiek, projectleider verkeer en inrichting. Dus dat is dan in ieder geval die tijdelijke maatregelen op de Kruisstraat waar we het laatst met de ondernemersvereniging ook over hadden. Het nieuwbouwplan Gildebuurt en het visiedocument Toekomstbeeld Oud-Woensel heb ik gemaakt. Je leidt dan een project. Dus het zijn echt activiteiten of projecten waar je in moet zorgen dat die zeg maar een goede afronding hebben.

X: En je zegt dat je nu vooral met projecten in Oud-Woensel dus bezig bent. Hoe zou je dat gebied omschrijven?

Y: Eh, hoe zou je dat gebied omschrijven. Het is eigenlijk een woonwijk met een druk centrum eigenlijk daar in. Dus het zijn eigenlijk allemaal kleine woonstraatjes midden in een soort uitgaans, winkelgebied. En dat, bewoners en ondernemers dat botst nog wel eens zeg maar welke belangen die hebben.

X: Ja, dus de belangen verschillen nog al tussen de bewoners en de ondernemers af en toe.

Y: Ja, ja, ja. Hoe zou je het gebied omschrijven, het is ook wel een gebied met heel veel verschillende soorten mensen. Dus qua bewoners en qua ondernemers zijn er ook heel veel verschillende ondernemers. De ondernemers die er zitten mogen wel wat diverser nog zeg maar, of wat meer gemixt worden. En qua bewoners is het veel sociale huur en veel mensen die het wat moeilijker hebben.

X: Want je hebt het over de verschillende actoren en dat dat wel eens kan botsen ook tussen ondernemers en bewoners. En ook dat ondernemers af en toe niet heel divers kunnen zijn. Wat zou er denk je gedaan kunnen worden om die diversiteit iets meer te vergroten?

Y: Daar is denk ik een eerste ondernemer voor nodig die dat laat zien. Die daar het goede voorbeeld is, van het kan op de Kruisstraat kun je dus als je een ander type ondernemer bent dan dat er nu zit, kan je daar toch heel mooi ondernemer zijn. Dus een goed voorbeeld is daar voor nodig denk ik. En dan volgt de rest vanzelf. En nu is zijn de goede voorbeelden, is bijvoorbeeld een heel goed lopende durumdoner zaak. Dat wordt dan al gevolgd door andere ondernemers die denken 'oh ja, dat werkt dus blijkbaar in die straat'. Ik denk dat als je een ander type wil, dan zal er gewoon iemand moeten opstaan die dat gaat doen en die dan laat zien dat dat daar kan.

X: Momenteel is het ook, tenminste wat ik uit de verschillende gesprekken heb meegekregen, is dat er af en toe ook wel eens wat wantrouwen heerst vanuit zowel ondernemers als bewoners richting de gemeente. Hoe ervaar jij dat?

Y: Eh, ja dat dan af en toe wel zo is ja. Dat ze wel ja, dat ze niet perse een goed beeld bij de gemeente hebben. Maar ik merk wel dat als je in gesprek gaat met ze en je laat zien dat je bereidwillig bent om ook wel problemen voor ze op te lossen of dat je graag met ze mee denkt en daar snel ook actie in uitvoert, dat je ze dan wel een soort van meekrijgt waardoor er in ieder geval ook mee willen denken op het moment dat jij ze nodig hebt.

En ook wel dat bewoners en ondernemers ook zelf aan geven dat ze een soort verandering willen en dat ze ook vinden dat de gemeente daar voor een deel verantwoordelijk voor is. Ja, dus ik zelf snap soms die frustratie of woede ook wel. Dus dan gewoon proberen om in gesprek te blijven.

X: Dus het is niet zo dat alle ondernemers en alle bewoners dat wantrouwen hebben. Het is ook wel echt verschillend tussen de ondernemers en de bewoners dat niet iedereen hetzelfde er over denkt.

Y: Nou het wordt wel vaak snel verkeerd uitgelegd. Zo van, de gemeente die bedoelt dat waarschijnlijk zo en zo. En dan merk je eigenlijk vaak in een gesprek dat het vaak toch wel of misverstanden zijn of zorgen, of hele diepe gevoelens. Dat ze ergens mee zitten. Maar eigenlijk iedereen wil eigenlijk wel gewoon dat gesprek aan gaan dus dat vind ik op zich heel positief. Als iemand hier naar binnen loopt dan kan je gewoon me ze overleggen, je wordt niet slecht behandeld als gemeente.

X: En wat doet de gemeente momenteel om dat imago vanuit ondernemers en bewoners, dat slechte imago bijvoorbeeld te verbeteren en dat vertrouwen misschien terug te kunnen krijgen?

Y: Ik denk in ieder geval door te laten zien dat de gemeente ook daadkracht heeft, dat ze durven door te pakken. Bijvoorbeeld met die maatregelen vanuit verkeer, maar dat je dus wel echt laat zien dat je acties kan uitvoeren. Dus dat er iets gebeurt als je met de gemeente praat. Dat het niet alleen maar praten is daar in. Want een bewoner of ondernemer wil toch wel resultaat zien en dan komt dat vertrouwen komt dan heel langzaam daar achteraan. Ik denk ook wel door proberen processen zo in te richten dat je heel dicht bij bewoners en ondernemers blijft staan. Dat het niet een soort bovenaf er doorheen wordt geduwd en dat er vervolgens geen contact meer mogelijk is. Dus we proberen gewoon eigenlijk ja wat dichterbij de bewoners en ondernemers te gaan staan.

X: En ook bijvoorbeeld met verschillende avonden waar mensen kunnen aansluiten om informatie te krijgen en zo?

Y: Ja en nu toevallig ben ik deze middag, hebben we iedere dinsdag en woensdag nu een inloopmiddag. Wat twee uur duurt en dan merk je gewoon, dan lopen mensen even binnen, hebben

een paar vragen. Soms is het niet helemaal helder. En normaal hadden ze dan een hele riedel aan mails moeten sturen om bij de juiste persoon uit te komen. Nu kunnen ze je gewoon veel makkelijker benaderen eigenlijk.

X: Want komen er wel veel mensen op af nu jullie daar zitten?

Y: Nou de eerste paar keer wel echt, of tenminste vijf per keer ongeveer. En je merkt dat het nu wat rustiger is, maar ik denk dadelijk als alles uitgevoerd is dat het dan, dat mensen dan wat makkelijker gewoon hun zorg of frustratie bij je kunnen neerleggen. In plaats van dat ze een mail moeten sturen, of dat ze een melding moeten maken en dan maar moeten wachten tot dat ze een antwoord terug krijgen. Direct contact dat kan voor het vertrouwen wel goed helpen.

X: Dat mensen zien dat er achter de gemeente ook maar gewoon een persoon zit en niet dat het een grote organisatie is bij wijze aan.

Y: Ja het is natuurlijk wel een grote organisatie, maar je ziet inderdaad dat er ook gewoon mensen werken die wel met de goede intenties dingen willen doen.

X: Er zijn natuurlijk zowel bedrijven als bewoners in het gebied. En ik krijg een beetje het idee dat de bewoners veel vinden alsof alles maar om de bedrijven draait en dat het vice versa ook zo is. Tenminste dat is wat er uit de gesprekken een beetje voortkomt. Hoe probeert de gemeente zich momenteel in te zetten? Gaat dat bijvoorbeeld in stappen, dus dat er eerst naar de bewoners wordt gekeken en vervolgens naar ondernemers of wordt dat een beetje door elkaar gedaan? Zodat het voor iedereen goed is?

Y: Ja dat laatste wel veel meer. Gewoon gekeken naar de situatie. Ja ik denk wel daar in zoeken wat voor beide partijen goed kan werken. Uiteindelijk is de gemeente er wel voor alle partijen en ergens is het bijna positief dat de ene partij vindt dat we er voor de andere zijn en de andere vindt dat we er voor die zijn. Dat betekent dus eigenlijk dat we er voor beide, zeg maar de bewoners zien wel wat we voor de ondernemers doen. En de ondernemers hebben het idee dat we het voor de bewoners doen. Dus het is de bedoeling dat we het voor beide doen. Dus in die zin lijkt dat dan een soort van te lukken. Ook al is de boodschap dan niet super fijn, dat ze eigenlijk een soort van boos zijn. Van jullie komen vooral voor de belangen van de ondernemers op en andersom, je snapt het wel.

X: En zoals met dat parkeren en zo, het was toen natuurlijk vooral dat ondernemers die daar zaten dat die er niet echt over te spreken waren. Merk je ook dat andere ondernemers er bijvoorbeeld heel anders over denken, dat die er wel een positief beeld bij hebben?

Y: Veel ondernemers snappen wel dat daar iets aan moet gebeuren, die zien ook dat die straat op deze manier gewoon niet goed werkt en dat dat ook voor het hele imago niet goed is als mensen daar niet graag overheen fietsen. Dat er bijna iedere dag een ongeluk gebeurt, of tenminste bijna een ongeluk. Er gebeuren ook regelmatig wel ongelukken, dus veel snappen ook wel dat er iets moet veranderen. En dan is iedere parkeerplaats die weg gaat voor sommige ondernemers gewoon eentje te veel. Maar we hebben nu wel ervoor gekozen, want als je het aan de bewoners weer vroeg dan moest gewoon die hele straat autovrij worden. Dus we hebben wel gezocht naar, oké we doen wel parkeerplaatsen weg, maar dan is bijvoorbeeld die bereikbaarheid wel heel belangrijk voor ondernemers.

X: Dus om een beetje een middenweg te vinden eigenlijk.

Y: Ja dus om naar beide wel te luisteren en het is pas een eerste stapje. En dan gaan we kijken hoe dat dan werkt en daarin dan ook weer dat contact proberen te houden. Dus het is ook een soort, ja

dat ecosysteem, je past een klein beetje aan en je kijkt weer hoe het werkt en op die manier bouw je dan steeds verder naar iets. Wat hopelijk beter werkt voor iedereen.

X: Ja, dus echt in kleine stapjes werken en niet in één keer de hele boel omgooien om het gewenste resultaat te krijgen.

Y: Ja, want je weet nog niet precies wat goed gaat werken in het gebied.

X: Wat is bijvoorbeeld nu al, sinds dat jij aan het werk bent bij de gemeente, veranderd in het gebied?

Y: Eh, bedoel je heel fysiek of gewoon?

X: Ja, kan fysiek maar ook tussen relaties tussen verschillende groepen.

Y: Ah zo, ja ik denk dat er wel meer begrip is gekomen tussen ondernemers en bewoners denk ik ergens. Als je het even puur over verkeer hebt, dat ze wel snappen dat beide partijen belangrijk zijn in dit gebied. En ook al denk ik dat we hebben kunnen laten zien dat de gemeente dus echt stappen wil zetten. Dat ze betrokken zijn bij het gebied. We hebben onszelf wel laten zien denk ik, dat we er zijn. Ja gewoon echt fysiek in de openbare zijn er allerlei zaken aan het veranderen. Ze zijn op dit moment alles aan het verbouwen. Dus dat zie je nu wel terug in de straat. De parkeervakken zijn helemaal anders. Meer groen wordt er toegevoegd. En we zijn, ik denk dat de straat en de buurt ook al schoner is geworden. Dat noemen we 'de basis op orde', ik denk dat dat veel beter nu is dan een jaar geleden. We hebben extra prullenbakken, er wordt meer schoongemaakt. Er zijn betere afspraken tussen Cure en Ergon. Bij die overleggen hebben bewoners en ondernemers, hebben die samen met Cure en Ergon en de gemeente gedaan. Dus hebben we de hele tijd samen gekeken van hoe werkt het in de praktijk, wat we in de theorie, of in ieder geval in een overleg met elkaar zitten te bedenken van hoe zou een goede oplossing zijn. Pakt dat dan ook goed uit? De ondernemers of de bewoners die weten ook elke keer precies te vertellen wat er dan ook misgaat. Want zij wonen daar natuurlijk ook, dus zij zien ook wat er wel en niet goed werkt. Dus daar denk ik dat we wel echt stappen in hebben gezet. En ook wel met een mooie visie voor het gebied, helemaal vanuit de bewoners en de ondernemers. Dus dat is ook, dat zie je natuurlijk niet echt in het gebied terug, maar is ook weer een houvast voor bijvoorbeeld zo'n verkeersplan. Zo van oh ja, we weten wel ongeveer waar we naar toe willen en hoe we dat precies doen daar gaan we onderweg wel achter komen.

X: En dat toekomstbeeld, in hoe verre denk je dat dat over twee jaar bijvoorbeeld al aan de orde is. Dat het al echt op dat level is veranderd?

Y: Dat heeft wel meer tijd nodig, maar bijvoorbeeld met zo'n inrichting, dat ga je nu al wel zien. Maar dat heeft wel meer tijd nodig dan twee jaar, alles bij elkaar. Maar het hangt er een beetje van af welk onderwerp. Sommige onderdelen zijn we nu al aan het doen.

X: Welke belangen spelen er vanuit de gemeente vooral wanneer het gaat om het verbeteren van het gebied. Wat is er belangrijk vanuit de gemeente?

Y: Ja wel verschillende zaken, maar sowieso denk ik dat het een leefbaar gebied is waar mensen graag wonen. Waar je eh, dat is wel een moeilijke vraag, moet ik zeggen. Nou ja waar ondernemers graag ondernemen, waar geen criminaliteit is zeg maar. Dus dat is belangrijk denk ik. Waar mensen een eerlijke boterham kunnen verdienen. Waar de basis op orde is, dus schoon, veilig, groen, tenminste het is nu een groenarme buurt maar het zou ook wel een veel groenere buurt mogen zijn. Ja, gewoon een plek waar mensen graag wonen en ondernemen. Dat is denk ik het belangrijkste.

X: Vooral dat die leefbaarheid echt op orde is eigenlijk, als ik het zo mag samenvatten.

Y: Ja, zeker.