



# **CHALLENGING THE RULES OF THE GAME**

**A RELATIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON CITY CENTER TRANSFORMATION IN NIJMEGEN**

**MASTER'S THESIS HUMAN GEOGRAPHY**

**EDGAR KANSELAAR**

SPECIALIZATION ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY

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Master's Thesis Human Geography  
Specialization Economic Geography  
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Edgar Kanselaar, S4470516  
Supervisor RU: Professor A. Lagendijk  
Gemeente Nijmegen: Ilse Nieskens MSc.

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## **I. FOREWORD**

You are never too old to learn they say... Inspired by cultural-creative spaces and bottom-up developments, I wanted to know more about these grassroots movements and non-capitalist practices and how they produce new forms of 'urbanity' that influence urban governance and local economic development. Therefore, I enrolled in the master of Human Geography and chose Economic and Urban and Cultural Geography to get a deeper understanding of the mainstream socio-economic as well as alternative and critical theories. This master's thesis marks the final step of my course. Conducting an assemblage inspired research has been tremendously challenging and has broadened my view on urban transformation processes.

I am thankful to everyone who has contributed to my research. I particularly wish to express my gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Arnoud Lagendijk for his guidance and inspiration and to Msc. Ilse Nieskens for providing the perfect environment for my research at the department of Economic Affairs in Nijmegen. Above all, I am most grateful to my family for their enormous support and patience that enabled me to finally pursue my academic adventure.

Edgar Kanselaar

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## II. Summary

Nowadays, a lot of city centers and their often-dominating retail sector are in a state of flux as a result of demographic, economic and technical changes. The effects are showing: large retail companies have gone bankrupt and many independent retailers are struggling to survive. In this changing context policy makers, retailers, owners and other stakeholders try to keep their city centers attractive and draw (new) visitors. The national government aims to make the retail sector and inner cities more resilient through its Retail Agenda and 'Retail Deals' for 50 cities. This is also the case in Nijmegen, where a decade of city center policies have been aimed to combat vacancies and guide the transformation of the city from a 'place to buy' to a 'place to meet'. The local government sees opportunities for new retail concepts, temporary uses and innovative and creative entrepreneurship to serve as catalysts for city center renewal. This thesis focuses on the integration of these new practices. The question that followed was *what are the shaping forces of city center transformation in Nijmegen and how these new retail concepts, temporary uses and creativity/craft-based entrepreneurship being aligned within the city*. Theoretical concepts from assemblage and actor-network theory have been used to study city center transformation from a relational perspective and highlight the co-existence of alternative and hegemonic forces and their capacities to adjust and enable change.

The analysis of empirical data resulted in a composition of the main characteristics, trends and complexities of the city center key forces. Viewed as an assemblage, the current state of the city center is the product of interrelated processes of consumers, retailers and retailing environment, investors/developers, and institutional structures. Consumer visiting motives have become increasingly leisure driven, resulting in shifting visiting patterns and demands. New combinations of retail-leisure-services outlets answer to these changing demands and are facilitated by local regulations. Streets surrounding the core offer small and 'affordable' space that suit independent retail concepts but also an increasing number of F&B-outlets. The retail environment of Nijmegen offers a good economic base for a natural shift from a 'place to buy' to a 'place to meet'. Large retail chain stores are still attracted to high streets with high footfall, but decreasing demands result in a compacter central core. Nevertheless, being a solid regional provisionary city, Nijmegen also remains interesting for investors, which contributes to future growth possibilities. The local government is the most powerful and wide-ranging institution in the city center assemblage because it develops and implements the strategic framework for the transformation and governance of the city center, which requires

it to interact with all elements of the sector. The most recent policy plan for Nijmegen's city center "Binnenstad van de Toekomst" is primarily focused at combating vacancy and maintaining economic growth. The plan includes, amongst different instruments to solve vacancy problems, a street-focused transformation approach and ambitions to facilitate innovative entrepreneurship, 'blurring' trends, and new (temporary) retail concepts.

The analysis of Nijmegen's city center transformation process - through the actions of different *socio-technical agencements* (STAs) - revealed some of the unequal powers between alternative and hegemonic practices. Differences between them are being resolved on the basis of both prosthesis and habilitation policies. Prosthetic policies translate into upgrading, based on the assumption that the individual suffers from a lack of resources, while habilitation policies take the maladjustments as the starting point to argue for an adaptation of the world and particular situations to these individuals and not vice versa. Clear examples of prosthetic instruments are the municipal investment fund, the vacant property database, a Bidbook, and (temporary) rent reductions. Habilitation policies can be found in the current efforts to stimulate co-operation, knowledge sharing, and creation of new links between the local government, property owners, investors, and (starting) entrepreneurs. The municipality-led plans for thematic food and crafts clusters in the Hertogstraat and Bloemerstraat that are aimed to adapt the environment and support the development of new concepts have elements of both. Too much top-down planning however could lead to 'disciplined agencies' that are forced to calculate according to the 'rules of the game' that the dominant agencies have set. The findings indicate that the increasing levels of interaction between different stakeholders and the economic potentials from the market itself already cause rearrangements that help create conditions under which different types of new retailing concepts, alternative uses and creative entrepreneurship can emerge and flourish. The current positive economic outlook opens up questions if the government should intervene or leave the market to drive as much as possible. It is recommendable for the municipality to keep focusing on strategies that stimulate and facilitate the processing of market ideas and initiatives. Guiding market initiatives from an integral perspective, such as currently done by the municipal "transformation team", supports the embedding of these activities in the wider city center framework, which in turn could become more receptive for renewal and support the alignment of new practices. The fact that ideas and concepts from successful creative entrepreneurs and alternative uses are already being translated as 'best practices' for thematic clusters elsewhere indicates that they could have the capacity to (re)shape the wider city center system.





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## 1. INTRODUCTION

*"If you asked people twenty years ago why they came into the city, they would have said it was to shop. But if you ask them today, they would say it was because they wanted to go into town."* (Jan Gehl, cited in Walljasper, 2005)

In this chapter, first the topic for this master thesis research will be presented, then followed by the research goal, an outline of the approach, the central and sub questions, and concluded with the societal and scientific relevance.

### 1.1. Research theme / topic

Nowadays, a lot of city centers and their often-dominating retail sector are in a state of flux as a result of demographic, economic and technical changes (Quix, 2013; Min.EZ, 2015). The effects are showing: large retail companies such as V&D have gone bankrupt and many independent retailers are struggling to survive. In this changing context policy makers, retailers, owners and other stakeholders try to keep their city centers attractive and draw (new) visitors. Their actions to adapt and transform the city center also involve temporary uses and stimulation of creative entrepreneurship. However, most alternative and temporary concepts are generally not considered to be part of normal urban development cycles; they are often associated with crisis, a lack of vision and chaos (Colomb, 2012), as creators of spaces for social, economic, artistic, and cultural experimentation, they are also believed capable of serving as transformative catalysts, giving neglected spaces a new meaning, and creating economic and social advantages (Andres & Grésilion, 2013; Németh & Langhorst, 2014). Therefore, they are sometimes turned to as alternative modes of 'place shaping' (cf. Andres, 2013) and as instrument for economic development, especially by cities that deal with vacancy problems and social, economical and physical challenges (Blumner, 2006). However, these experiments can also trigger unwanted gentrification effects or become the locus of conflicts. For instance, the competitive advantages such as lower rents and more flexibility that temporary uses may enjoy can cause resistance from 'regular' inner city shop and pub owners.

Like many cities, Nijmegen too is being confronted with vacancies. The city center has consistently recorded vacancy rates of approximately 10%. In response to the abovementioned macro social and economical developments and to keep Nijmegen's city center economically healthy the City Council of Nijmegen adopted a transformation vision

called 'Binnenstad van de Toekomst' (Nijmegen, 2015a). Combating vacancy and the transformation of the city from a 'place to buy' into a 'place to meet' are the main goals of this new policy. The city wants to attract more visitors and more spending to keep ahead of competing cities. To reach these goals, the municipality proposed a wide range of actions and instruments including the installation of a transformation team, stimulation of re-use, reconfiguration and temporary use of vacant buildings, attracting new (temporary and pop-up) concepts, and stimulation of creative entrepreneurship (especially from the craft-based economy). The challenge for these alternative uses is to find new business models that connect 'creativity' with 'entrepreneurship' in a profitable way. And more importantly: the municipality needs to find a balance between this 'new economy' and the 'vested interests' of local enterprises, property owners and other stakeholders.

This thesis focuses on new and hegemonic practices and their capacities to bring about change. Systematically changing urban (economical) processes requires dealing in the 'dark matter' of regulation and governance, of planning law, permits, licenses, decision-making processes – the very thing some of these new practices tend to avoid or are underequipped at (Hill, 2015, p.35). Are alternative uses, new (temporary) concepts and creative entrepreneurs enabled as 'patches' for a temporarily masking of vacancy problems or do they have the capacities to bring about structural change?

## **1.2. Research goal and approach**

The research goal of this master's thesis is to get a better understanding of the role of alternative uses, new (temporary) retail concepts and creative entrepreneurship in the process of city center transformation in Nijmegen. This knowledge could support the local government and relevant stakeholders (e.g. real estate owners and businesses) in their efforts to help the city center adapt to the dynamical changes that are currently taking place.

Nijmegen's city center will be approached as an urban assemblage composed of practices, knowledge, discourses, rules, and interests. Within this complex socio-material system, the frame of alternative uses, new retail concepts and creative entrepreneurs is selected as the object of study. To explore how processes of assembled temporary uses, new pop-up concepts and creative entrepreneurs may have (de)stabilizing effects on the city center as a whole, the notions of territorialization and coding from Assemblage Theory (cf. Delanda, 2010) will be applied. Zooming from micro to macro to meso and back will allow exploring how specific local performances and accomplishments of creative entrepreneurs in Nijmegen and other more

general assemblies affect local agencies and practices. From Callon's Marketization Studies (1998; 2008; Callon & Çalışkan, 2010) the concept of 'socio-technical agencements' (STA's) will be used to frame the particular agencies, study the relations of domination between them, and analyze how they compete and/or co-operate with each other. This study aims to shed light on these different forces, how they adjust to each other (align), and what their capacities are to transform areas from the bottom-up and top-down.

### **1.3. Central research question**

The abovementioned goal leads to the following research questions for this thesis:

*What are the shaping forces of city center transformation in Nijmegen and how are alternative uses, new retail concepts and creativity/craft-based entrepreneurship being aligned within this system?*

Sub questions:

- *Who/what are the key drivers of Nijmegen's city center transformation?*
- *What forms of alternative uses, new retail concepts and creativity/craft-based entrepreneurship are currently present / being developed in Nijmegen?*
- *How / do different stakeholders from new and dominant practices work together to adapt and renew?*
- *How are new practices endowed with the resources, competencies, and assistance that are needed to exist?*
- *Are these new practices able to bring about (radical) changes in the city center?*

### **1.4. Social & scientific relevance**

Current societal and political discussions are loaded with concerns of vacancy problems and transformations in city centers. Recent bankruptcies of large retail companies (e.g. V&D, Perry Sport, and the MacIntosh group with its many shoe brand stores) feed worries about the changing retail landscape and the functioning of city centers as a whole. The pressure for action increases for all stakeholders. Policy makers and other city center stakeholders are turning to new creativity and craft-related concepts as potential solutions to combat vacancy and catalysts for transformation. In most cases these practices are experimental and the contributions or outcomes uncertain.

More in-depth knowledge about the actual shaping potentials, but also the limiting factors of these practices may contribute to a better understanding of how city centers adapt and become resilient to, or transitional within, the current changing context.

A lot of research on cultural-creative place development is done from a (critical) planning perspective and often focused on brownfield redevelopments and/or different forms of austerity urbanism (Andres, 2013; Andres & Grésillon, 2013; Blumner, 2006; Colomb, 2012; Groth & Corijn, 2005; Kamvasinou, 2015; Németh & Langhorst, 2014; Tonkiss, 2013). Methodologically, most of them are designed as comparative case studies, primarily oriented at locations outside or close to the city center. This research will be focusing on the transformation processes and dynamics of new and alternative practices *within* the city center from a *relational* perspective. The city center is not viewed as a spatially bounded object, but as an assemblage affected by lower- and higher-level agencies (agencements), which can be comprised of heterogeneous elements originating from the city itself but also from elsewhere. The chosen approach combines different strands of assemblage thinking and ANT-inspired socio-technical agencements from marketization studies, which could contribute to new ways of thinking about urban transformation processes.

### **1.5. Report outline**

The next chapter of this report, the literature review and conceptual framework, provides an overview of relevant studies and literature about the current transitions that are taking place in city centers and the retail sector, as well as a discussion of the theoretical and conceptual concepts that are used to analyze these. In the following chapter three, methods, a description of the approach in terms of data collection will be given and strategic choices in terms of research material and the analysis thereof will be outlined and specified. In chapters four and five the research findings and results will be presented. Finally, chapter six contains the conclusions and a reflection on the process of this research.

## **2. Literature review & conceptual framework**

### **2.1. Introduction**

This chapter will start with a discussion of current city center development trends, causes and perspectives, and key players and solutions. Next, the conceptual framework for the research will be outlined, presenting the approach based on assemblage thinking and the notion of socio-technical agencements. The chapter will be concluded with a conceptual model and an operationalization of the main theoretical concepts.

### **2.2. City center development**

#### **2.2.1 Trends, causes, perspectives**

City centers and the retail sector are considered the focal point of our consumption economy (Evers, Tennekes & Van Dongen, 2015). Nowadays, the rise of online shopping, the experience economy and developments such as the increase of competitive retail spaces outside of the city centers (Evers et al., 2015) are putting pressure on not only the retail sector but also inner cities as a whole. Recent bankruptcies of large retail organizations such as V&D, Perry Sport, and Macintosh (owner of the DA, Dolcis, Manfield, Invito branches) and the rise of new 'clicks & bricks' retail concepts (e.g. Neckerman and Coolblue) are exemplars of the rapidly changing climate. Online retail continues to outperform traditional retail: online shopping revenues increased +17% opposed to only +1% for the total retail sector in 2015 (CBS, 2016a). Until recently, these trends didn't stop the production of new and larger retail space. The reason for this was that large retail branches kept trying to increase their market penetration. Meanwhile, cities did everything they could to accommodate megastores in shopping centers (Quix, 2013). At the same time, other uses disappeared from the streets in our city centers (Van der Krabben, 2013).

Nowadays societal and political discussions are loaded with concerns about the increase of vacant shops in Dutch city centers. There are worries about the vitality of the inner cities and people fear images of so-called 'doughnut cities' where barely anybody lives or works (Evers et al., 2015). Recent studies from PBL and Platform31 inform us however that these fears are partly ungrounded, and moreover, there seems to be consensus that certain levels of vacancy even deliver potential for transformation (Evers et al., 2014; Ter Beek, 2015).



A study of retail and city center visions and policy documents by Platform31 (Ter Beek, 2015) confirms that most cities have experienced a decrease in consumer spending (10-40% between 2004 and 2011) and that the majority of the Dutch G32 (32 largest cities) is focused on the improvement of their city centers and its retail sector. A decreasing number of visitors (and spending) will primarily lead to increased vacancy levels in the streets around the town's center and not in the city's core shopping areas (Ter Beek, 2015, p.10). Therefore, Ter Beek (2015, p.10) argues that cities need to focus on the fringes because the access streets and extremities of shopping streets have the potential to be transformed from dominant retail to a mix of hospitality, arts & culture, services, crafts, educational, residential and work functions. Adding more housing for instance will ask different requirements on the city center, such as higher demands for supermarkets, playgrounds and healthcare services and lower demands for luxury department stores and offices (Evers et al., 2015, p.10). Transformation to a (thematic) mix of creative and crafts related functions could, from a consumer perspective, be interpreted as a post-industrial nostalgia for the pre-industrial; in an era of city centers that are dominated by large corporate branch stores selling cheap mass-produced goods, handmade and locally produced products are appreciated (again) for its quality.

### **2.2.2 Key players, solutions**

The Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs (Min. EZ, 2015) urges key actors in the retail sector, the real estate owners, local and regional governments and the financial sector, to be more flexible and innovative to keep Dutch city centers economically healthy. The national government has therefore proposed to close 'Retail Deals' with 50 municipalities. The first 31 Retail Deals, closed on November 18th 2015, stimulate municipalities to cooperate with local stakeholders for the development of local retail visions, to increase flexibility in the real estate and rental market, to stimulate new retail concepts, lower the number of rules and regulations, develop knowledge and skills, and to look for new financial arrangements needed for the necessary investments (Min.EZ, 2015).

Giving creative entrepreneurs room for experimentation and offering (temporary) space for new concepts and business models are believed to be successful methods to combat vacancies and to increase the dynamics and vitality of retail districts (Raatgever & Knoester, 2015). Nevertheless, most of these practices remain surrounded with skepticism. Especially from the real estate sector, which claims that the financial benefits of temporary retail are in most cases limited (Loggers & Kooijman, 2014).

Moreover, it is said that many of these new initiatives experience problems concerning restrictive rules and regulations such as rental agreements, zoning plans, and issues with taxes and permits (Raatgever & Knoester, 2015). Therefore, retail and city development experts often advice to install 'matchmakers' who can support newcomers and temporary retailers to get permits, deal with rules and regulations and, if necessary, connect them to real estate actors (ibid, 2015, p.5). Other measures and solutions that are being suggested are to increase public-private cooperation to stimulate further development of new initiatives and business models, to offer 'instant permits' for new concepts, and to create rule-free experimental zones (ibid, 2015, p.12-13).

The aforementioned social, economical and technical changes affect the 'performance' of the city center and influences governmental and market agencies and their ways of doing to protect its identity as an attractive place to live, work, play, visit and shop. City center stakeholders need to be focused on increasing flexibility and innovation throughout the entire city center system to cope with this changing environment and to keep their city centers economically healthy. But, the development and introduction of new practices, new configurations, business models and concepts may also contest hegemonic city center agencies and their 'vested' interests. The challenge for adaptation and renewal is to get these alternative and hegemonic forces aligned and let them co-create the city economy. The following section will introduce theoretical concepts and analytical tools that will be used to describe and understand these dynamical forces and processes.

### **2.3. Assemblage approach**

This master's thesis applies an assemblage approach because assemblage thinking can offer ways of rethinking the relations between power, politics and space from a more process-oriented, socio-material perspective (Müller, 2015, p.27). Assemblages, actor-networks and materiality have become important concepts in geographical studies since the 2000s. Together with actor-network theory (ANT), assemblage thinking has been at the forefront of a revalorization of the material, or better put the socio-material: the co-constitution between humans and non-humans. Both approaches are concerned with why orders emerge in particular ways, how they hold together, how they reach across or mold space and how they fall apart (Müller, 2015, p.27).

Bruno Latour and Emilie Hermant (2006) used the fundamentals of ANT and assemblage in their work '*Paris: Invisible City*' to highlight the 'invisible' connections that compose the city.

Latour used the term 'oligopticon' - as opposed to Foucault's (1977) absolutist all seeing 'panopticon' - to define the multiplicity of hidden networks that co-create Paris as it is. By drawing attention to the complexity of these co-existences, Latour demonstrated that it is impossible to grasp the city at a single glance but that it needs to be understood as a composition (assemblage) of social and technical interactions. Building on this idea, the transformation of the city center can be viewed as the emergence of new orderings or fragments, such as policies aimed at combating vacancy or the development of new creative retail concepts that affect the city as a whole. Zooming in on these fragments or, in other words, "to grasp and document the socio-technical diversity of agencies and of the forms they take" (Callon & Çalışkan, 2010, p.14) can be done with the help of the concepts of market agencies and 'socio-technical agencements' (Callon, 2008; Callin & Çalışkan, 2010). But, before further elaborating on socio-technical agencements (STAs), first a general introduction of assemblage thinking and its use in Human Geography will be given.

### **2.3.1 Assemblage thinking**

Assemblage thinking finds its roots in the work of Deleuze and Guattari and is best known from their work *A Thousand Plateaus* (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, 1988). DeLanda (2006, 2010) has further developed assemblage thinking in *A philosophy of society*, which was aimed at constructing a coherent 'Assemblage Theory'. An assemblage can be described as "a mode of ordering heterogeneous entities so that they work together for a certain time" (Müller, 2015, p. 28). The English term *assemblage* is translated from the French *agencement*, which captures the idea that an assemblage / agencement consists of multiple, heterogeneous (human, non-human, material, discursive) parts that are linked together to form a whole, indicating that assemblages are *relational* (Müller, 2015, p.28). Another important characteristic of assemblages is that they consist of *relations of exteriority* (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, 1988; DeLanda, 2006, 2010). Relations of exteriority mean that a component part can be detached from one assemblage and plugged into another in which the part's interactions are different (McFarlane, 2011, p.208). This implies that parts of assemblages can also have intrinsic qualities outside of the associations they are a part of and that this shapes the assemblage as well. Furthermore, assemblages should be seen as products of historically specific processes, which involve the actual exercise of capacities of its component parts; therefore, the process is emergent and contingent (DeLanda, 2010).

The relationship between an assemblage and its components is complex and non-linear: assemblages are formed and affected by the 'trajectories' of heterogeneous populations of lower-level assemblages, but may also act back upon these components, imposing restraints or adaptations in them (DeLanda, 2010). These dynamics are called *(re)territorializing* and *detrterritorializing* processes (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, 1988; DeLanda 2006, 2010). (Re)territorialization refers to those processes by which an assemblage stabilizes itself, reinforcing both its own identity and the identity of its components. Deterritorialization, by contrast, refers to the intervention or appearance of components that destabilize an assemblage, either causing it to change or perhaps even causing an entirely new assemblage to emerge. DeLanda (2010) also included the notion of *coding* and *decoding* to define the processes in which specialized expressive media (genetic/linguistic resources) intervene in fixing the identity of a social whole.

Actor-Network Theory (ANT) is an important carrier of assemblage thinking. Rooted in Science and Technology Studies ANT is most associated with the work of Bruno Latour, Michel Callon, and John Law. ANT has clear parallels with assemblage thinking: it also conceives of relations of humans and non-humans, puts all entities on equal ontological footing, and insists on the processual nature of the socio-material (Müller, 2015, p.30). However, there are also important differences between assemblage thinking and ANT. A notable first is the fact that ANT insists that agency is exclusively a networked achievement, produced solely by forging associations. ANT renders nothing outside these associations, which means that to become capable of action, entities need to form aggregates and find allies to produce an actor-network. Assemblage thinking however, with its notion on relations of exteriority, argues that assemblages also have intrinsic qualities outside of the associations they are a part of and that this shapes the assemblage as well. Therefore, ANT has been criticized for "being blind towards what remains outside associations but may shape them nevertheless" (Müller, 2015, p.30). And secondly, compared to assemblage thinking, ANT is said to offer more concrete conceptual and methodological instruments to be used for empirical work. For example the terms 'centers of calculation', 'oligopticon', 'black box', 'immutable mobiles' and 'translation' help to make sense of the formation of associations. And thirdly, ANT inspired researchers (e.g. Blok & Farías, 2016) have developed a much clearer notion of ANT's relation to politics, starting from the assumption of the world as multiple and 'performative', i.e. shaped through practices. The ANT mode of politics "... recognizes the vital role of non-humans, in concrete situations, co-creating diverse forms of knowledge that need to be acknowledged and incorporated rather than silenced" (Müller, 2015, pp.31-32).

Assemblage thinking has found its way in human geography through the work of, amongst others, Colin McFarlane (McFarlane, 2009; McFarlane, 2011; Anderson, Kearnes, McFarlane, Swanton, 2012; McFarlane, 2015), Anders Blok and Ignacio Farías (2016). McFarlane uses (assemblage theory inspired) concepts of fragments and wholes to conceptualize global urbanism and argues for the value of urban densities as a set of ‘intense lived heterogeneities’ to identify the key tactics that politicize the increasing inequalities that urbanism produces (McFarlane, 2015). McFarlane (2009) developed an analytic of ‘translocal assemblages’ to connect the local to global forces through relations of exteriorities. Furthermore, McFarlane (2011, p.221) showed that, as a relational process of composition, assemblages could signal the emergence, labor and sociomateriality of the city, and the ways in which this process becomes structured and hierarchical through inequalities of power, resource and knowledge. This shows the critical potential of assemblage thinking and its capacity to reveal the ways in which urbanism is produced as an emergent set of uneven practices that are—while being more or less open or enclosed—never inevitable, but always capable of being produced otherwise (McFarlane, 2011).

The recent work of Anders Blok and Ignacio Farías titled *Urban Cosmopolitics* (2016) shows how (ANT inspired) assemblage thinking can help to explore how a multiplicity of urban practices comes to be articulated and coordinated in and across specific urban sites. To conceptualize the orderings that shape urban cosmopolitics, Blok & Farías (2016, p.13) introduce the concepts of agencements, assemblies and atmospheres. The first of these concepts is what they (ibid, 2016) describe as *agencements* and use the term in order to reflect on how assemblages create particular types of actions and actors, individual and collective. The notion allows one “to explore the situated and agential effects of, for instance, juridical instruments, urban modeling, economic calculations, metabolic flows or infrastructures, in shaping and reshaping wider urban relations of inequality, power, solidarity, justice and co-existence” (ibid, 2016, p.13).

Assemblage thinking - especially the concept of *agencements* - can be applied to explore the effects that the actions and interactions of heterogeneous individuals and organizations and other collective entities have on the city center system. They can help to understand how the emergence of (and creation of possibilities for) set of new practices, such as creativity and craft-based entrepreneurship, are related to the current transitions in the retail sector and our city centers.

The concept of urban agencements can be related to the work of Michel Callon (2008) who introduced the notion of *socio-technical agencement* (STA) to describe how assemblages together produce action and shape markets. The following section will address how STAs work and how relations of domination-exclusion between them can be studied.

### 2.3.2 Socio-technical agencements

An *agencement* acts and transforms a situation by producing differences. The modifier ‘socio-technical’ relates to the fact that humans and non-humans are included as possible entities participating in the actions of an agencement. STAs thus convey the idea that groupings of heterogeneous components (and their practices) can have territorializing and deterritorializing effects on an assemblage, which in turn may also act back on them (cf. Delanda, 2006, 2010). For example, individual agents, such as creative entrepreneurs that try to develop new business models in a changing retail landscape, may be seen as the source of a STA’s collective action, but they are also (mutually) influenced by material and discursive elements, procedures and technical devices that constitute them. The STA concept can be applied to respect and render the diversity of the shaping forces that set markets in motion and study the variety of forms of action these forces are capable of generating (Callon, 2008; Callon & Çalışkan, 2010).

Callon (2008, p. 34-35) uses an example of an airline pilot to illustrate the working of STAs and their individual and collective agencies. A pilot only has the ability to set goals (such as to safely fly the plane from A to B) and develop a course of action that make it possible to achieve them because (a) the pilot is not acting alone, and (b) because collective action is configured in such a way as to make the pilot play an important role. The pilot is not isolated but acts in a socio-technical agencement that performs and organizes the actions of a large number of entities, which have the ability to ‘propose’ solutions that he or she would otherwise have no access to or would not even have thought of. Callon (2008, p.35) therefore states that the verb “to pilot” should be seen as a collective action in which a host of heterogeneous entities (or actants) participate (air-traffic controllers, radars, gyroscopes, control-levers, pilots and co-pilots, landing strips, international regulations, etc.), all cooperating to enable the airplane to travel to its destination safely. More accurately put, the action of piloting is distributed among several actants (human, non-human, individual and collective) who are all dependent of each other. At the same time, it is the notion of individual agency that denotes a course of action and points at the pilot to be the source of it. All of the actors, the passengers, crew and pilot, taking part in the collective action will view the pilot as the one who is actually flying the plane. Callon (2008, p37) stresses that it is important to recognize that agency can be distributed and simultaneously embodied in a variety of possible forms.

Because STAs create different agents and positions in the market, they can also help to trace relationships of domination between them. Callon & Çalışkan (2010, p.13) state “inequalities derive from the unequal power of calculating agencies that loop back to reinforce themselves. Due to these asymmetries, the most powerful agencies are able to impose their valuations on others and consequently to impact strongly on the distribution of value (Bourdieu, 2005; Fligstein, 2001)”.

To study relations of domination-exclusion between agencies and to analyze what it is that certain economic agencies, deprived of calculative capacities, are making claims for, Callon (2008, p.43; Callon & Çalışkan, 2010, p.13) introduced the notions of ‘*prosthesis*’ and ‘*habilitation*’ (a French word that means ‘to offer a capacity to act’ to someone who lacks it). This terminology is used by Callon because he observed that “in the field of handicap a very common challenge is the transformation of people living with handicaps into individual agencies, that is, autonomous and responsible individuals, in some cases capable of developing projects and implementing them” (Callon, 2008, p.42). To achieve this transformation and overcome the ‘weaknesses’ of a handicap two, often overlapping, models are being applied in the handicapped field: the individual-focused model and the society-focused model. The former sees society as constituting a normative frame, so that the adjustment primarily concerns the person who must be either repaired or re-equipped in order to be integrated in the collective, the latter considers the environment as the source of the maladjustment, which results in a strategy to make the environment accessible or transform it in such a way as to overcome the observed maladjustments (Callon, 2008, p. 43).

The two models lead to on the one hand to *prosthetic policies* and on the other hand to *habilitation policies*. Prosthetic policies translate into upgrading, which is basically integration (or readjustment). In this case, the implicit assumption is that the individual suffers from a lack of resources, which can (and must) be remedied. Habilitation policies take the maladjustments as the starting point to argue for an adaptation of the world and particular situations to these individuals— and not vice versa. Callon (2008, p.46) therefore states that the slogan should not be no longer “adjust, with the help of prostheses, to finally be self-entrepreneurial individual agents” but that it should become “let us produce socio-technical agencements that are flexible, adjustable, and robust”. A habilitation policy is more in line with network economies (Callon, 2008, p.47).

The capacity of starting retailers (consumers) to make calculated choices when they try to find a suitable location for their business exemplifies the workings of prosthetic and habilitation strategies in a relationship of domination. Retailer's calculative capacities are mostly delegated by a set of devices that were designed and arranged by professionals in the retail and real estate market (the sellers). The STAs, in which the retailer (as consumer) has to operate, are for the most part defined, constructed, and evaluated by landlords, real estate brokers, finance and legal consultants, and other professionals of the retail and real estate market. This causes the individual agency of the retailer to be formatted into a disciplined agency, forcing the retailer to calculate to the 'rules of the game' that the sellers have set. This reflects a deep asymmetry between consumer and seller.

This asymmetry can be remedied according to prosthetic and habilitation policies. The first (prosthetic) strategy assumes that the consumers must be constantly supplied with more information from the sellers, whom by doing so reproduce the disciplined configuration of distributed calculation. The second (habilitation) strategy tries to obtain a balance by rearranging the socio-technical agencement itself. In this case "the consumer is no longer put in an environment fitted out with prosthesis transformed into black boxes, which calculate for her and with which it is out of the question for her to interact and dialogue, in case non-programmed scripts emerged" (Callon, 2008, p.48). In contrast, rearrangements aimed at promoting interactivity would revive possibilities of changing modes of calculation, and exploring other options (Callon, 2008, p.48). Callon (2008, p.49) therefore claims that "a habilitation policy would aim more to arrange the world, that is, to construct socio-technical agencements which allow the deployment of individual agencies, i.e. the transformation of (more or less well-adjusted) individuals into interactive individual agencies". In other words, this type of policy relies on adjustments outside of individuals, instead of searching for solutions on their side, for instance by transforming them.

Callon (2008, p.50) suggests that social policies formulated in response to limitations of individuals who have difficulties fitting in economic networks, such as the alignment process of new retailing and entrepreneurial practices in the hegemonic city center assemblage, should not be designed only as prosthetic policies but also, and above all, as habilitation policies.



## 2.4. Conceptual model & operationalization

In the previous sections Assemblage thinking, Assemblage Theory, and ANT-related concepts have been introduced to create a vocabulary to analyze the alignment of new and hegemonic practices within the city center. Framing these forces as STAs and exploring their different calculative agencies may help reveal and understand (asymmetrical) relations of domination within and between them. Furthermore, the notions of prosthesis and habilitation can be used to highlight the different instruments that support the alignment of alternative practices within the city center. The affects of these STAs on the city center as a whole can also be viewed as the result of coding and territorialization processes. Coding helps to describe the shift from expressive to substantive form; the movement from synthetic plans, models etc. to scripts and inscriptions, and territorialization processes can be used to reflect on the appearance and alignment of components that can have a stabilizing effect and help the city center become resilient to, or transitional within, future change.

Based on the theoretical framework described above, the following main concepts will be used to construct a conceptual research model:

- Socio-technical agencements (calculative agencies)
- Asymmetries (prosthetic & habilitation policies)
- Assemblage (coding & territorialisation)

Together these concepts lead to the following conceptual model (Figure 1):

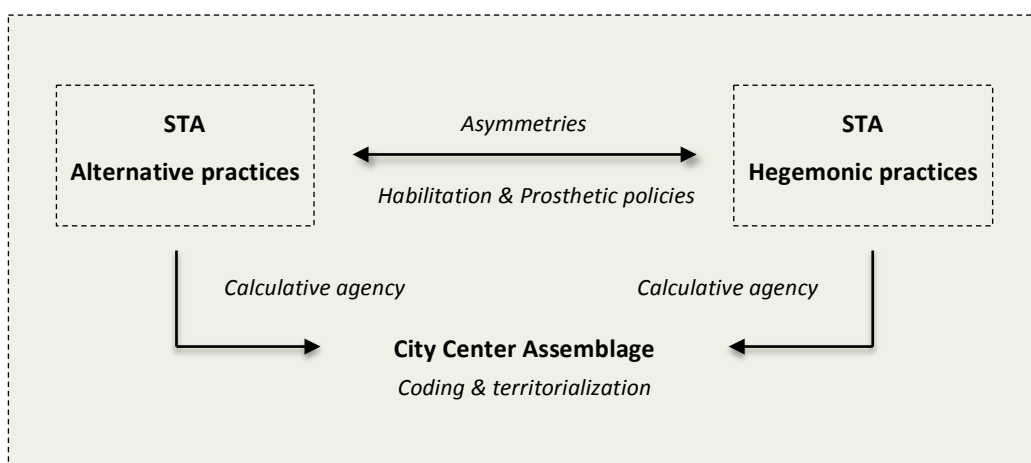


Figure 1: conceptual model

The central research question for this thesis is: *What are the shaping forces of city center transformation in Nijmegen and how are alternative uses, new retail concepts and creativity/craft-based entrepreneurship being aligned within this system?*

The aforementioned concepts will be used to answer the central research question and help to uncover STAs of new and hegemonic practices (*what forms are currently present / being developed?*) and understand the assembled relations, affects, and calculative capacities they produce (*how do they work together to adapt and renew?*) and what their concomitant effects on Nijmegen's city center are (*can they bring about change?*). City center stakeholders are pressed to focus on increasing flexibility and innovation throughout the entire city center system to make the city center future proof. This involves the development and introduction of new practices, new configurations, business models and alternative concepts. It will be interesting to see how this 'new economy' relates to the 'vested interests' of local enterprises, property owners and other stakeholders.

Without the pretense to reveal all the connections, this thesis will try to shed light on the most important elements of the city center system. Inspired by Latour & Hermant's (2006) composition of the city as co-existences of socio-technical interactions, assemblage thinking - especially the concept of *agencements* – will be applied to explore the effects that actions and interactions of heterogeneous individuals and organizations and other collective entities have on the city center system. Hopefully, this will help to understand how the emergence of (and creation of possibilities for) new practices, such as creativity and craft-based entrepreneurship, are related to the current transitions in the retail sector and the city center.

The next chapter, methodology, will give a description of how this study has been conducted.

### **3. Methodology**

In this chapter, first a description of the approach in terms of data collection (type(s) of quantitative/qualitative research design) will be given. Then, strategic choices in terms of research material and/or site selection will be outlined and specified. And finally, the method of empirical data analysis will be addressed.

#### **3.1. Research design and data collection**

The assemblage approach chosen for this research suggests that in terms of design, the research should: attend to assemblages and STAs of human and non-human, material, and discursive elements, and the affective flows within these assemblages; explore how the different calculative agencies within them may lead to asymmetrical relations of domination; and explore how prosthetic and habilitation strategies influence the alignment process of new and hegemonic practices in the city center.

A variety of qualitative and quantitative designs could have been applied to fulfill these criteria, but according to Fox & Alldred (2015, p.407), the most commonly used designs in assemblage-oriented research are qualitative, with ethnography as most favored methodology. They state that the attraction of qualitative methodologies lie in “their capacity to contextualize events, thereby revealing the range of relations that comprise assemblages and affective economies” (ibid., p.407). Therefore, a qualitative design has been applied. The research took place during an internship at the department of Economic Affairs at the municipality of Nijmegen. This provided the opportunity to conduct a participative form of realist ethnographic research, which is characterized by its “objective account of the situation, typically written in the third-person point of view and reporting objectively on the information learned from participants at a site” (Creswell, 2013, p.93). Together with semi-structured in-depth interviews these participatory observations helped to identify assembled relations (STA’s), and illuminate the affects and calculative capacities produced in the components, that together make the city center assemblage work.

#### **3.2. Research material**

To reveal assemblages and STAs and explore the affective flows, calculative capacities and relations of domination-exclusion between them, required collecting data from a variety of sources and using a variety of methods.

The research involved desk research, on site observations, as well as participations in city center-related meetings, presentations, and expert sessions. Data has been collected from sources such as: relevant policy documents, studies, reports, databases, newspaper articles, and other publications. Interviews were conducted amongst key city center stakeholders, experts from various departments, entrepreneurs from the creative and craft & arts sector, and entrepreneurs of new (temporary and pop-up) concepts.

### **3.3. Data management and analysis**

The following iterative steps have been taken during the conduct of this research:

- I. Exploration of the city center assemblage's key elements, stakeholders & networks.
- II. Composing the city center as assemblage: describing the relations and interactions of the city center's key elements.
- III. Construction of a narrative: situating trajectories of socio-technical agencements in the larger field of the city center assemblage and exploring asymmetries between different agencies in the process of transformation.

Part of the data has been gathered through interviews and meetings with key stakeholders, who play an important role in the city center transformation process and/or are representatives of stakeholder groups in the city center of Nijmegen. A list of the interviewees' names and functions can be found in appendix I (Appendix I, p.71). Aiming to collect relevant data, all interviews were related to the topics of the research questions and the different theoretical concepts. Semi-structured interviewing allowed deviating and addressing new themes as well. The interviewees were given the opportunity to talk freely, which resulted in the sharing of personal opinions, in some cases also critical to other actors.

The table below shows an overview of the topics and the theoretical concepts that were addressed during the interviews (Table 3).

<i><b>What are the shaping forces of city center transformation in Nijmegen and how are alternative uses, new retail concepts and creativity/craft-based entrepreneurship being aligned within this system?</b></i>		
<i><b>Sub-questions</b></i>	<i><b>Topics</b></i>	<i><b>Related concepts</b></i>
Who/what are the key drivers of Nijmegen's city center transformation?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Historical development</li> <li>• Consumers</li> <li>• Retailers</li> <li>• Investors / developers</li> <li>• Institutional structures</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Assemblage</li> <li>• STA hegemonic practices</li> <li>• Calculative agencies</li> </ul>
What forms of alternative uses, new retail concepts and creativity/craft-based entrepreneurship are present / being developed in Nijmegen?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Types</li> <li>• Locations</li> <li>• Characteristics</li> <li>• Trends</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• STA alternative practices</li> <li>• Calculative agencies</li> </ul>
How / do different stakeholders from new and dominant practices work together to adapt and renew?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Entrepreneurial associations</li> <li>• Conflicts, different interests</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Coding &amp; territorialization</li> <li>• Asymmetries</li> </ul>
How are new practices endowed with the resources, competencies, and assistance that are needed to exist?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Planning</li> <li>• Rules, regulations</li> <li>• Finance, contractual</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prosthesis &amp; habilitation</li> <li>• Asymmetries</li> </ul>
Are these new practices able to bring about (radical) changes in the city center?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Experience / Image</li> <li>• Policies</li> <li>• Consumers / footfall</li> <li>• Rental practices</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Assemblage</li> <li>• Coding &amp; territorialization</li> </ul>

**Table 1: topics and links to theoretical concepts**

Coding data in their original multimedia forms, can improve the accuracy of interpretations because it allows returning again and again to the original data complete with all of its imbued and nonverbal meaning (Markle, West & Rich, 2011). Therefore, all interviews have been audio recorded and uploaded in Atlas.ti for analysis. Relevant fragments needed for analysis, reporting and citation purposes have been transcribed fully. An 'open coding' technique has been used to highlight common experiences, general themes and patterns, which served as input for the demarcation and construction of the STAs and their trajectories.

### **3.4. Reliability and validity**

To ensure the quality of this study special attention has been given to the following aspects during the design and conduct of this study (Howe & Eisenhart, in Creswell, 2013, p.257):

- Has data collection and analysis been informed by the central research question?
- Has data collection and analysis been performed technically correct?
- Are assumptions explained correctly?
- Is the research robust and theoretically underpinned?
- Does the research have social and scientific relevance?

Multiple sources (interviews, documents, observations) have been consulted to increase the internal and external validity of this study, especially to rule out that causes and effects of certain matters are being highlighted by only one source. To further increase the validity interview questions have been based on the sub questions and related to the key notions from the theoretical framework. Own opinions and value judgments have been avoided as much as possible to prevent influencing the results of the research. Probing and exploring during in-depth interviews allowed revealing more precisely what these persons experience and know, which has further increased reliability.

The result findings of this research are presented in the following two chapters. Chapter 4 portrays the main elements of the city center assemblage and chapter 5 contains a narrative of the trajectories or 'stories-so-far' of different STAs in the total system of city center transformation.

## 4. THE CITY CENTER ASSEMBLAGE

After a general introduction of the city of Nijmegen, this chapter will give a description of the main characteristics, trends and complexities of the city center assemblages' key elements: consumers, retailers and retailing environment, investors/developers, and institutional structures.

### 4.1. Nijmegen and its city center

The city of Nijmegen is located in the province of Gelderland in the eastern part of the Netherlands, close to the German border. The city has grown consequently to a total number of 172.114 inhabitants on January 1<sup>st</sup> of 2016 and it is forecasted that this number will continue to grow until 2030 (Nijmegen, 2016). Nijmegen is the tenth-largest city of the Netherlands. The city presents itself as the oldest but also as an innovative knowledge city. More than 2000 years ago the city was first erected by the Romans who built their settlement at the 'Limes', the northernmost border of the Roman Empire, and during the middle ages Nijmegen flourished as a city of commerce and culture. Many of the historical buildings and parks are reminders of this past (Photo 1). Nowadays, Nijmegen is still internationally oriented and host of many innovative enterprises and big institutions such as the Radboudumc, the Radboud University (RU), and the HAN University of applied sciences. Knowledge, technology, and health are cornerstones of the city's Economic Innovation Agenda 2020 (Nijmegen, 2014). Contacts between the local government, knowledge institutions, and corporate sector create opportunities for start-ups, experiment and innovation.



Photo 1: Historical buildings at the "Grote Markt" in Nijmegen (source: nijmegenklinkt)

The city center of Nijmegen can be divided in its core shopping area, where all the large (inter)national corporates are located, and the “Ringstraten”, the surrounding streets at the fringes that give the center its own identity. The core is considered to be the economic motor of the city center. The “Grote Markt” (“Great Market”) is the central market square in the heart of the city. Here, one can find the HEMA, historical buildings, and numerous pubs and restaurants. On Mondays and Saturdays the square is transformed into a market. The recently redeveloped Plein 1944 (Photo 2) functions as an important node in the circuit between the west- and east side of town and houses international retail chain stores such as Zara, Primark, and Only.



Photo 2: Plein 1944 (source: N1)

The Marikenstraat has been build in 1998-2000 and provides shops on dual street levels with housing above. Part of the ring streets is the Lange Hezelstraat. This vibrant street is considered to be the longest and oldest shopping street of the Netherlands and houses a lot of smaller retailers and innovative concept stores.

Macro economical, social and technical developments are also affecting Nijmegen’s city center and its retailing sector. The segmentation and quality of shops varies and some parts of the city center are dealing with (structural) vacancy problems, which in some cases leads to negative visitor experiences.



The current state of the city center is a temporary result of historically specific processes, involving the actual exercise of capacities of its component parts. Which parts or elements these are, will be addressed in the next section.

## **4.2. City center assemblage elements**

From an assemblage perspective, the city center can be viewed as an unbounded, limitless system of interrelated human, non-human, material and discursive elements. The scope and available time of this research necessitates a demarcation of key city center elements however. This section offers a description of the main characteristics, trends and complexities of the city center assemblages' key elements that are based on the stakeholder groups that Jackson & Orr (2015) defined for a conceptual model of the urban retailing system: consumers, retailers and retailing environment, investors/developers, and institutional structures.

### **4.2.1 Consumers**

The retail sector is unique within the wider real estate industry as the demand for property is driven by the derived demand for goods and services from consumers (Jackson & Orr, 2015, p.3). City center consumers comprise not only of shoppers but also culture and leisure goers, services users, tourists and workers, each of them being either a resident within the center or a visitor. The main influences on consumer behavior are working hours, disposable income levels, mobility, and technology (Jackson & Orr, 2015, p.3). Besides shopping, which is the third most popular form of leisure time spending, a range of other functions, such as culture, leisure and events, play increasingly eminent roles in consumer visiting motives.

Nijmegen's city center monitor (Nijmegen, 2015b) indicates that the group of leisure goers has been increasing since 2012. This trend is supported by the number of jobs in the hotel & catering industry, which has almost reached the same level as the number of retail jobs. A comparison of parking and visitor data also reveals an increase in leisure-oriented visits: there has been a significant rise in registered parking hours in Nijmegen's parking facilities in 2012-2014, while at the same time the total number of visitors has been decreasing during traditional shopping hours since 2010 (Nijmegen, 2015b, p. 18-19). Because parking statistics are registered in a wider timeframe, including evening hours, these numbers will account not only for shoppers, but also the people that visit cultural amenities and bars and restaurants.

Locatus (2014) estimated that 242.500 consumers visit the city center of Nijmegen weekly. Visiting patterns have not only changed during day and night times but also during the week.

Visitor numbers have decreased on Thursday evenings and Saturdays and increased in the evening hours and on Mondays and Sundays (Nijmegen, 2015b, p.18). These changes are also visible in the records of debit card payments, which reveal an increase of Sunday purchases (Retail Management Center, 2016). The growing popularity of Sunday shopping goes primarily at the cost of Saturdays, which has decreased around 20% in 5 years time (see Figure 2).

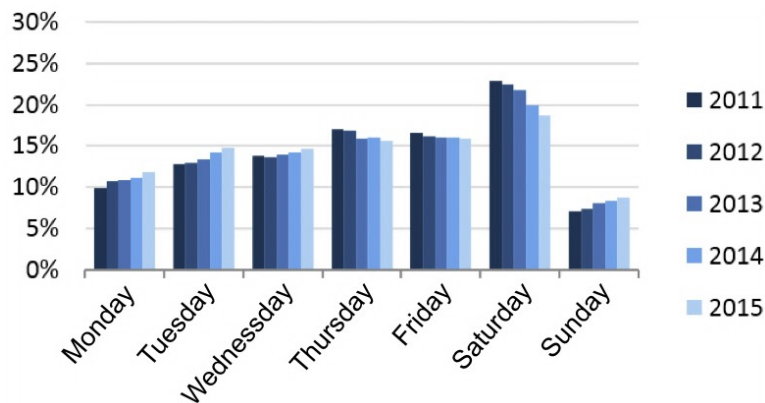


Figure 2: development of daily shares in crowdedness rates 2011-2015 (source: Retail Management Center, 2016)

Consumers try to combine shopping with other leisure activities to make efficient use of their spare time. As a result of this, their visits are increasingly being made in the afternoons and early evenings. In response to this behavior, INretail (Van Dongen, 2016) suggests that shopkeepers keep their shops open until at least 19.00h and try to align their business hours with the hotel & catering industry and events in the city. Shops should however not close earlier during weekdays because they have to compete with online retail, which gives consumers opportunity to shop anytime.

Consumers have become better informed through online channels, more demanding and spend an increasing part of their disposable income on services and less on goods. Authenticity, sustainability and experiences are becoming more and more important (Nijmegen, 2015b, p.12). The patterns of consumer behavior, not just alone shopping but also the wider social activities, influence the usage of the city center. Retailers and their retailing environment, which will be discussed hereafter, are increasingly being challenged to answer to these consumer needs and usages.

#### 4.2.2 Retailers & retailing environment

Compared to other cities, Nijmegen has a quite diverse and varied branch mix. Until 2003, quite a large part of the retail offer was aimed at 'targeted purchasing' of home furniture and electronics. But from 2003 onwards, especially home furnishing stores moved to peripheral areas. The spaces they left behind were in many cases transformed to residential uses. A look back at Nijmegen's retail space development and vacancy levels reveals that the total amount of retail floor space has been doubled in the past 50 years and that the city experienced quite a drastic increase in vacancy rates during the period of 2005-2015 (Nijmegen, 2016a). Nevertheless, the total floor space has increased to 100.000 square meters during the same period, which can be related to the completion of Plein 1944 and the opening of a number of big retail outlets (Primark, Only, Zara and Intersport) (Nijmegen, 2015a). There are currently approximately 480 retail outlets, but their numbers have been decreasing gradually since 2009. There appears to be a scaling-up trend. In some streets multiple outlets have been united to fit large chain stores (Nijmegen, 2015a).

The spatial distribution of corporate retail branches and smaller retailers is linked to footfall patterns. Van Houtum (2013) stated that corporate retailers tend to cluster in streets with the highest footfall because that is where they expect to generate the highest revenues. Their presence then attracts even more visitors, producing even more attractive locations for new retail investments. This process can result in a growing distinction between the city center's core and the less frequented surrounding streets.

Footfall densities in Nijmegen (Figure 3) also show a clear distinction between the city centers central retail core and surrounding areas. In 2014, the most frequented streets in Nijmegen's city center were the Burchtstraat and Broerstraat; both of them are shopping-oriented streets with the majority of large retail spaces and a high number of (international) corporate retail chains. These are the 'High Streets'. Figure 4 shows the overlap between high footfall and the dominance (large) retail functions. The access streets and surrounding areas show smaller units and a mix of other uses (e.g. F&B, services and housing) and provide a breeding ground for independent retailers and new and alternative concepts. The Bloemerstraat and Hertogstraat record low footfall numbers and a lesser density of retail outlets. Here, further transformation of retail to other uses contributes to the increasing 'compactness' of the city center's retail core.

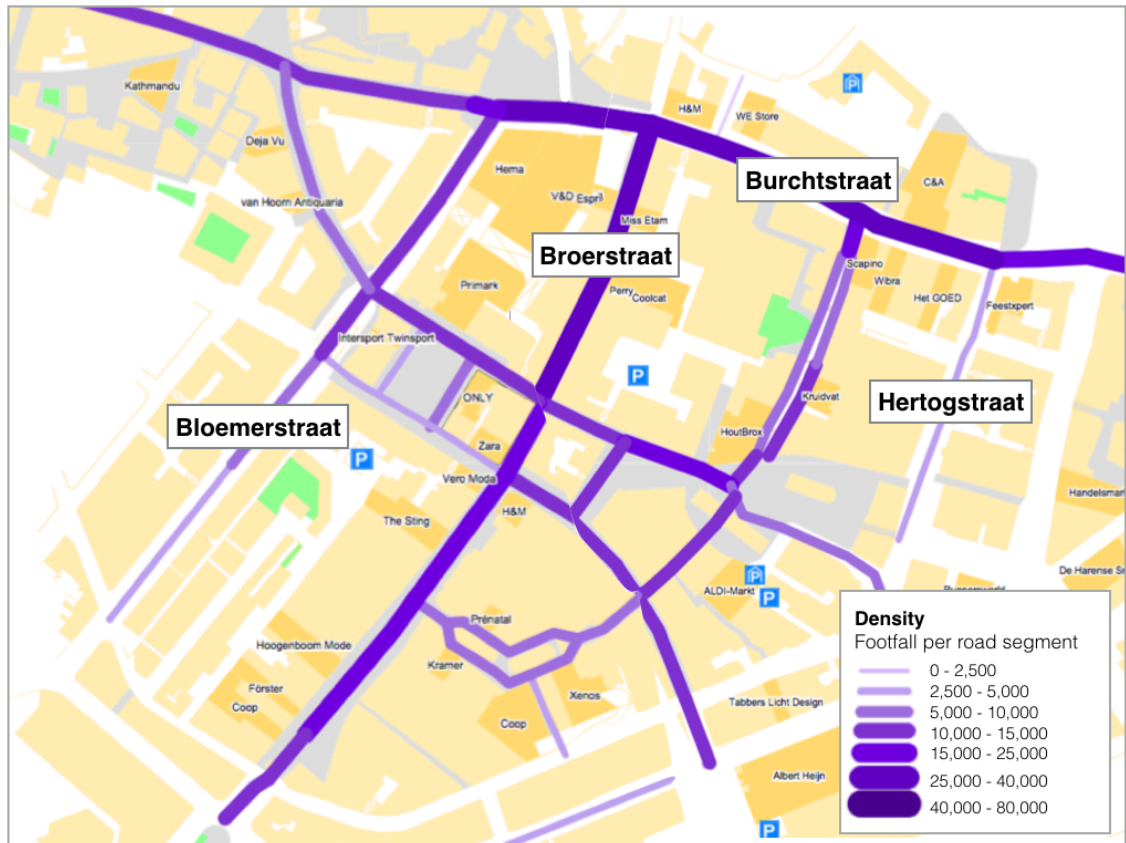


Figure 3: Footfall densities in Nijmegen city center (Locatus, 2014. Edited by Kanselaar, 2016)

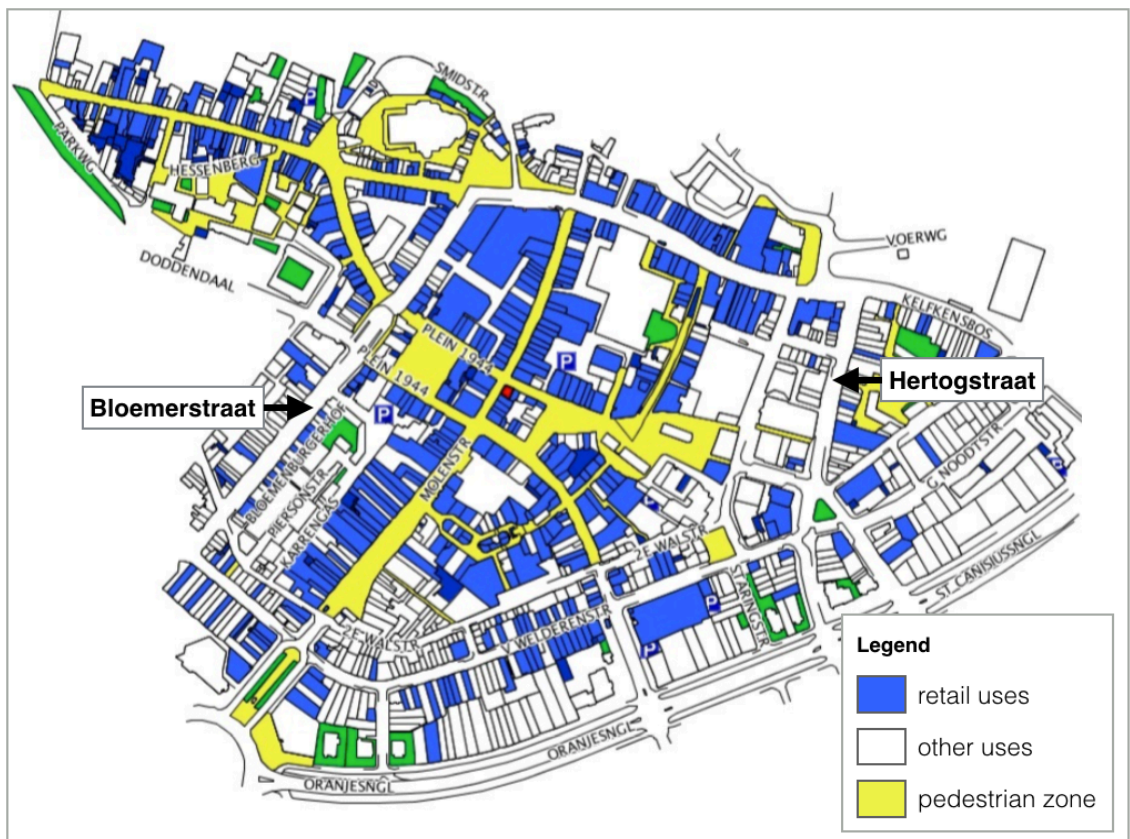


Figure 4: Geographical distribution of retail outlets in Nijmegen (Locatus, 2015. Edited by Kanselaar, 2016)

Leisure uses such as bars and restaurants are grouped in clusters found in and around the central core. These clusters are partly resulting from municipal policies (“horeca concentratiebeleid”). The policy is aimed to create leisure zones in the city center and therefore allows restaurants, bars and clubs only to settle in specific areas, such as the Molenstraat, the Marienburg, Kelfkensbosch, and the Waalkade.

Macro economical developments and the aftermath of the economic crisis, as well as the changing consumer behavior and especially the growth of online shopping are having an impact on the city center of Nijmegen. They have resulted in a number of manifestations and challenges: smaller and ageing retailers have struggled to compete with the buying power and product ranges offered by others; while some larger corporate retailers such as V&D and the shoe stores from the Macintosh group were indistinct in a competitive environment and unable to compete with online retailing. Increasing vacancy levels and fear of vacancies could drive consumers away and affect the retail environment’s performance, which in turn could lead to rent reductions and better opportunities for new retail concepts. To attract more customers and improve customer experiences and spending, an increasing number of retailers seek combinations of retail, leisure and services. The municipality of Nijmegen tries to facilitate this ‘blurring’ trend by allowing non-alcoholic and ‘light’ F&B functions to be combined with retail and other services. The city does not experiment with rule free zones or vending of alcoholic beverages in retail stores however.

Besides the presence and characteristics of retail and leisure outlets, the retailing environment consist of a wide range of elements that contribute to performance of the city center as a place to live, work and play. For instance, regional population densities are an important determinant for visitor numbers in a shopping center (CPB & PBL, 2015). Since the 90ies, cities – especially historical cities – have resurfaced as popular places to live, especially for the higher educated. Spending levels are however also related to ongoing demographical changes such as ageing. Retailnews (2016) recently published that the ageing Dutch population poses a big challenge for the retail sector: in 2015 average household spending on shoes and clothing was 1,800 euro per year, whilst elderly couples aged above 65 averaged only 1.317 euros. Although a slight increase of average consumer spending compared to earlier years (Nijmegen, 2015b, p.30), this could also be a threat for Nijmegen. Despite its growing population, the city population’s age groups 70-79 will increase strongly at the cost of 40-54 year olds (Nijmegen, 2015b).

Other elements that contribute to the city center's economy and attractiveness range from cultural and historical amenities, events, and green spaces, to the presence of competitive shopping centers elsewhere, but also the quality of the transport system and availability of parking facilities. Nijmegen has been taking satisfaction surveys among city center visitors since 1996. In 2014, right after the redevelopment of Plein 1944, the satisfaction ratings reached an all time high at 7,5 (Figure 5). Visitors appreciated the city's ambiance and complete offer of culture, events and retail and also accessibility has improved after the opening of new bicycle connections and bicycle parking. The high parking tariffs and the quantity of green spaces in the city center were lesser appreciated.

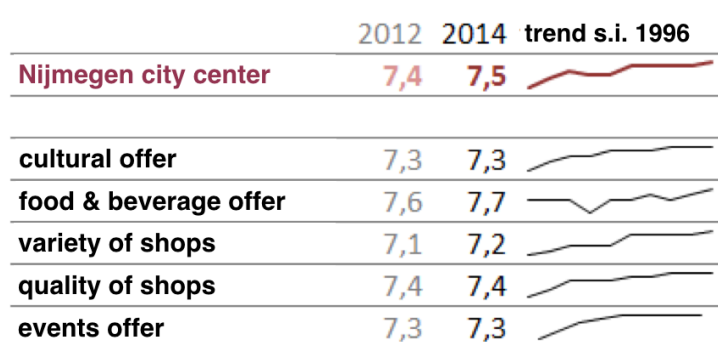


Figure 5: city center ratings (source: Nijmegen, 2015b)

The performance of the city center can also be affected by spatial developments outside the city center. Movie theatres, large retail outlets and cultural breeding places can function as 'experience centers' that attract consumers, but also large residential developments such as the Handelskade and the Waalfront may affect footfall patterns, and ultimately shape the city center's limits.

### 4.2.3 Investors

Investors (encapsulating developers) are responsible for the development, adaptation, and management of properties within the city center assemblage. Although a heterogeneous group, ultimately their business decisions are driven by two factors: the expected return and the risks attached to that expectation. The returns and risks attached to retail investments are inherently linked to the retailer as occupier (and thus, in turn, the consumer) and the competitiveness of the wider retailing center, with all the various inherent complexities (Jackson & Orr, 2015, p.5).

Investment behavior has been largely impacted by changes in the financial system. Before the global financial crisis, financing was cheap and abundant, which allowed for large investments relying on debt capital, resulting in the construction of surplus retail space throughout the country (Buitelaar, Sorel, Verwest, Van Dongen and Bregman, 2013). Construction investments in Nijmegen's city center were relatively high in 2013-2014: the total investment volume increased from approximately 7.3 million euros in 2013 to 30.1 million euros in 2014 (Nijmegen, 2015b). These numbers can be partly explained because of large cultural and retail developments, including the Doornroosje pop theatre (at the central train station) and Plein 1944, that were contracted before the crisis.

Following the crisis, risk-aversion levels have increased with large investors preferring to hold core stocks with lower income voids over-and-above opportunities for higher returns with their accompanying higher risk levels (Jackson & Orr, 2015). Moreover, expectations are that large cities will continue to grow at the cost of medium sized cities in the next 3 decades (Syntrus Achmea, 2015; CBS, 2016b). Shopping centers in large cities will profit at the cost of those in 'shrinking' regions, which may be confronted with structural vacancies as a result (Ossokina, Svítak, Teulings & Zwaneveld, 2016). Dutch commercial real estate investor VastNed has already been selling a lot of its assets in medium sized cities and turned its focus on 6 core cities in the Netherlands.

The functioning of the city center is also being affected by the real estate market's methods and frequency of real estate valuation (Buitelaar et al., 2013). Retail and office valuations are often based on historical performances and current rental agreements, which can differ from actual market situations. The resulting (unrealistic) high valuations can obstruct possibilities for adaptation and transformation of new retail concepts or to other functions (such as housing). Moreover, incentives in rental agreements, such as rent-free periods and compensations for refurbishments, are just temporary patches that affect the transparency of the market and property values. After all, when investors choose incentives over the adjustment of rent levels, they continue to use their 'artificially' high rents as input for future property valuations (Buitelaar et al., 2013, p.10). This can block possibilities for renewal.

The development of commercial real estate and possibilities for transformation is also being impacted by formal and informal rules and regulations. For instance, in the current fiscal system it is financially more attractive to invest in new commercial real estate than to withdraw properties from the market. The formal rules of the VAT-system make

transformation of real estate (whether or not by demolition and construction) more expensive than restructuring and keeping the current function (Buitelaar et al., 2013, p.10).

Another example of informal rules and practices can be found in the land development policies that a lot of municipalities used to have. Besides their role of serving the common interest of 'good land use', these practices also produced financial incentives related to the municipal property ownership, which commercial real estate served for a long time (Buitelaar et al., 2013, p.10-11). In some cases, these prospects have complicated discussions about whether or not plans for large peripheral retail parks (that may cannibalize on city centers) should be kept alive. Moreover, especially before the crisis, it was common practice to include commercial (retail) functions in large, integrated projects to compensate for financially less attractive functions. As a result, for instance a lot of apartment and office buildings have been built on a plinth of commercial spaces, which are adding to the transformation challenges that lie ahead.

The abovementioned shows that, as with all elements of the retailing system, also investors and developers are functioning within a complex (and multi-scalar) system and that their responses to changes and interactions with other elements can have a marked impact on outcomes (Jackson & Orr, 2015, p.6).

#### **4.2.4 Institutional structures**

Besides consumers, retailers and investors, institutional structures are the fourth and last element of the city center assemblage to be discussed in this context. The municipality of Nijmegen could well be the most powerful and wide-ranging institution within the city center assemblage. The municipal role to develop and implement a strategic framework for the transformation and governance of the city center requires it to interact with all elements of the sector. These include developers (and, by inference, therefore the wider financial and architectural sectors), investors and owners (including through permitted uses), urban designers (for example through the development of the urban realm), retailers (including through local rules and regulations) and, of course, consumers (including their perceptions and use of all the above, as well as through the transport system and wider governance role) (Jackson & Orr, 2015). Challenges of vacancy and transformation are highlighted as priorities for Nijmegen's city center, retail core and the adjacent "Ringstraten" (Nijmegen, 2015a). Nijmegen's municipal city center management involves a City Center Alderman, a senior Economic Policy Consultant and a City Center Account Manager, with a role perceived as to function as the partnership interface between investors, retailers, the public sector and other urban stakeholders, so as to encourage financial and non-financial participation.



The “Huis van de Binnenstad” (HVDB) is a city center stakeholder organization and an important partner in the city center’s institutional framework. The HVDB connects and represents the interests of the association of city center enterprises (“Vereniging Centrum Ondernemers Nijmegen”, VCON), the Dutch trade organization for the hotel and catering industry, division “Groot Nijmegen”, and the Cultural Network of Nijmegen (CNN). The municipality and HVDB wanted to stimulate cooperation between property owners and increase their involvement (Nijmegen, 2012; Nijmegen, 2015b) and have therefore founded the association of city center commercial real estate owners (“Vereniging van Commercieel Vastgoedeigenaren Nijmegen”, VCV), which has recently been added as a full partner of the HVDB.

This chapter presented a description of the main characteristics, trends and complexities of the city center assemblage’s key elements. The current state of the city center – viewed from an assemblage perspective – is the product of interrelated processes of consumers, retailers and retailing environment, investors/developers, and institutional structures. The next chapter will cut across these elements and reflect on the agencements of different socio-technical agencements in a narrative of transformation politics, practices, and materialities.

## 5. TRANSFORMATION AGENCEMENTS

Doreen Massey (2005, p.12, *italics added*) described that processes of change in a phenomenon can be viewed as “the contemporaneous existence of a plurality of trajectories; a simultaneously of *stories-so-far*”. Describing such stories-so-far, this chapter discusses the simultaneous emergence and trajectories of new and hegemonic STAs, and their situated and agentic affects on the transformation of the city center as a whole.

### 5.1. A pathway to transformation

The public and political debate about city centers is dominated by concerns about the increase of vacant shops and the structural impacts of socio-technical and economical changes in the retail sector, leading to worries about the vitality of the inner cities. Combined with city center-related publications and studies, statistical reports, expert sessions, the Retail Agenda, retail visions, action plans etc., these worries produce an ‘urgency to transform’ across the ranks of politicians, policy makers and other city center stakeholders. This paragraph will show how the current municipal city center transformation policies of Nijmegen have originated and were translated into concrete actions and projects.

#### 5.1.1. City center politics

The current municipal city center transformation policies and practices in Nijmegen began somewhat 10 years ago with a motion to free up funds for the improvement of the city center’s surrounding and access streets. The city center alderman (Van Hees, personal communication, 2016-5-19) claims “if we would not have turned our attention on the ring streets 10 years ago, the situation would be far worse now”. Back then, the city center’s core was economically sound, but the surrounding streets were degenerating fast. Because most city centers are all alike, dominated by retail formulas such as Hema, V&D, Blokker, Kruidvat, the alderman soon realized that real distinction could be made at the edges of the center: in the ring and access street (Van Hees, personal communication, 2016-5-19). The implementation of a ‘ring streets action program’ led to the upgrading of the ring streets, revitalized the shopping center, stimulated entrepreneurship, and reinforced the touristic appeal of Nijmegen. Contributing to the program’s success was an Investment Scheme, which had a big leverage effect on public investments: an amount of 375,000 euros municipal and provincial subsidies resulted in more than 2,1 million euros of private sector investments (Nijmegen, 2012, p.9).

Following the economical downturn of the latest recession, the action plan “Economische Structuur Binnenstad 2012-2015” (Nijmegen, 2012) sought to give the entire city center a further economic impulse. The plan responded to changes in consumer behavior, the growing importance of leisure, and the first signals of increasing vacancy problems in the retail and hotel & catering sector. To make the city center resilient to these and future threats, the plan included ideas to facilitate a shift from ‘place to buy’ to ‘place to be’, functional transformations of weaker retail areas, closer cooperation between different stakeholders, and a continuation of the successful ‘Ringstraten’ approach.

The most recent policy plan “Binnenstad van de Toekomst” (Nijmegen, 2015b) can be viewed as a follow-up version of the 2012 action plan. It has been drafted in close corporation with local stakeholders and is primarily focused at combating vacancy. The plan proposes a total of 14 policy instruments, including a street-focused transformation approach, street profiling, ambitions to facilitate new retail concepts and innovations such as the ‘blurring’ trend, suggestions to limit the impacts of car-traffic, and to add more green to the city. Furthermore, an updated analysis of strong and weak areas resulted in the indication of the Bloemerstraat, Hertogstraat, Waalkade and Molenpoort as ‘attention areas’.

Parallel to the abovementioned local inscriptions, city centers and retail vacancies have also (re)emerged on the agenda of national politicians and policymakers. Early 2015, Minister Kamp and partners from the G32, the Dutch Retail organization, KHN, IVBN, and the Provinces presented their Retail Agenda to make the retail sector more resilient. Nijmegen’s city center alderman Van Hees was appointed to join the Retail Agenda’s management team on behalf of Nijmegen. The Retail Deal that Minister Kamp closed with 50 Dutch municipalities is considered the most important instrument of the Retail Agenda (Min. EZ, 2015). It includes agreements between the national government, national stakeholder organizations, and local municipalities. The deal includes the following topics: the development of a city center vision in close cooperation with the most important stakeholders, drafting a priority-based action plan, determining the future retail floor surface, making a distinction between strong and weak areas, regional alignment of visions and action plans, and securing continuity of the Retail Deal’s topic in future governance (Min.EZ, 2015). The Ministry of Economic Affairs provides an online ‘RetailDeal Toolkit’ (Ons Retailand, 2016) to assist local municipalities to implement the Retail Deal’s topics.

The toolkit's website offers a range of relevant studies and best practices, such as Platform31's (2015) "*Winkelgebieden van de toekomst*" ("Retail centers of the future"), and different financial and juridical instruments that are meant to inspire local municipalities and help them with the development of new city center management practices. Nijmegen's city center alderman Van Hees signed the Retail Deal in The Hague on the 18<sup>th</sup> of November 2015.

From an assemblage perspective, the aforementioned practices and approaches, and their further integration in wider information systems, policy documents, and action plans, can be viewed as examples of *synthetic coding*: "concise reproductions of larger stories of problems, of solutions, ambitions and future images, of the steps that need to be taken to get to policy goals" (Lagendijk & Ploegmakers, 2012, p.6). Simultaneously, territorialization processes are turning codings and local translations of ideas and scripts, that responded to the changing retail climate and transforming role of the city center, into concrete strategies and projects that need to be given a place in social reality. *Relations of exteriority* (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, 1988; DeLanda, 2006, 2010) appear as well, for instance when local strategies travel to the national Retail Deal's Toolkit and are consequently being put to practice in other places. To reinforce the identity and functioning of the city center assemblage it is necessary to align the many interrelated heterogeneous elements within the larger whole (DeLanda, 2010; Lagendijk & Ploegmakers, 2012). These include the STA's (or lower-level assemblages) of hegemonic and new practices and their affective flows of calculative agencies and processes of synthetic coding and territorialization.

### **5.1.2. Local translations**

Nijmegen's city center policies to combat vacancy and adapt to the changing retail landscape have resulted in coding and territorialization processes that have been translated in a variety of concrete instruments and projects. The municipality of Nijmegen (2016a) acknowledges that the current vacancy problems are mainly influenced by macro-economical trends, but believes that they can also be affected with local actions. Based on the solutions presented in the "*Binnenstad van de Toekomst*" (Nijmegen, 2015b) the following instruments and projects have been developed and initiated:

- Street-focused approaches for the four attention areas, starting with the Bloemerstraat and the Hertogstraat. The approach includes measures such as investments in public space, relocating and clustering of businesses, targeted acquisition of new concepts, functional transformation (retail to housing, services,

and/or crafts industry), stimulation of owners to upgrade their properties, and the encouragement of local 'street ownership' to make occupants feel more responsible for the street's atmosphere.

- The creation of a 'Transformation Team'. Nijmegen has 'transformed' its practices in dealing with city center developments. Vacancy has long been seen as a problem belonging to the department of Economic Affairs only, but is now being approached multidisciplinary, including officials from urban design, cultural heritage, mobility, planning, and city development.
- An 'Aanjaagteam Levendige Binnenstad' has been set up to get input from young creative entrepreneurs and to reflect on different ideas to boost the city center vibrancy.
- The founding of an association of commercial real estate owners ("Vereniging van Commercieel Vastgoedeigenaren", VCV) in 2015.
- The prolongation of the earlier successful Investment Scheme to enhance the business climate and to stimulate small independent business owners to improve the interior and exterior of properties in streets outside the A1 shopping core, but that are part of the compact city center area.
- The launch of the "Pandebank" website, which shows an overview of vacant commercial properties in the city center, including information about the zoning plan regulations, rent levels and street profiles.
- Publication of a Bid book titled 'Welcome in Nijmegen' to target potential investors, operators/tenants, and other parties. The bid book can be used as a tool for real estate brokers and property owners to attract new initiatives for the city.
- Opening of a new municipal business point ("OndernemersPunt"), with a newly appointed transformation manager, now performing as the front desk and first contact point for new initiatives. Besides a regular advisory role, the transformation manager also actively tries to connect new concepts to relevant business networks and stakeholders in the city.
- And finally, the initiation of the project "Ruimte voor iedereen" ("room for everyone"). The municipality hired Royal HaskoningDHV to study on possibilities to create more space for pedestrians, cyclists and consumers (and less for car traffic) in the city center. The project exposes the interrelatedness of mobility and accessibility with the economic performance of the city center.

The abovementioned instruments and projects encompass both prosthetic and habilitation strategies (cf. Callon, 2008). For instance, the online database of vacant properties (Pandebank), the Bidbook, and the Investment Scheme can be viewed as prosthetic policies. Prosthetic policies translate into upgrading, which is basically integration (or readjustment). In this case the implicit assumption is that the retailers, investors and owners suffer from a lack of resources (such as information and finance), which can (and must) be remedied. Exemplars of a habilitation strategy can be found in the street focused approach, the Transformation Team, and the new property owners association VCV. These instruments could function to rearrange the socio-technical agencement itself and obtain a (new) balance. Their intention is to stimulate the market to support rearrangements aimed at promoting interactivity, possibilities of changing modes of calculation, and exploring other options.

### 5.1.3. The Bloemerstraat approach

The transformation process of the Bloemerstraat reflects the working of an STA encompassing both habilitation and prosthetic strategies. The Bloemerstraat should function in the city center's framework as a connective route between the central train station and the central core, but increasing vacancy problems, degeneration, and unwanted uses are troubling this. The Bloemerstraat has been labeled 'attention area' in two resilience studies done by the municipality (Nijmegen, 2015a), after scoring badly on a set of indicators (see Figure 6).

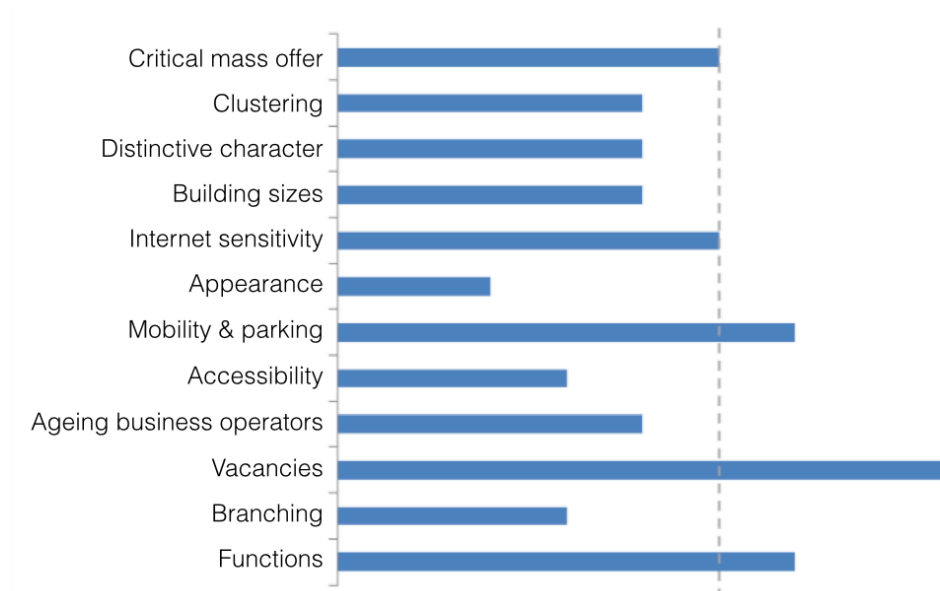


Figure 6: Bloemerstraat scores in resilience study (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2015a. Edited by Kanselaar, 2016)

The current status of the Bloemerstraat can be seen as the result of a socio-technical agencement, which configures distributed actions involving a large number of humans and non-humans. The street's declining appearance triggered municipal plans to enlarge and repave the sidewalks and road surface (Photo 3). This 'hardware' upgrading is aimed to improve the street's accessibility and create a pleasant, attractive atmosphere similarly to the ring streets. It is hoped that the material affects of these measures will lead to better performances of existing businesses and attract new investments to the street (Nijmegen, 2016b).



Photo 3: roadwork in the Bloemerstraat (source: N. Van Hoorn, 2016)

There are also social elements being mobilized to improve the street's 'software'. A consultancy firm (Seinpost consultants, hired by the municipality) has been examining the street's profile and tested the feasibility for the introduction of a new 'modern crafts' theme. The theming idea shows how a territorialization process turned codings, in this case the ideas and scripts for crafts have already been voiced in a 2011 motion called "In de oudste stad hebben ambachten de toekomst" ("crafts hold the future of the oldest city") (Nijmegen, 2012), into a concrete strategy. The analyses of street's DNA and potentials for transformation have been based on socio-economical trends and developments of the city center, its users, and the built environment.

Further testing of the craft theme's feasibility has been done in consultation with a number of business and real estate owners from the Bloemerstraat, as well as entrepreneurs from the creative clusters in Splendor and the Smeltkroes. Finally, Seinpost, Mood Concept Store and the Lindenberg started a platform called "Blossom" to support new concepts and entrepreneurs and help them find a suitable location in the city center. Blossom aims to function as a transformation catalyst and is therefore housed in one of the streets empty retail spaces (Bloemerstraat nr. 115) where the location's potential is shown during events for creative tech people and designers.



Figure 7: Advertorial for 'Days of Blossom' event (source: Blossom facebook page)

The socio-economical impacts of temporary cultural and creative clusters such as the "Honig factory" and "Smeltkroes", which house a multitude of young and creative businesses, may – as a relation of exteriority - contribute to the current ideas for placemaking in Nijmegen. The founder of the Smeltkroes (De Vries, personal communication, 2016-5-23) believes in the makeability of a crafts-based cluster in the Bloemerstraat, but warns that placemaking processes require a lot of energy, commitment, and above all an *authentic drive*.

*"Low rents are not even a deciding factor, that's funny about it. It's all about vibrating places. And the only way to produce vibration is by fully committing yourself to a place with your heart and soul"* (De Vries, personal communication, 2016-5-23).

De Vries (personal communication, 2016-5-23) stresses that to become successful any new location in the city center should be able to compete with the current unique multidisciplinary network environment at the Smeltkroes. Creative entrepreneurs should be intrinsically motivated by the new environment to move over.



The municipality took up an active role to get the Bloemerstraat transformation process going. Nijmegen's senior economic policy official (Nieskens, personal communication, 2016-5-25) believes that the central location offers the right environment for craft businesses to produce, show and sell their products to the public. The current transformation process is in line with the ideas of Callon (2008, p.50) who stated that policies formulated in response to limitations of individuals who have difficulties fitting in economic networks (such as the alignment of new concepts and creative enterprises in the hegemonic city center assemblage) should not be designed only as prosthetic policies but also, and above all, as habilitation policies. In the Bloemerstraat case, creative/craft-based entrepreneurs (including their 'vibrancies') are being 'habilitated' through a complete reshaping of the environment. The transformation process is coupled to 'traditional' measures such as physical upgrading of the street and funding for building improvements, but also to stimulation of cooperation between local stakeholders, innovative entrepreneurship, culture and events, and placemaking. Local businesses and owner/investors are stimulated to get self-organized and create street profiles for targeted acquisitions (Nieskens, personal communication, 2016-5-25). The Bloemerstraat transformation process illustrates how 'old ways of doing' are being accompanied and replaced by new practices to create conditions under which different types of new retailing concepts, alternative uses and creative entrepreneurship can appear and prosper.

The municipality aims to start different pilots across the city center to see what works in the current transition phase and learn which elements can be useful for the city. Possible successful elements of the Bloemerstraat approach could be applied throughout the city center. The City Council has approved a budget of 900,000 euros for city center strategies and projects in the next three years (July 13<sup>th</sup>, 2016) but the amount of energy and resources that are needed to combat vacancies and start transformation processes are varying depending on the location. For instance the Ringstraten projects, but also and the organic development of a design cluster in the Houtstraat and a food quarter at Kelfkenbosch, have proven that a lot of energy can be generated from the bottom-up, and that therefore in some cases the government's role can be limited to matching relevant parties and doing small-scale interventions (Nieskens, personal communication, 2016-5-25) or as Alderman Van Hees (personal communication, 2016-5-19) describes: "suggesting ideas for the market to develop, sometimes with a little help from the public sector".

## 5.2. A décor for transformation

This paragraph will zoom in on the situated and agential effects of vacancies, practices of real estate exploitation, rules and regulations, urban planning and levels of co-operation that together that may act as a décor for the development of alternative uses, new concepts and creative entrepreneurs in Nijmegen.

### 5.2.1. Vacancy

The presence (and fear) of vacant shops can be considered as an influential driver in the current city center transformation debate, both nationally and locally. Vacancies are believed to have a negative impact on the economic attractiveness and livability of the city center and the city as a whole. Impoverishment can threaten the quality of the environment. The Research and Statistics department “O&S Nijmegen” keeps track of vacancy rates in the city center of Nijmegen.

O&S obtains its data from Locatus. Locatus has developed a web application called “Locatus Online” that allows users to access and download data on a wide range of topics including branching, vacancies, and footfall numbers, which can also be visualized on Goad maps with detailed street patterns and individual buildings and their uses. Figure 8 shows a map with vacant retail outlets in the city center of Nijmegen on the 12<sup>th</sup> of October 2016.

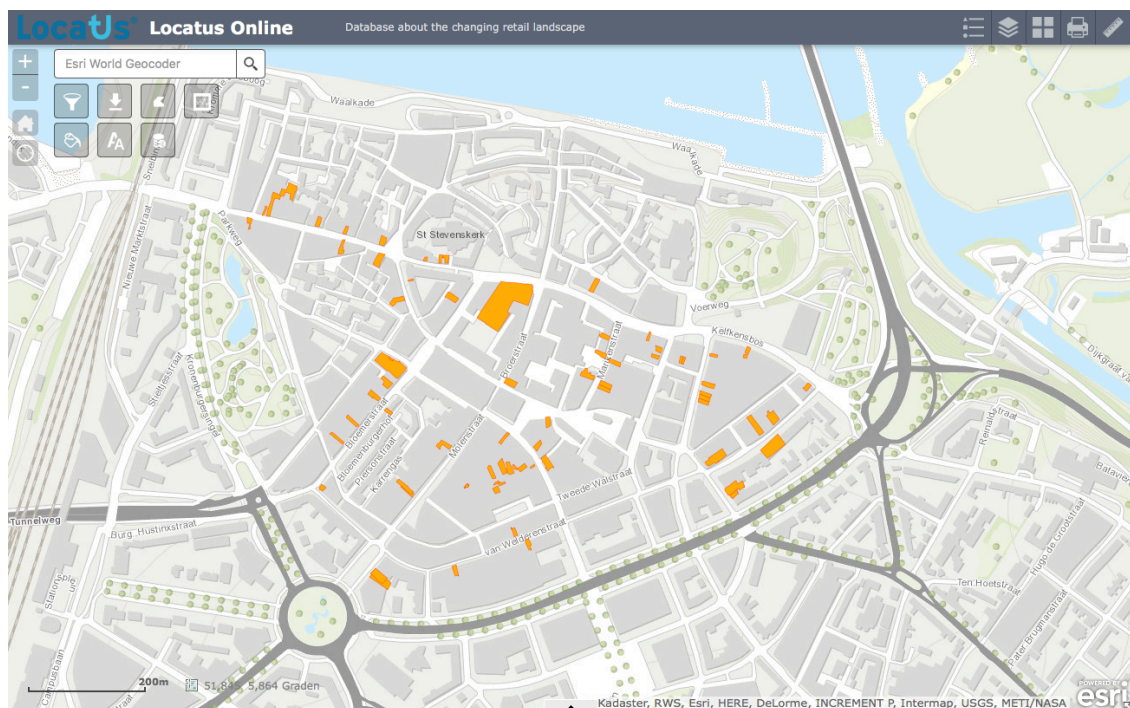


Figure 8: Screenshot of Locatus Online (source: [www.goad.nl](http://www.goad.nl), 2016)

O&S (in: Nijmegen, 2015b) reported that on January 1<sup>st</sup> 2015, a total of 12,100 square meters retail space was unoccupied, translating in a vacancy rate of 10.6%. The most recent data (Gemeente Nijmegen, 2016a) shows a slight improvement: a decrease to 8.8% at the start of 2016, which places Nijmegen just below the average in a benchmark of 10 comparable cities. A rate of 8% is considered to be 'healthy' and necessary for the accommodation of newcomers (Verlee, personal communication, 2016-5-11).

Locatus updates its databases annually after site inspections in August / September. This means that new vacancies and re-openings that occur in-between are not (all) registered and taken into account in vacancy rates. The recent 'wave' of bankruptcies of large corporate retail branches such as V&D, the MacIntosh group (owner of several shoe brands) and Unlimited Sports Group (owner of Perry Sport and Aktie Sport) has also affected Nijmegen and intensified concerns about vacancy problems in the inner city. However, own fieldwork (see Appendix II, p. 74) revealed that the number of vacant stores in Nijmegen actually *decreased* by 40% during the first 5 months of 2016. Many of the bankruptcy-affected outlets were able to either continue their operations (because their parent companies were taken over or restructured) or have been replaced by other retail companies (see Appendix II, pp. 72-73). Most of the affected retail spaces were located in top (A1) areas, which could explain their attractiveness to other retailing companies and investors. A local real estate agent (Verlee, personal communication, 2016-5-11) states that the central shopping area performs quite well and that vacancy problems have largely disappeared in the ring streets.

The decrease in vacancy rates can be ascribed to economic growth, but can also be explained as a result of the increasing number of (vacant) retail outlets that are being replaced by F&B and leisure-oriented functions. This trend, which can also be seen in other large cities (NOS, 2017), even leads to a scarcity (!) of commercial space in some parts of Nijmegen's city center. Moreover, the city's retail environment, which builds amongst other things on a relatively young, higher-educated population and the presence of historical elements and cultural amenities, provides a natural base for the shift from a 'place to buy' to a 'place to meet'. The performances of the central core influence the economic potentials of less central areas indirectly. A comparison between Locatus and own fieldwork data per street (Figure 9, next page) confirms that the Bloemerstraat, Hertogstraat, and Molenpoort continue to be affected by vacancies, while other streets have improved during the same period.

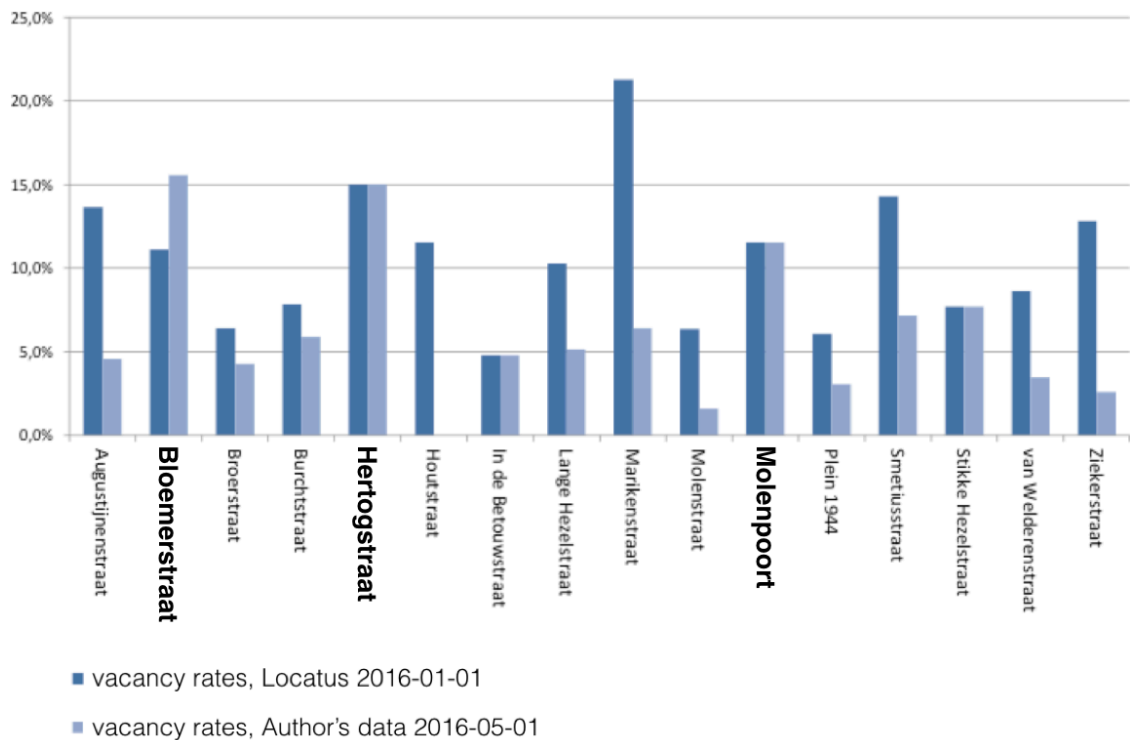


Figure 9: comparison of vacancy rates (Own work, 2016)

Nijmegen's City Monitor (Nijmegen, 2016a) underscores these contrasting stories: opposed to the growth in the city center's core there are structural vacancies in the fringes; consumer confidence is rising, but big retail companies falter; and online retail offers increasing opportunities, but also greater competition. The general economic perspectives for Nijmegen are good however: PBL Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency (Evers et al., 2015) qualifies Nijmegen as a "solid and regional provisionary city center" and Goudappel Coffeng (Van Huffelen & Scheerder, 2015) places Nijmegen in a group of cities with a "healthy city center area". At the same time, those parts of the city center that do experience structural vacancy problems and impending degradation have become the focal points of transformation policies, which contributes to the possibilities for the development of alternative uses, new concepts and settlement of creative entrepreneurs.

### 5.2.2. Real estate exploitation

In response to the current market conditions different parts of the city center, especially the Molenstraat, Ziekerstraat, Burchtstraat, and recently the Mariekenstraat, saw rent reductions up to 30-35% (Verlee, personal communication, 2016-5-11). Real estate owners appear to be more eligible to negotiate appropriate rents and turn to temporary uses as a result of decreased demands for retail spaces, lower retail sales revenues, and fear of vacancies.

The commercial manager of the Molenpoort Passage stated the following about this:

*“If the owner would charge ‘normal’ rents, the Molenpoort would have 30% more vacancies. Lower rents and temporary uses are applied there because the owners of the Molenpoort are convinced of their necessity. They are very aware of the fact that too high vacancy levels will drive consumers away”* (Cremers, personal communication, 2016-5-11).

Temporary uses are valued for the extra ‘buzz’, variation, and new visitors they bring to the mall (Cremers, personal communication, 2016-5-11). Last year for instance the temporary concept store ‘Store and More’ moved into one of the Molenpoort’s vacant units. The shop founders (Gumbs and Verhees, personal communication, 2016-5-14) have been confronted with high rents and starting costs throughout the city center, but were finally enabled to test their concept in the Molenpoort thanks to a flexible and affordable lease offer. In December 2015, the mall’s management even started its own ‘Flex Store’ concept with a small outlet for a pop-up activity near one of its entrances. Nevertheless, these solutions will be terminated as soon as a competitive lease request comes in. The Marikenstraat temporarily houses the art gallery (Zeven Zomers), which was previously located in the ‘Besindershuis’ (a municipal monument) and vacant stores in the Houtstraat and Stikke Hezelstraat. This ‘nomadic’ existence has been facilitated by an organization called SLAK, which helps artists and cultural organization to find reasonably priced accommodations.

The Molenpoort’s commercial manager (Cremers, personal communication, 2016-5-11) claims to receive enough lease requests from dump stores and low budget retailers, but thinks that accepting too many of them would affect the mall’s reputation negatively. Instead of turning to low-budget and temporary solutions or subjecting themselves to the vagaries of large chain stores, owners may also look for high quality and sustainable new business concepts that offer better long-term perspectives and add value to the total building’s exploitation (Van Gelder, personal communication, 2016-5-17; Verlee, personal communication, 2016-5-11). Policies aimed at the development of housing in the city center, but also the introduction of new logistical and supply concepts in the retail sector, have stimulated the transformation of obsolete storage spaces above shops. In some cases, these ‘changing modes of calculation’ literally produced leeway for lower rents and/or moved owners from mere renting out space to assisting and co-creating new business concepts with their tenants.

The newly founded association of property owners VCV Nijmegen is also contributing to form these new connections and stimulate new projects (Hendriks, personal communication, 2016-5-12). Development possibilities for new business concepts can thus be 'habilitated' by a market that (cf. Callon, 2008, p.48) supports rearrangements aimed at promoting interactivity and that revive possibilities of changing modes of calculation and exploring other options. This appears to apply to a number of property owners and investors in Nijmegen, whose primary interest gradually shifted from blindly renting out retail spaces to the exploitation of 'total building concepts'. Examples of these are the redeveloped shops at the entrance of the Ziekerstraat, now known as the 'Little Fashion Quarter' and Mood Concept Store in the Houtstraat. The latter case illustrates how a young entrepreneur, who initially tested her new retail concept on a flexible lease contract in the Marikenstraat, was enabled move to a permanent location thanks to close cooperation with a local real estate owner.

Many new retail concepts, especially those that can be found in the ring- and entrance streets (Van Broeckhuysenstraat, Van Welderenstraat, Lange Hezelstraat), are combinations of retail and F&B (light, non alcoholic) but can also consist of multiple retail functions amongst themselves (shop-in-shop), involving a cooperation of two or more entrepreneurs. For instance shop '512' in the Van Broeckhuysenstraat (Photo 4) is a combination of a second-hand plant store, a shop for clothing and handmade design products, and a tea bar.



Photo 4: a 3-in-1 shop in the Van Broeckhuysenstraat (retrieved from [www.512-nijmegen.nl](http://www.512-nijmegen.nl))

The practices of owners and investors reflect both prosthetic and habilitation strategies. Allowing temporary uses to move in on reduced rents and a flexible contract that can be terminated as soon as the market returns to 'normal' are mere prosthetics that will probably not level the asymmetry between dominant and alternative agencies. However, the increased levels of interactivity and co-operation between owner/investors and their lessees that created opportunities for new concepts to emerge can be viewed as examples of a habilitation strategy that rearrange the socio-technical agencement itself.

### 5.2.3. Rules and regulations

Today's entrepreneurs collide with current rules and regulations when they start mixing concepts freely and creative (Crebolder, personal communication, 2016-5-17). Increasing the level of freedom can create friction and negative side effects however. For instance, loosening operational rules and regulations for retailers to move in the hotel & catering sector is already causing frictions. These frictions are the result of increased and unfair competition, partly because retailers do not have to comply with the strict health and safety rules that bars and restaurants are subjected to. The owners of the Store and More concept store had ideas to organize a wine tasting event but they stated:

*"I have contacted the local authority numerous times about serving alcohol. I understand they want to prevent competition for local bars, but that is really not what we are after. We won't take it that far. I think a lot of shop owners have this problem... It is not necessarily the alcohol we're after, but more the experience we want to offer"* (Gumbs and Verhees, personal communication, 2016-5-14).

A Nijmegen planning official (Crebolder, personal communication, 2016-5-17) explains that the negative side effects nevertheless temper the (political) will to introduce flexible rules. Moreover, the 'establishment' is well advocated in the political arena and that might also affect the decision-making process and willingness for change. For instance, there appears to be a strong organizational and political lobby linked to Nijmegen's hotel & catering clustering. This allows the establishment to protect their interests and block competition in the city center. The clustering policy produces a clear segmentation for different target groups and helps to keep nightlife disturbances, but keeping it in place limits opportunities for new F&B concepts to be developed elsewhere in the city center of Nijmegen (Nieskens, personal communication, 2016-5-25; Verlee, personal communication, 2016-5-11).

A policy-generated scarcity has already resulted in relatively high property values of existing bars and restaurants. Lifting the restrictions would produce a skewed relation between existing and new locations. Moreover, many of the current properties are relied upon as a retirement provision and uncertainty about future values fuels resistance (Nieskens, personal communication, 2016-5-25).

Acceptance of (experimental) flexible rules and regulations has proven to be very difficult and practice proves that when new policies are put in place, requests for clearer rules immediately come in. The discussion about 'blurring' is surrounded by the same issues. Retailers are given some room to adapt to the market demands already through the facilitation of the 'blurring' trend but the restrictions on selling alcoholic beverages in stores continues to raise concerns. The city's urban planner (Goedknegt, personal communication, 2016-5-11) states that it requires political courage to support radical change. Getting transformations and new concepts of the ground means a change in thinking, to create health & safety policies and more flexible rules that will stimulate new entrepreneurs instead of discouraging them. The demands for more flexibility will certainly keep increasing as long the retail landscape keeps changing and the experience economy continues to produce new requests (Nieskens, personal communication, 2016-5-25).

Rules and regulations are part of a host of heterogeneous entities that participate and cooperate to enable transformations and renewal in the city center. The introduction of flexible rules and regulations could help produce more flexible, adjustable socio-technical agencements that allow new entrepreneurs to fit into the hegemonic city center development practices.

#### **5.2.4. Spatial planning**

Besides economical developments, policies, zoning plans, and rules and regulations, the city center's performances and adaptive capacities are also affected by spatial developments and urban planning. The current shape of Nijmegen's city center, for instance, has been partly scripted by historic town planning: the 19<sup>th</sup> century parks and circular roads (Oranjesingel and Kronenburgsingel) that replaced the medieval city walls have long acted as 'natural boundaries' preventing the city center to expand too much. Unintended (and unexpected) affects of spatial planning on the city center performance can also be illustrated by the example of the Hessenberg housing project in 2008, which forced the closure of the Pijkestraat parking garage halfway down the Lange Hezelstraat.



Before 2008 people didn't continue down the street, but afterwards they did. As a consequence, they gave the lower end of the Lange Hezelstraat an impulse, which resulted in a sharp drop of vacancies (Verlee, personal communication, 2016-5-11).

Only a limited number of locations, most of them located at the city center's fringes, are currently experiencing relatively high vacancy rates. Two of these are the Bloemerstraat and Hertogstraat. These streets have become focal points of the municipal transformation policies. The municipality is aiming to create a crafts-based entrepreneurial cluster in the Bloemerstraat (see pp. 45-48) and an extension of Kelfkensbosch's 'Food Quarter' into the Hertogstraat. Following a process of 'synthetic coding' (cf. Lagendijk & Ploegmakers, 2012) their ideas and visions are being simultaneously being translated of into concrete transformation strategies and projects. There are also 'territorialization' processes going on that stabilize the city center's hegemony. Some of the (proposed) measures and instruments, such as projects to upgrade the public space and infrastructure, mobility-related measures, public funding for building improvements, and adjustments to rules and regulation, actually reinforce the identities of the Hertogstraat and Bloemerstraat as important constituent parts of the central retail core. This might eventually even interfere with the possibilities for actual renewal.

Looking at spatial developments from a wider perspective, it is interesting to see how large area developments such as 'Ruimte voor de Rivier', with its new urban island, sunny quayside (Lentse Kade), leisure activities, possibilities for events, and connections to attractive routes and residential areas affect the performance of the city center. Developments like these could have an impact on the geographical orientation of the city center, especially on the western and Waalkade side. The current development of large housing projects in Nijmegen West (Handelskade and Waalfront) already appears to enhance the Lange Hezelstraat's function as city center entrance, resulting in higher footfall and business opportunities for new retail and F&B outlets. Also the redevelopment of the railway station area with its Doornroosje pop theatre and a planned hotel could turn into a new hotspot on the edge of the city center. Area developments like these, but also peripheral multiplex movie theatres and XXL retail outlets can be of added value to the city and attract more visitors to the city as a whole, but they can also have a cannibalizing effect on the city center and draw visitors away. The HVDB city center manager therefore claims that:

*“The real challenge lies in the city’s periphery, much more than in the center itself [...] and to prevent that solutions outside the city center develop a cannibalization effect we should aim our attention at them”* (Mulder, personal communication, 2016-5-18).

Municipal retail policies are increasingly being focused on strengthening of the city center and, resulting in restrictions for new retail and leisure uses outside the city center. Prevention of peripheral activities could stimulate the development of new initiatives in the city center, but at the same time such a policy might also reinforce the hegemonic status of the city center’s retail core.

### **5.2.5. Co-operation**

In the quest to increase the city’s capacity to adapt and transform, a high level of co-operation and coordination between city center stakeholders is considered an important element (Raatgever & Knoester, 2015; Min.EZ, 2015; Nijmegen, 2105b). Organizing more together is believed to create synergy and ‘added value’ for the city center (Van Gelder, personal communication, 2016-5-17). But aligning the interests of city center entrepreneurs and asking them to be more flexible may also prove to be difficult and cause tensions between ‘traditional’ and ‘innovative’ businesses (Hendriks, personal communication, 2016-5-16). Therefore, the municipality, the HVDB, the newly founded association of property owners VCV Nijmegen, the VCON, and the “De Bouwkamer” (“construction chamber”) for building and design, just to name a few, are all working to assure that the cities collective powers are strengthened. Urban transformation has increasingly become a dynamical and co-operative process that has been accompanied by a shift from a solely government-focused perspective (inside-out) to businesses and citizens (outside-in). Urban planner Goedknecht (personal communication, 2016-5-11) states that:

*“We need to rethink our practices and facilitate more, but they [businesses and citizens] have to become active. We’ve been pampering them for many years, making them think that ‘the government will take care of it’. The public and the local government needs to get used to the fact that the roles have shifted.”*

The municipality sets up regular meetings between city officials and young creative entrepreneurs and new initiatives are being processed through the ‘Transformation Team’ (see p. 42). This stimulates and facilitates the processing of market ideas and initiatives (outside-in).

Besides these forms of co-operation, the municipality also tries to create new links through, amongst others, stimulation of citywide networks, sharing of information, and connecting businesses to local knowledge institutions. Furthermore, there are plans to organize street meetings and the possibilities for the implementation of a Business Investment Zone (BIZ) are being researched. A BIZ is an area wherein all businesses have agreed to invest in common affairs such as safety, promotion, greenery, cleaning, etc. In Nijmegen, most of these activities are organized by only a few leading businesses and the VCON, the organization of city center entrepreneurs, which currently allows free riding. A BIZ could prevent that and improve the level of cooperation between businesses.

The abovementioned platforms, network meetings, and sharing of information increase the level of cooperation and coordination between city center stakeholders and could open up avenues for solutions that different agencies would not otherwise have access to or would not have thought of.

This chapter has provided a composition of heterogeneous elements and STAs that together constitute the décor of Nijmegen's city center transformation and which affect the alignment of new and hegemonic practices. Whether these produce what Callon (2008, p.46) described as "socio-technical agencements that are flexible, adjustable, and robust" and allow different individuals to fit into the city center system, will be discussed in the next and final chapter where conclusions will be drawn.

## **6. CONCLUSION & REFLECTION**

In this final chapter, paragraph 6.1 will first address the context and issues surrounding city center transformation and the motivations for change, followed by the key focus and problem statement of this thesis. Then the core theoretical concepts and expectations will be shortly outlined, after which the findings and results will be presented. Paragraph 6.2 will conclude with a reflection on the weak and strong points of this study and a suggestion for further research.

### **6.1. Conclusions**

#### **6.1.1 Context**

Nowadays a lot of city centers and their often-dominating retail sector are in a state of flux as a result of demographic, economic and technical changes. Concerns about the increase of vacant shops in Dutch city centers are fuelling societal and political debates that are full of worries about the vitality of the inner cities and even fears of emerging ‘doughnut cities’ where barely anybody lives or works. While such a doom scenario will not be very likely in the Netherlands, the current discourse does motivate policy makers, retailers, owners and other city center stakeholders to find solutions that keep their centers economically healthy. The Dutch Ministry of Economic Affairs urges municipalities to be more flexible and innovative through its ‘Retail Deals’, which need to be locally translated into retail visions and new approaches that help them adapt to the changing context. Attracting creative entrepreneurs and the development of (temporary) spaces for new concepts and business models are considered successful methods amongst a range of other proposals and action plans to combat vacancies and improve the dynamics and vitality of retail districts. However, such new ways of doing may challenge the establishment’s ‘rules of the game’ and could therefore be prone to resistance.

#### **6.1.2 Key focus**

This research focuses on city center transformation in Nijmegen. Nijmegen’s City Council has recently updated its city center policy in response to the abovementioned macro social and economical developments. The city aims to combat vacancies and wants to accommodate the shift from ‘place to buy’ to ‘place to meet’ through a wide range of actions and instruments, including the installation of a transformation team, stimulation of re-use, reconfiguration and temporary use of vacant buildings, attracting new (temporary and pop-up) concepts, and

stimulation of creative entrepreneurship (especially from the craft-based economy). In this context, the key focus of this master's thesis has been to get a better understanding of the different elements that produce city center transformation and to find out how new and alternative concepts adjust to the hegemonic city center forces - and vice versa. The central research question has been formulated as: *What are the shaping forces of city center transformation in Nijmegen and how are alternative uses, new retail concepts and creativity/craft-based entrepreneurship being aligned within this system?*

### **6.1.3. Core concepts**

Assemblage thinking has been applied to explain how new and hegemonic forces together shape city center transformation in Nijmegen. Therefore, it was necessary to explore the key elements that play a role in the city center assemblage, the forms of alternative uses and practices that are being produced, their relation to dominating city center forces, and how differences in between them are resolved. The conceptual framework for this research contains elements from Assemblage Theory and ANT-related concepts. Framing transformative forces as new and hegemonic *socio-technical agencements* and exploring their different calculative agencies may reveal and help understand some of the *asymmetrical* relations of domination that exist between them. The affects of these STAs on the city center are unfolded as the result of *coding* and *territorialization* processes that help stabilize the city center assemblage as a whole. And finally, the notions of *prosthesis* and *habilitation* are used to highlight the different instruments that support the alignment of new practices within the city center.

### **6.1.4. Results**

From the perspective of an assemblage, the city center can be characterized as an unbounded and limitless system of interrelated human, non-human, material and discursive elements. The scope and time for this research however necessitated a demarcation of elements related to the city center's key stakeholder groups consumers, retailers and their retailing environment, investors/developers, and institutional structures. A first general analysis of scientific literature, statistical reports and interview data revealed the influences of consumer behavior and their wider social activities on the usage of the city center. Consumers increasingly combine shopping with leisure experience and their visiting patterns extend beyond traditional shopping hours. As a result the retail sector is now faced with an increasingly demand-driven environment opposed to the traditional supply market.

Together with the rise of online retailing, these macro dynamics have also affected Nijmegen's central retail core, which has seen reorganizations and bankruptcies of a number of large chain stores, with V&D as the most prominent example. However, despite the worries and publications about increasing vacancy problems, fieldwork data revealed that vacancy rates in Nijmegen's city center actually dropped by 40% during the first half of 2016. Large retail chain stores keep dominating Nijmegen's central core and vacancies are mostly short-lived. A change of color is more prevalent in the surrounding ring and access streets, where the presence of smaller units and more affordable rents cater to the needs of independent retailers and innovative entrepreneurs. This confirms expectations that access streets and extremities of shopping streets generally have the best potential to be transformed.

Despite 'availability' of quite a number of vacant units there are surprisingly few temporary uses and pop-up shops in the city center of Nijmegen, only a few temporary outlet shops and a single art gallery. It turns out that many owners are fended off by the extra costs and hassle these temporary uses bring and big institutional investors can afford vacancies. The amount of new retail and F&B concepts that are sprouting from the market is also remarkable. Many of these concepts are based on co-operation of two or more entrepreneurs and combine retail with other services to create sufficient mass. These 'blurring' activities and the development of new concepts are, on the one hand, being enabled by local policies such as flexible zoning plan conditions and, on the other hand, also by real estate owners and investors' market adaptations, including new approaches to real estate exploitation, flexible and sales-based rent contracts, and new forms of co-operation between owners and lessees. Moreover, Nijmegen's retailing environment can profit from its young and growing population, a big university, a wide range of large events, cultural and historical amenities, and attractive natural surroundings, which together contribute to the shift from a 'place to buy' to a 'place to meet'. Nijmegen also appears to deliver on general expectations that large cities will continue to grow at the cost of medium sized cities in the next 3 decades. In spite of all of this, a large part of Nijmegen's city center policy remains focused on combating vacancies and, more understandably, maintaining economic growth. The socio-economic and technical changes in the retail landscape are affecting the city center and do necessitate the development and implementation of a strategic framework for the transformation and governance of the city center. The municipality stimulates temporary uses, new retail and business concepts and creativity/craft-based entrepreneurship because it believes in their capacities to combat vacancies and to increase the dynamics and vitality of retail districts.

Viewing the actions of different stakeholders in Nijmegen's city center through the lens of STAs revealed some of the unequal powers of calculating agencies. It appeared that, due to these asymmetries, the most powerful agencies are able to impose their valuations on others and consequently have a strong impact on the transformation process. The notions of 'prosthesis' and 'habilitation' (cf. Callon, 2008) helped to study the relations of domination-exclusion between agencies. Nijmegen's municipal city center transformation strategy has elements of both. It has prosthetic strategies that are based on the assumption that some city center actors are deprived of sufficient calculative capacities, which can be remedied with information and resources. Clear examples of these are the municipal investment fund, the vacant property database, and Bidbook, but also (temporary) rent reductions and subsidies, which are applied to endow calculative agencies with new and/or extra capacities. In practice, these instruments can temporary level out some of the existing asymmetries between new and dominant STAs and contribute to the possibilities for new ideas and concepts to be developed and fit in.

Habilitation strategies take the lack of calculative capacities, which for instance alternative users may have, as a starting point and argues for an adaptation of the environment and particular situations. The current efforts from the municipality and HVDB to stimulate cooperation, knowledge sharing and to create new links between property owners, investors, and (starting) entrepreneurs can be seen as such 'habilitation' strategies. They stimulate what Callon (2008) described as rearrangements that are aimed at promoting interactivity, possibilities of changing modes of calculation, and exploring other options. The vision plans for thematic food and crafts clusters and the street focused approaches that are aimed to set transformation processes in motion and create the right conditions the development of new concepts contain elements of both. But there is also the risk of too much top-down planning, which formats individual agencies into disciplined agencies and causes them to calculate according to the 'rules of the game' that the dominant agencies (i.e. municipal advisors and consultants) have set. Bottom-up market initiatives that deviate from these rules might even get blocked.

A correctly functioning habilitation policy would "shape an interactive agency that at the same time endows the individual the capacity to define projects and realize them" (Callon, 2008, p.45). In line with that, the municipal 'Aanjaagteam' and the advisory and matchmaking roles of the Transformation Team 'and' Business point are intended to facilitate the stimulation creative entrepreneurship and realization of new projects.

At the same time, Nijmegen's retail and real estate sector habitates new retail concepts, temporary uses and creative entrepreneurs through its flexible attitude and openness to the co-creation of new business concepts with their tenants. The market-initiated development of concept stores in the Ring streets, the Design-cluster in the Houtstraat and the Food-quarter at Kelfkensbosch are telltale results of this. Working as 'relations of exteriority' some ideas and concepts from successful creative entrepreneurs and alternative uses are already being translated as 'best practices' in plans for thematic clusters elsewhere, which also shows that they could have the capacity to (re)shape the wider city center system.

City center renewal depends on the adaptive capacities of the environment and requires a flexible attitude from all stakeholders towards rules and regulations, disturbances, competitive developments, etc. Callon (2008, p.50) suggested that "policies formulated in response to limitations of individuals who have difficulties fitting in economic networks should not be designed only as prosthetic policies but also, and above all, as habilitation policies". Successful adjustment of new practices to the wider city center assemblage - and vice versa - depends on both their own capacities and the levels of assistance they receive to overcome resistance. The findings indicate that the levels of interaction between different stakeholders and the adaptive capacities from the market itself are already producing rearrangements that create the necessary conditions under which different types of new retailing concepts, alternative uses and creative entrepreneurship can emerge and flourish.

The reviving economy opens up questions if the government should intervene or leave the market to drive as much as possible. It is smart to turn attention to locations that need to be transformed, but for the introduction of new retail concepts, alternative and temporary uses and creative entrepreneurship, perhaps the focus should be more on what the City Center Alderman described as "bringing in ideas for the *market* [emphasis added] to develop, sometimes with a little help of the government" (Van Hees, personal communication, 2016-5-19). Based on the above, it is recommendable for the municipality to keep focusing on strategies such as the current initiatives that stimulate and facilitate the processing of market ideas and initiatives. It is also advisable to continue to guide transformation initiatives from an integral perspective, such as currently done by the municipal "transformation team", because this helps the embedding of these initiatives in the wider city center framework, which in turn could become more receptive for renewal and new practices. It remains to be seen, however, to which extent such rearrangements will produce only temporary adaptations or radical changes.



## 6.2. Reflection

Addressing the city center as an assemblage, this study's research design set out on an open 'exploratory' course. This has resulted in a mostly descriptive research, providing a general overview of the city center assemblage's elements, the affective relations between them, and a description of the orderings of these heterogeneous elements – framed as new and hegemonic STAs – that collectively shape city center transformation. Through qualitative research methods, including interviews with a wide range of city center stakeholders and participant observations at Nijmegen's department of Economic Affairs, this study gained knowledge from multiple perspectives. Knowledge about these different forces and how they interrelate can support the local government and relevant stakeholders with their efforts to help the city center to adapt and renew.

This research study has its limitations and shortcomings. Informing data collection by the central research question and theoretical concepts and attempts to maintain a clear demarcation did not help to avoid one of the pitfalls of assemblage-oriented research: deciding which connections and elements are important enough to trace because virtually everything has an influence on the reality of things... The process resulted in an anthology of different parts that are playing a part in the city center assemblage, but (unfortunately) also went at the cost of data to make the research robust and sufficiently underpinned.

In hindsight, this study could have provided a better and deeper understanding of the alignment processes of new and hegemonic STAs, if more focus had been put on a better operationalization, for instance, a selection of discursive elements, procedures, and technical devices - the 'calculative equipment' - that constitutes these STAs. Perhaps this would have generated more useful data for analysis and could have resulted in more specific knowledge about the capacities of new practices to bring about radical change in Nijmegen. Moreover, such an approach would provide better possibilities to compare findings in a follow-up research including other cities.

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### **Photos**

Photo 1: [http://nijmegenklinkt.nl/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/SelBach\\_37771-1500x630.jpg](http://nijmegenklinkt.nl/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/SelBach_37771-1500x630.jpg)

Photo 2: [http://www.n1.nl/cwm/fm/userfiles/content/eyecatcher/normal/28797\\_24736\\_plein1944.JPG](http://www.n1.nl/cwm/fm/userfiles/content/eyecatcher/normal/28797_24736_plein1944.JPG)

Photo 3: Van Hoorn, N. (2016). *Bloemerstraat en Smetiusstraat wordt geasfalteerd*. Retrieved from <http://112nijmegennieuws.nl/2016/07/08/bloemerstraat-en-smetiusstraat-worden-geasfalteerd/>

Photo 4: <http://512-nijmegen.nl/www/dewinkel/>

### **Cover illustration**

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## Appendix I: list of interviewees

	Name, function, organization	CC Assemblage	New practices	Hegemonic practices
1	Ben van Hees (Alderman of Nijmegen City Center)	x	x	x
2	Ilse Nieskens (Senior Economic Policy Consultant, Nijmegen)	x	x	x
3	Ben van Gelder (City Center Account Manager, Nijmegen)	x	x	x
4	Bas Crewolder (Senior Planner, Nijmegen)	x	x	x
5	Paul Goedknecht (Senior Urban Planner, Nijmegen)	x	x	x
6	Paul Matthieu (Urban Development Process Manager, Nijmegen)	x	x	x
7	Bas de Vries (Initiator / owner Smeltkroes Honig)	x	x	
8	Yvette Gumbs & Caroline Verhees (Owners Store & More pop-up shop)	x	x	
9	Robin Cremers (Commercial Manager Molenpoort Passage, DRM Vastgoedmanagement)	x	x	
10	Hubert Hendriks (Chairman, Huis van de Binnenstad / VCV in Vastgoed)	x		x
11	Maarten Mulder (City Center Manager, Huis van de Binnenstad)	x		x
12	Derk Verlee (Real Estate Broker, Strijbosch-Thunnissen)	x	x	x

## Appendix II: fieldwork data - vacancies

<b>LEEGSTANDSITUATIE</b> <b>BINNENSTAD TOTAAL</b> <b>periode:</b> augustus 2015 - <b>datum:</b> 31-mei-16								
STRAAT	HUISNR	POSTCODE	WVO	VOORMALIGE INVULLING	NIEUWE INVULLING	TE HUUR	EIGENDOM	Opmerkingen
<b>Actuele leegstand</b>								
Augustijnenstraat	39	6511KE	100	Paradigit	leeg	ja	Strijbosch (Nijmegen)	te huur via Strijbosch-Thunnissen
Bisschop Hamerstraat	11	6511NA	525	Riviera Maison	leeg	ja	Cadejo Vastgoed B.V.	te huur via ReBM Bedrijfsmakelaardij
Bloemerstraat	19	6511EB	127	Het Woonbureau	leeg	ja	Ditters (Beuningen)	te huur via ReBM Bedrijfsmakelaardij
Bloemerstraat	39	6511EC	40	Dr. Beijing	leeg	ja	Real Estate Malden B.V.	te huur via Beaufort Makelaars
Bloemerstraat	65	6511ED	150	Wunderbar	leeg	ja	Henas B.V.	te huur via Tower Horeca makelaardij en advies
Bloemerstraat	80	6511EM	60	The Blue Monkey Tattoo Studio	leeg	ja	Van Veggel (Nijmegen)	te huur via Strijbosch-Thunnissen
Bloemerstraat	123	6511EH	313	Theorie Zeker	leeg	ja	1/2 Puijn (Nijmegen) en 1/2 Willemse (Nijmegen)	te huur via Jan van Lieshout Makelaardij
Bloemerstraat	95	6511EG	58	JMW Horeca uitzendbureau	leeg	ja	1/2 Van Bergen (Lent) en 1/2 Langenberg (Wenum Wiesel)	te huur via Verbeek BOG
Bloemerstraat	109/123	6511EH	313	Hifi center Video	leeg	ja	Van de Ven (Den Haag)	te huur via Jan van Lieshout Makelaardij
Broerstraat	15-17	6511KN	1055	Miss Etam	leeg	ja	Beleggingsmaatschappij Blavet B.V. (Amsterdam)	
Broerstraat	28	6511KN	68	PRO Shoes	leeg	ja	Elizen Vastgoed B.V. (Twello)	te huur via Zimmerman Retail
Burchtstraat	25-27	6511RA	271	Le Ballon	leeg	ja	Ronstreet Properties B.V. (Breda)	
Burchtstraat	47	6511RB	80	Hi	leeg	ja	de Handt (Vught)	
Burchtstraat	63	6511RC	80	Croissanterie Le Papillon	leeg	ja	Ten Horn 1/3 (Duiven), Ten Horn 1/3 (Udenhout), Ten Horn 1/3 (Bemelen)	
Derde Walstraat	1	6511SM	105	Dunya int. Overheidsdiensten	leeg	nee	Chen (Nijmegen)	
Doddendaal	1a	6511DA	1729	Intersport	leeg	nee	Beleggings- en Beheersmaatschappij Dornick B.V. (Hendriks)	plan voor AH + woningen
Doddendaal	1	6511DA	1025	Intersport	leeg	nee	Beleggings- en Beheersmaatschappij Dornick B.V. (Hendriks)	plan voor AH + woningen
Genzenheuvel	15	6511WD	117	Diva dameskleding	leeg	ja	Eling (Lathum)	te koop via Claase bedrijfsmakelaars
Gerard Noodtstraat	119	6511ST	438	Burghouts	leeg	ja	Stichting Talis Nijmegen	te huur via Verbeek BOG
Gerard Noodtstraat	28	6511SW	?	Laminaatstore	leeg	ja	Stollenberg Beheer B.V. (Nijmegen)	te huur via Stonevest
Hertogplein	6	6511SK	400	Richard Smeets	leeg	ja	Van Schaij Exploitatie B.V.	te huur via Verbeek BOG
Hertogstraat	11	6511RV	85	Skateshop 24/7	leeg	nee	Konhuurne (Nijmegen)	staat leeg, situatie onbekend
Hertogstraat	122	6511SG	44	Pirates Cave artiestenbureau	leeg	nee	Meijer (Nijmegen)	
Hertogstraat	51	6511RW	81	/ Peeters hypotheekadvies	leeg	ja	Puijn (Nijmegen)	te huur via Jan van Lieshout Makelaardij
Hertogstraat	153	6511RW	?	Vinifrance Den Hertog	leeg	nee	Krosse (Nijmegen)	staat leeg, gebruik onbekend
Hertogstraat	55	6511RW	81	Interloo, oog voor detail (webshop)	leeg	nee	Mecs B.V. (Bergharen)	wordt niet te huur aangeboden maar staat volgens bureu leeg
In de Betouwstraat	46	6511GD	75	Cafe de Boekanier	leeg	nee	Felter (Nijmegen)	geen huurinformatie gevonden
Lange Hezelstraat	88	6511CM	44	Daro's bierspecialzaak	leeg	nee	Meeuwzen (Nijmegen)	
Lange Hezelstraat	13	6511CA	153	Natuurwinkel	leeg	ja	Vastgoed Lange Hezelstraat 13 Nijmegen B.V. (Nijmegen)	te huur via Stonevest
Lange Hezelstraat	92	6511CM	?	Framy Meubelen	leeg	nee	Van der Heijden Vastgoed Beheer B.V.	plannen voor herontwikkeling in de maak
Lange Hezelstraat	84	6511CM	200	Vivre interieur	leeg	ja	Van Veggel (Nijmegen-Rotterdam-Velp)	te huur via Strijbosch-Thunnissen, wordt verbouwd
Marikenstraat	6	6511PX	120	State of Art herenmode	leeg	ja	EPISO 4 Leo Marikenstraat B.V. (Amsterdam)	te huur via Claase Bedrijfsmakelaars
Marikenstraat	19	6511PX	250	Vero Moda	onbekend	ja	EPISO 4 Leo Marikenstraat B.V. (Amsterdam)	te huur via Claase Bedrijfsmakelaars
Marikenstraat	47-51	6511PX	61	Simon Levelt koffie en thee	leeg	ja	EPISO 4 Leo Marikenstraat B.V. (Amsterdam)	te huur via Strijbosch-Thunnissen
Molenstraat	112	6511HK	190	leeg	leeg	ja	Kast B.V.	te huur via Strijbosch-Thunnissen
Passage Molenpoort	27	6511HS	40	Juwelier Bontekoe / Bekers	leeg	ja	Novator Beheer- en Handelsmaatschappij N.B.H.	te huur via Strijbosch-Thunnissen
Passage Molenpoort	6a	6511HS	68	Mezzo Damesschoenen	leeg	nee	Novator Beheer- en Handelsmaatschappij N.B.H.	
Passage Molenpoort	8a	6511HS	237	Marskramer	leeg	nee	Novator Beheer- en Handelsmaatschappij N.B.H.	Winkelsluiting a.g.v. reorganisaties bij moederbedrijf Blokker
Passage Molenpoort	10	6511HS	40	Ocho modeaccessoires / Hendriks	leeg	nee	Novator Beheer- en Handelsmaatschappij N.B.H.	
Passage Molenpoort	11	6511HS	60	Lunchroom De Poort van Nijmegen	leeg	nee	Novator Beheer- en Handelsmaatschappij N.B.H.	
Passage Molenpoort	114	6511HX	200	Moda Lena (verhuisd naar Ziekerstraat 136)	leeg	nee	Novator Beheer- en Handelsmaatschappij N.B.H.	
Plein 1944	91	6511JE	73	nvt	leeg	ja	Modalfa Vastgoed B.V. (Amsterdam)	staat leeg sinds oplevering
Smetiusstraat	10	6511ES	?	Grillroom Roma Cairo	leeg	?	Nogeb B.V.	
Stikke Hezelstraat	24	6511JX	65	onbekend	leeg	ja	Archibel B.V. (Maastricht)	Keizer Karel Bedrijfsmakelaars
Stikke Hezelstraat	34	6511JX	85	Quatta	leeg	ja	Juca Vastgoed B.V. (Nijmegen)	te huur via Stonevest
Van der Bruggenstraat	8	6511SL	225	MyCom	leeg	ja	Wimbledon Beheer B.V. (Nijmegen)	te huur via Verbeek BOG
Van Welderenstraat	23	6511MB	83	Sola Fabriekswinkel (naar Marikenstraat verhuisd)	leeg	ja	Strijbosch (Nijmegen)	te huur via Strijbosch-Thunnissen
Van Welderenstraat	97	6511ME	97	Dol op Wol	leeg	ja	Frickel/Rosmalen (Nijmegen)	te huur via Bedrijfspand.com
Wintersoord	3	6511RP	45	Panini / broodjeszaak	leeg	ja	Coja B.V. (Nijmegen)	te huur via Beaufort Makelaars
Wintersoord	5	6511RP	50	Marbella	leeg	ja	Holland (Nijmegen)	te huur via Hestia
Ziekerstraat	49a	6511LE	117	CZ Verzekeringen	leeg	ja	Van Tienen (Nijmegen)	te huur via
Ziekerstraat	6a/b	6511LH	1054	Zeeman	leeg	ja	Bewaarder Re Woningwinkelfonds III B.V. (Schiphol)	te huur via Strijbosch-Thunnissen (evt. Meyer & Meyer pop-up?)
<b>Totaal leegstaand</b>	<b>52</b>							



Eventuele leegstand									
Bloemerstraat	2	6511EJ	77	Cafe de Meermin	onbekend	nee	Groenwoud (Vught)	cafe staat te koop / ter overname via Klassen B.V.	
Broerstraat	3	6511KA	93	Apple Nijmegen	Gents kostuumoutlet	ja	Ossentjuk 1/2 (Blaricum), Ossentjuk 1/2 (Waddinxveen)		
Broerstraat	37	6511KL	85	Invito	Leegstaand	nee	RJB Netherlands B.V. (Nijmegen)		
Broerstraat	25b	6511KL	1713	Perry Sport	Perry Sport	nee	Beheer- en Handelsmaatschappij Blokker B.V.		
Broerstraat	51	6511KM	173	Aktie Sport	Aktie Sport	nee	Beleggingsmaatschappij Van Haren B.V.	overname JD Sports Fashion B.V.	
Burchtstraat	110	6511RJ	1136	Het Goed	Onbekend	nee	Beleggings- en Beheersmaatschappij Dornick B.V. (= Ton Hendriks)	Het Goed zal naar Noordkanaalhaven verhuizen	
Eilbrachtstraat	6	6511LX	45	De Bazaar	De Bazaar	nee	Evers 1/2 (Wijchen) en Den Hartog 1/2 (Nijmegen)	volgens Locatus leeg, klopt niet	
Hertogstraat	86	6511SE	56	Emolife Street Fundraising B.V. / SQ People	deels in gebruik (dwang huurovk)	nee	Stribosch (Nijmegen)	staat leeg, situatie onbekend	
Hertogstraat	102	6511SE	547	Home for all	leeg	ja	Hendriks 1/2 (Molenhoek) Hendriks 1/2 (Wijchen)	te huur via Stonevest	
Kelfkensbosch	31	6511TB	70	Partydress	onbekend	nee	Penning (Nijmegen)	bedrijf beëindigd, binnenkort leeg?	
Kelfkensbosch	22	6511TA	100	JK Design (mode)	onbekend	nee	J.K. Design B.V. (Wijchen)	verhuizing	
Lange Hezelstraat	46	6511CL	175	Onbekend	tijdelijke kledingzaak?	ja	Hendriks (Nijmegen)	te huur via Stonevest	
Lange Hezelstraat	8	6511CJ	36	De Gaper	onbekend	nee	Lemmen & Veerbeek (Beuningen)	De Gaper verhuist naar overzijde straat	
Lange Hezelstraat	28	6511CK	55	Cadeau Bazaar	onbekend	nee	De Haan's Lederwaren	Winkel sluit, gaat verder als webshop	
Mariburgsestraat	55	6511RM	100	onbekend	leeg	nee	onbekend	gegevens onvindbaar op Atlas	
Marikenstraat	41	6511PX	1039	Scapino / Aktie Sport	Scapino / Aktie Sport	nee	EPISO 4 Leo Marikenstraat B.V. (Amsterdam)	overname Ziegs / JD, geen signalen over sluiting	
Marikenstraat	47	6511PX	169	Nimco House of Shoes	Zeven Zomers	nee	EPISO 4 Leo Marikenstraat B.V. (Amsterdam)	tijdelijke galerie	
Marikenstraat	56	6511PX	100	Purdey	Onbekend	nee	EPISO 4 Leo Marikenstraat B.V. (Amsterdam)	overname investeringsmij O&C	
Passage Molenpoort	32	6511HW	319	Floris	tijdelijke invulling	ja	Novator Beheer- en Handelsmaatschappij N.B.H.	te huur via Stribosch-Thunnissen	
Passage Molenpoort	34	6511HW	536	Kramer	Kramer, maar staat wel te huur	ja	Novator Beheer- en Handelsmaatschappij N.B.H.	te huur via Stribosch-Thunnissen	
Passage Molenpoort	35	6511HS	138	Drie Hartjes kindermode	3 hartjes, maar staat wel te huur	ja	Novator Beheer- en Handelsmaatschappij N.B.H.	te huur via Stribosch-Thunnissen	
Stikke Hezelstraat	18	6511JX	42	Pieter Hopman mannenmode	onbekend	nee	Archibel B.V. (Maastricht)	bedrijf beëindigd, binnenkort leeg?	
Van Welderenstraat	27	6511MB	152	Boekhandel Hilarion	stopt per 1 juli	ja	De Bruijn (Heijen)	te huur via Hestia makelaars en taxateurs	
Totaal eventuele leegstand								23	
Opnieuw verhuurd/verkocht									
Augustijnenstraat	8	6511KG	64	leeg	Cosmo Tweewielers	nvt	Beleggings- en Beheersmaatschappij Dornick B.V. (Hendriks)		
Augustijnenstraat	35	6511KD	63	leeg	Beauty for you	nvt	Dicobouw Druten B.V. (Wamel)		
Bischof Hamerstraat	1	6511NA	63	leeg	Sushi Point	nvt	Schaeffer (Oegsgeest)		
Bloemerstraat	54	6511EL	95	leeg (Olympia uitzendbureau)	Lin Spa Chinese massage	nvt	1/5 Van Rijswijk (Wijchen) en 4/5 Schilten (Wijchen)		
Bloemerstraat	108	6511EN	83	Henrice Mode	Modezaak	nee	Real Estate Malden B.V.	wordt betrokken bij nieuwe invulling V&D	
Broerstraat	14	6511KN	1020	Esprit	Nieuwe modezaak	nvt	IEF Berlage Nijmegen (Grote Markt V) B.V. (Amsterdam)		
Broerstraat	55	6511KM	90	Manfield / ShoeLine	Zinzi damesmode	nee	Heidoma Beleggingen B.V. (= Ton Hendriks)		
Broerstraat	60	6511KP	150	Superstar	Scotch & Soda	nvt	Levie 1/2 (Hoofddrop), Levie 1/2 (Amsterdam)		
Broerstraat	5	6511KK	78	KPN	Swarovski	nvt	Engelsing Beleggingen Winkels B.V. (Oosterbeek)		
Burchtstraat	15	6511RA	175	Geddes & Gilmore	Le Ballon	nvt	Leclair 7/8, Jennen 1/8		
Burchtstraat	16	6511RD	100	Theo Janssen Schoenen (nu Passage Molenpoort 2)	Game Mania	nvt	Jagtenborg Holding B.V. (Berg en Dal)		
Burchtstraat	40	6511RG	135	Dixons	Hi-Fi Klubbien	nvt	Fam. Huigens (Nijmegen)		
Gerard Noodtstraat	44	6511SX		leeg	Escape Room	nvt	Reijs (Nijmegen)	beëindiging a.g.v. faillissement BAS Group. per 1 oktober 2015 opnieuw verhuurd	
Grote Markt	3	6511KA	13000	V&D	3 modezaken	nee	IEF Berlage Nijmegen (Grote Markt V) B.V. (Amsterdam)		wordt deels ingevuld met modezaken
Grote Markt	17	6511KA	100	leeg	Faceland	nee	Real Estate Malden B.V. (Nijmegen)	volgens eigenaar Wally naar woonruimte getransformeerd	
Hertogstraat	139	6511RZ	124	leeg (Hobo Hifi)	Art meets design tuinmeubilair woonruimte	nvt	Harry Vloet Onroerend Goed B.V. (Mook)		
Hertogstraat	37	6511RV	131	leeg (Wanco Parket)		nvt	Van Oorsouw (Bergharen)		
Houtstraat	14	6511JN	68	leeg	Streetshop	nvt	Adjuncten Properties B.V. "in liquidatie"		
Houtstraat	47	6511JL	200	leeg	Rube's Place (horeca)	nvt	Grolsch Vastgoed B.V. (Enschede)	per 2 oktober 2015 opnieuw verhuurd	
Houtstraat	59	6511JM	70	leeg (Senor Hernandez)	Mood Concept Store	nvt	Stichting KH Vastgoed (Enschede)		
In de Betouwstraat	13	6511GA	7	leeg	PBM Nijmegen	nvt	De Bruijn (Malden)	per 4 maart 2016 opnieuw verhuurd	
Koningstraat	9	6511SK	80	leeg	Charra Uomo	nvt	Ebben (Heilig Landstichting)		
Lange Hezelstraat	73	6511CD	50	leeg (De Hoge Hoed)	De Stijl Mode	nvt	1/2 Croonen (Nijmegen) en 1/2 Gielen (Nijmegen)		
Lange Hezelstraat	50/52	6511CL	175	leeg	Bakkerij / winkel	nvt	Alferink (Nijmegen)		
Lange Hezelstraat	15	6511CA	92	leeg (Heydenrijk wonen)	Van de Bron overstapservice	nvt	Van Uum (Zevenaar)	wordt bakkerij/winkel volgens eigenaar	
Lange Hezelstraat	104	6511CN	133	leeg	De Vinking Lunchbar	nvt	Onstenk Beheer B.V.		
Lange Hezelstraat	41	6511CC	60	leeg	Toebiedoe babykleding	nvt	Ridomo B.V.		
Lange Hezelstraat	67	6511CD	44	leeg	Gator film & game merchandising	nvt	Duthmann (Nijmegen)		
Mariburgsestraat	12	6511RN	60	onbekend	onbekend	nvt	Verhoeckx (Nijmegen)	per 7 maart 2016 opnieuw verhuurd	
Marikenstraat	9	6511PX	503	Different	Vila	nvt	EPISO 4 Leo Marikenstraat B.V. (Amsterdam)		
Marikenstraat	28	6511PX	125	Van Dalen schoenen	Outlet voor Mannen	nvt	EPISO 4 Leo Marikenstraat B.V. (Amsterdam)		
Marikenstraat	42	6511PX	200	Le Papillon (daarvoor La Place)	Zeezicht	nvt	EPISO 4 Leo Marikenstraat B.V. (Amsterdam)		
Marikenstraat	50	6511PX	215	Villa Happ	Leegstaand	nee	EPISO 4 Leo Marikenstraat B.V. (Amsterdam)	verhuurd naar Houtstraat 59	
Marikenstraat	55	6511PX	100	Mood concept store	onbekend	nee	EPISO 4 Leo Marikenstraat B.V. (Amsterdam)		
Moenenstraat	16	6511LZ	103	leeg	Musthaves (accessoires)	nvt	De Marienburg II B.V. (Nijmegen)		
Molenstraat	122	6511HL	75	leeg	Wok Nijmegen	nvt	Stribosch (Nijmegen)		
Molenstraat	56	6511HG	469	leeg (Schoenenreus)	Executie verkoop	nvt	Redema Beheer B.V. (Uden)	Faillissement Schoenenreus	
Molenstraat	30	6511HE	70	leeg (Bleep)	Charra mode	nvt	Beleggings- en Beheersmaatschappij Dornick B.V. (Hendriks)		per 4 maart 2016 opnieuw verhuurd
Passage Molenpoort	38	6511HW	238	leeg	Hampton Bay mode	nvt	Novator Beheer- en Handelsmaatschappij N.B.H.	per 11 maart 2016 verhuurd	
Passage Molenpoort	17	6511HS	65	leeg	Palau Kinderschoenen	nvt	Novator Beheer- en Handelsmaatschappij N.B.H.		per 22 december 2015 verhuurd
Passage Molenpoort	105	6511HX	75	leeg (Shelly's mode)	Minor Jeugdmode	nvt	Novator Beheer- en Handelsmaatschappij N.B.H.	per 29-4-2016 verhuurd	
Plein 1944	29	6511JD	63	Gouden Tulp	Kledingreparatie	nee	Stribosch (Nijmegen)		per 13 juli 2016 verhuurd
Smetiusstraat	28	6511ET	83	leeg	onbekend	nvt	Cevelum Exploitatie B.V. Nijmegen		
Stikke Hezelstraat	48	6511JZ	50	leeg	onbekend	nvt	Juca Vastgoed B.V. (Maastricht)		
Tweede Walstraat	20	6511LV	100	leeg (mise en place)	Fonky Sales	nvt	NV Handelsmaatschappij Maurits Drukker	per 11 november 2015 opnieuw verhuurd	
Tweede Walstraat	25	6511LN	90	leeg	Coef	nvt	niet gevonden		
Van Broeckhuysenstraat	54	6511PK	65	leeg	Vlaamsch Broodhuys	nvt	Westers (Nijmegen)	per 26 maart 2016 opnieuw verhuurd	
Van Welderenstraat	81	6511ME	87	leeg	Het Kabinet, interactieve werkplek	nvt	Van der Veen (Nijmegen)		
Van Welderenstraat	132	6511MV	126	leeg (was Soles schoenenzaak)	onbekend	nvt	Van de Weert (Mook)		
Van Welderenstraat	89	6511ME	150	leeg	Bear Lifestyle	nvt	Beernink (Druten)		
Van Welderenstraat	22	6511ML	60	leeg	Sateh en soto huis	nvt	Rappange (Amstelveen)	zijn aan het verbouwen, hopen voor zomer open te kunnen	
Ziekerstraat	5	6511LD	88	leeg	Vitamin Store	nvt	Jagtenborg (Beek-Ubbergen)	vertrokken uit Molenpoort passage	
Ziekerstraat	136	6511LL	100	leeg	Modelana Fashion and Style	nvt	Stribosch (Nijmegen)		
Ziekerstraat	165	6511LG	28	leeg (Multi Vlaai)	Coef Black	nvt	Beleggings- en Beheersmaatschappij Dornick B.V. (Hendriks)		
Totaal opnieuw verhuurd								54	

jaar	(Alle)	▼
Q	II	▼
CHECK_DAT	(Alle)	▼

31-05-16

Aantal van UNITID	Kolomlabels		
Rijlabels	00-Leegstand	Eindtotaal	Actuele Leegstand
Augustijnenstraat	3	3	1
Bisschop Hamerstraat	1	1	1
Bloemerstraat	5	5	7
Broerstraat	3	3	2
Burchtstraat	4	4	3
Derde Walstraat	1	1	1
Doddendaal	2	2	2
Eilbrachtstraat	1	1	0
Gerard Noodtstraat	2	2	2
Grote Markt	2	2	0
Hertogstraat	6	6	6
Houtstraat	3	3	0
In de Betouwstraat	1	1	1
Lange Hezelstraat	8	8	4
Marienburgsestraat	2	2	0
Marikenstraat	10	10	3
Moenenstraat	1	1	0
Molenstraat	4	4	1
Passage Molenpoort	6	6	6
Plein 1944	2	2	1
Smetiusstraat	2	2	1
Stikke Hezelstraat	2	2	2
Tweede Walstraat	4	4	0
van Broeckhuysenstraat	1	1	0
van der Bruggenstraat	1	1	1
van Welderenstraat	5	5	2
Wintersoord	1	1	2
Ziekerstraat	5	5	1
<b>Eindtotaal</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>Niet in Locatus bestand</b>			
Ganzenheuvel			1
Hertogplein			1
<b>Eindtotaal</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>52</b>