

The city centre of Cuijk: a rhythm analysis



Master Thesis Research

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cover photo: by Stef Tomesen.

One of the vacant buildings on the edge of the city centre of Cuijk. The municipality has covered the vacant building with a banner. It says there is going to be a renewed entrance of Cuijk (location: Molenstraat).

Radboud Universiteit



Preface

I am happy to present to you my master thesis, which is part of the master program Human Geography. For this research, I have done fieldwork in the city centre of Cuijk. Therefore, I did an internship at the municipality of Cuijk, at the department of spatial policy between March and July of 2015. Looking back on my internship at the municipality, I think I had a great time doing research and getting to know the rhythms of the area. When I looked through the window of my office on the first floor of the city hall, I could see the people walking over the square, living their everyday lives. I thought of Lefebvre's view from the window in the 1980s, which was the start for his rhythmanalysis.

First of all, I would like to thank all the respondents for participating in this research. They all have been very open and really willing to help me with my research. Secondly, I want to thank my supervisor dr. Olivier Kramsch for his help and guidance doing the research. Thirdly, I would like to thank Kees Peters, my supervisor at my internship at the municipality of Cuijk for giving me the opportunity to connect my research to an internship and for his enthusiasm about my research.

I hope you enjoy reading!

Best regards,

Stef Tomesen

Thesis abstract

The Dutch city centers are in trouble. In the last few decades, they have been the buzzing heart of the city. Now, this has reduced because less and less people are regularly visiting the city centre. According to many people, this is the result of the rise of internet shopping. This type of shopping enables customers to avoid a visit of the city centre and makes it easy to sit in safety back home and shop online. This leaves its traces in the urban landscape. Many shops have gone bankrupt, leaving a vacant building in the shopping street. This has caused a lot of problems. Not only the city centre could offer its customer less shopping possibilities, it is also affecting the (shopping) atmosphere in the area. This makes the surrounding shops also more vulnerable.

This trend seems not to stop by itself. For this reason, municipalities are searching for a fitting solution to make their city centers future proof. Therefore, the role of the city centre in society should be reconsidered. Is it a place where people can go to in order to go shopping or has it a more social function, a place where people from the city meet each other?

To counter vacancy, municipalities attempt to transform the spatial structure of their city centers. Throughout Platform31, a foundation for spatial research, has started a project in which cities are stimulated and guided towards transforming their centre into a compact area. In their vision, shops that are located in the approach roads of the centre, have to move into the vacant buildings within the city centre. This situates the city centre into a smaller area and therefore, it can function as a compact, economically strong city centre. Still, this solution has a couple of disadvantages; many entrepreneurs who have a shop in the approach roads, are unable to afford a building in the city centre. They often stay in their original buildings while others move to the city centre or go bankrupt. Often, only chain stores are able to afford a building in the city centre. This causes the disappearance of the local family-owned businesses. There were often part of the specific characteristics of their city.

In order to keep the city centre 'alive' and future-proof, further restructuring ideas are required. This research aims to find fields of restructuring of the city centre that looks further than the 'compact city centre' by keeping in mind specific, local material and societal characteristics. Therefore, this research demands a specific location. Because the city centre of Cuijk faces the described problems in its city centre, and is participating in Platform31's project 'Compact Centrum', the city centre of Cuijk has been chosen to be the case of this research.

In order to engage with the situation in the city centre of Cuijk, an everyday life approach was used. For this research, this means the usage of qualitative research, focused on daily life processes in the

city centre. In order to achieve this, there have been adapted interviews with many different persons in the city centre. There have been interviewed visitors, inhabitants and users of the city centre. The interviews were all focused on revealing their relation to the area. In this way, the way the city centre is felt, lived and used by its people can be studied.

In this thesis, the theory of *rhythmanalysis* by Henri Lefebvre is used as a framework for the analysis. This theory is combined with his perception of space in order to create a conceptual idea of everyday life in urban space. In this thesis, it is assumed the *rhythms of everyday life* in city space are affected by *capitalist rhythms* and *traditional rhythms*. *Capitalist* rhythms can be described as the influence of the fast, capitalist, money-driven processes on space. By traditional rhythms, the slow, local processes are meant.

The results of the research are the result of confronting the influence of capitalist rhythms and traditional rhythms with the rhythms of everyday life. This shows that both of them have a large influence on city space and the rhythms of everyday life that take place within this city space. The capitalist rhythms are into force when there the current function of the city centre is discussed. This is often experienced as an area that is focused on doing fast grocery shopping and directly leave. The parking spots around this area strengthen this idea. This manner of shopping also causes problems for the streets around this area, they are experienced as desolated and unattractive. The vacancy in the city centre increases this kind of experience. In order to increase the amount of customers, several solutions are mentioned; a change in the shopping routes, the planning of parking spots and to increase the amount of shopping events.

The influence of traditional rhythms on the city centre is characterized by the local culture of Cuijk. It is suggested local people affect the local economy in a special way, because they grant it the local entrepreneurs. Local entrepreneurs can profit from this small local economy. Also, traditional rhythms are characterized by the function of the city centre, by seeing the city as ‘a place to stay’ instead of ‘a place to buy’. This becomes clear through people complaining about the difficulty of walking through the city centre. They mention the low quality of the infrastructure and the heavy traffic.

The municipality is trying to control the different rhythms in the city. Through the policy of the compact city centre, they attempt to counter vacancy and concentrate the shopping public in a compact area. Next to this, the municipality wants to change a focus on ‘spending’ into a focus on ‘staying’. People will not directly be stimulated to spend money but they will be stimulated to spend as much time as possible in the city centre. It is assumed they will spend more money in the city centre in that way. The municipality wants to retain the compact city centre in order to avoid

vacancy and have an contiguous shopping district. Hereby, they do not have to walk long distances to reach shops and they will visit some shops more often. Also, this will improve the atmosphere in the area. The municipality wants to improve the aesthetics and atmosphere of the public space. This public space should also stimulate people to walk to parts of the city centre outside the shopping area. The Maasstraat and Grotestraat, should become more involved with the city centre as a recreational area.

As a conclusion, it can be stated that the municipality has chosen a direction of redevelopment that more includes the traditional rhythms. It is steering to make the city centre more a place to stay. Though, the focus is not on creating a place for local people but to attract people from outside, mostly tourists. This could be seen as a capitalist rhythm. Also, the predominance of capitalist rhythms in the shopping area should also be avoided. The independent entrepreneur could possibly disappear in favor of chain stores. The unique character of the city centre is ventured.

The recommendation to the municipality are characterized by the creation of an awareness of the gathering of the two rhythms, by not only keeping in mind economical interests. In additional research should be studied how the municipality could implement the traditional rhythms into its policy.

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The pictures have been made by Stef Tomesen on 06-08-2015.

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will introduce and expand the thesis subject. The chapter is divided into four parts. In 1.1, the main problem will be introduced. In 1.2, I will introduce the method and approach that I am going to use in order to face these problems. In 1.3, the case of the city centre of Cuijk will be introduced. The relevance of the research will be discussed in 1.4.

1.1 The inner city

This master thesis is about the interconnection between urban life and its urban environment. The city is an entity that is constantly affected by dynamic forces of change, initiated by public and private interests (Pacione, 2009). The city is constantly changing and evolving. This contains not only the material side of the city (the buildings, the streets) but also the social.

Why is the city still important? We live in a world where people are more and more footloose and where society is characterized by high levels of geographic and social mobility. In many contemporary ways of thinking, the city is often reduced to the status of a container or backdrop for human activities (Hubbard, 2006). However, this way of thinking wrongly neglects the role of city, the role of space. For example, social problems in cities are often attributed to social questions of integration, racism and education but there is not much said about the spatial specificity in which these problems take place. Phil Hubbard calls in *City* (2006) for an urban scholarship that the city seriously. One should, though, be aware of lapsing into environmental determinism.

In this thesis, there is a focus on a particular part of the city: the city centre. Speaking of Dutch cities, the inner city can be described as a miscellaneous compact and crowded amount of buildings, which are used for a large variety of functions and can be visited regularly (de Architect, 2015). The city centre is a concept that is often confused with concepts like the 'inner city' and 'the old town' and even 'shopping centre'. What is the difference between these terms? And how are these concepts related to each other? In this thesis, the city centre will be used in order to describe the area, that has a mixed function and a large variety of travel destination. It is an area that is worth visiting, even without the underlying aim of shopping. The city centre is a concentration of essential functions for city, located in the middle of the city (de Architect, 2015). There is culture like the theatre, library, and museums, but also public buildings like the city hall or the railway station. There are bars and cafes and there are shops and stores. This all is mixed with the residential function, which often occurs on the upper floors of these buildings. The city centre is a place of gathering; gathering of

different functions, and gathering of people from all over the city. The city centre provides space to accommodate these gathering.

An attractive city centre is the most important selling point of the city. From a historic view, there can be noticed that the role of the city has changed from the centre of employment to the centre of the consumption of art, culture, hotel & restaurants (Marlet, 2009). The city centre is the place where most of this consumption takes place. The state of the city centre can either make or break the city. What makes the city centre attractive? Well, according to Marlet (2009), historic aesthetics of the city centre is the most important trigger factor. The historic core of the city often enhances the culinary and cultural attractions in that area. According to Marlet, cities are not able to distinguish themselves through the quality and diversity of the shopping function. This is probably caused by the excess of chain stores in shopping areas, which leads to monoculture.

The inner city as an area needs a specific treatment in order to in make it work properly. It is the part of the city with the most different functions, it is a vulnerable part because it is largely dependent on the way the city centre works as a whole. In the last few years, the city centre has faced a couple of problems. The main problem is the rising vacancy rate, which has become a problem in almost every Dutch city. In the political and societal discussion, there is a lot of concern on the rising vacancy numbers. The vacancy rate in the Dutch city centres have increased from 8% in 2008 to 12% in 2014 (Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving, 2014). This both concerns both retail premises and offices. This can be related to the economic crisis, but also to new developments and trends like internet shopping. The rising vacancy is related to 'the attractive city centre in mutually reinforcing way. Vacancy causes a less attractive city centre, this will cause an decrease of the amount of visitors. This will in the end lead to a decrease in sales volume, which will result in more vacancy. When this continues, it goes towards the American doughnut cities, cities with an entirely hollowed out centre. This has to be prevented (Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving, 2014).

An important question on the field of vacancy in the city centre is who is affected by this? Initially, the owner of the vacant building is the main affected person (Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving, 2014). In some proportions, vacancy becomes an societal problem. This is the case when vacancy effects the environment or the city in a negative way. In Dutch cities, this is starting to happen. The vacancy affects the attractiveness of the city centre in a negative way.

The Dutch local governments are facing a complex problem. How do the local governments deal with this vacancy rates? The most obvious solution for this is the transformation of the city centres towards a smaller, more compact city centre. Another transformation is the way the inner city is viewed by the policy makers. The inner city has always been seen as 'a place to buy'. Now, this has

shifted towards the inner city as a 'place to be'. The inner city should be seen as a theme park, an area that has something for everyone and where people are willing to spend time. Local governments draw development plans in order to relocate the borders of the inner city. As a result, the streets on the edge of the inner city lose their shopping function (Platform 31, 2014). These streets were always more vulnerable for vacancy, because of their less advantageous location. As a result of the transformation of the inner city, the area on the edge of the city centre requires rezoning. The most obvious option for rezoning is transformation towards a residential function because of the demand of housing in central locations (Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving, 2014). However, this has its consequences for the attractiveness of these streets for visitors and consumers. This could affect the amount of potential customers of the remaining shops in a negative way. For this reason, the local government is reserved about transformation to the residential function and it is searching for alternative functions.

This thesis is about discovering the potentially successful ways of transformation of the city centre. This will be done by using an approach that is focused on the everyday lives of people who are involved with the city centre. On the basis of daily activities and movement can be explored how the everyday lives of people in the city centre are involved with the city centre, how they conflict or support each other. This approach is performed on street-level and it is focused on the rhythms of everyday life. These rhythms can be seen as the outcome of the structures and institutions that are caused by capitalism. In order to understand this, it is important to first look at the changing role of capitalism in Western societies.

1.2 Everyday life approach

One of the largest ongoing processes of all time is urbanisation. It has transformed, continues to transform people, environments and even countries (Merrifield, 2002). It has enabled tremendous individual and social advancement and it still does. It has permitted new freedoms, and it still does. The urbanisation is a result of capitalism, that has been playing a larger role in urban life over the years. According to Pacione (2009), the role of capitalism in western societies has changed since its emergence in the sixteenth century. This change can be categorized into three main phases. In the first phase, from the sixteenth century until the nineteenth century, there was an era of competitive free market competition between locally oriented businesses. During the nineteenth century, the businesses became larger and the scale of the business increased. Local trade was on some fields replaced by the advent of national and even international consumer markets. In the early decades of the twentieth century, where profitability became more and more important as the basis value of capitalism, Fordism was introduced. This can be seen as the second phase. On the principles of mass

production, this economic philosophy transformed labour into a commodity. However this mass production fuelled together with higher wages and the rise of trade unions, the turn towards Fordism has a great impact on urban life. The most important impact of Fordism on urban life is the increase of consumption that came with it (Hudson, 2009). Mass production led to mass consumption, society became being able to consume on a large scale. However, Fordism also had a structuring impact. Fordism also meant the increasing importance of clock time and structure in life. Mass production is about repetition, about constantly completing the same action in a minimum amount of time. Marxists thinkers like Henri Lefebvre noticed this economic structure did not only apply to the economic system, but also to everyday life. In Lefebvre's book *'The critique of everyday life'* (1991) that he wrote in 1947, he uses the Marx's concept of alienation in order to describe the way the capitalist mode of production established itself first in industry, but after that integrated in the city, in the production of space (Elden, 2004). Lefebvre thought capitalism caused a form of alienation to people in everyday life, it can be economical, social, philosophical, ideological or anything else. Capitalism made people live far away from their nature.

The third and current phase of capitalism started and developed in the period after the Second World War. It was marked by a shift from industrial production towards services (Pacione, 2009). This came together with the scale-up of the market as a result of technology and globalisation. In the eyes of Lefebvre, this also had an impact on everyday life. The domination of capitalism was first focused on the introduction of clock time and the structures that come with it. As a result of globalisation, the focus has shifted towards the consumerism. Everyday life can be seen as dominated by companies who attempt to influence people and space in order to sell their products (Moore, 2013).

The everyday life approach is used because I think city space is created by the people who live in it. Successful, attractive city space can only be because of the people who make this space. An everyday life approach can be seen as an bottom up approach in research of potential transformations. Citizens are the people who make the city, the government can only do adjustments in order to assist this process. The city should be seen as an entity, with its own will, which moves into its own directions. The government should therefore be aware of the situation in the cities in order to steer it into the right directions.

In this thesis, there will be focused on the rhythms of everyday life. The theory of rhythmanalysis by Henri Lefebvre is the starting point of this research. Also, his conception of space is taken into account and used as a way to see how space is produced by the rhythms of the city. In order to focus on rhythms of everyday life, the dynamics of urban life are taken into account. By city rhythms, we mean *"anything from the regular comings and goings of people about the city to the vast range of*

repetitive activities, sounds and smells that punctuate life and give many of those who live and work there a sense of time and location” (Allen, 1999, in Amen & Thrift, 2002). These rhythms are not orchestrated or organized but they arise out of the complex dynamics of the city. Rhythmanalysis can be seen as the dynamic alternative for the more static approaches by focusing on the repetitions in urban life. These repetitions structure everyday life, they make life predictable. In that way they also reveal the extraordinary, they show where raptures can occur in the fabric of urban life. By creating a pattern of expectations, there is automatically created room for the unexpected. By doing rhythmanalysis, it is possible to show the interrelation between space and time. It is a theory that puts everyday life into context. ‘Rhythmanalysis’ sounds like it is a method to analyse rhythms but it cannot be called a method because Lefebvre did not finish his ideas about actually doing this analyses. For this reason we call it a theory, the tools and method are open for discussion. In this thesis, I have transformed the theory into a method, by using two kind of ideal types. This is fully explained in the theoretic chapter.

1.3 Case study: Cuijk

Cuijk is an municipality in the South-East of Holland. In picture 1 and 2, Cuijk is shown in regional and national context. The municipality has 24 873 inhabitants (CBS, 2014), whose majority lives in the city Cuijk. It is a relatively small city, with an important regional function as centre of a large rural area. Cuijks city centre is therefore seen as main shopping area for inhabitants of the city, but also for people from the surrounding villages and hinterland. The city centre can be seen as an important aspect of the liveability in the city and in that area. However, the city centre of Cuijk is under pressure. In the report ‘Centrumvisie Cuijk’ (2014) is suggested to restructure the city centre of Cuijk into a smaller, more compact area. The most prominent reason for this restructuring plan, is the rising amount of vacant shops and offices in the city centre. In order to keep the city centre working and economically vital, the area has to change, according to the municipality. A map of the current city centre can be found in adjustment 1.



Figure 1: Cuijk in national context

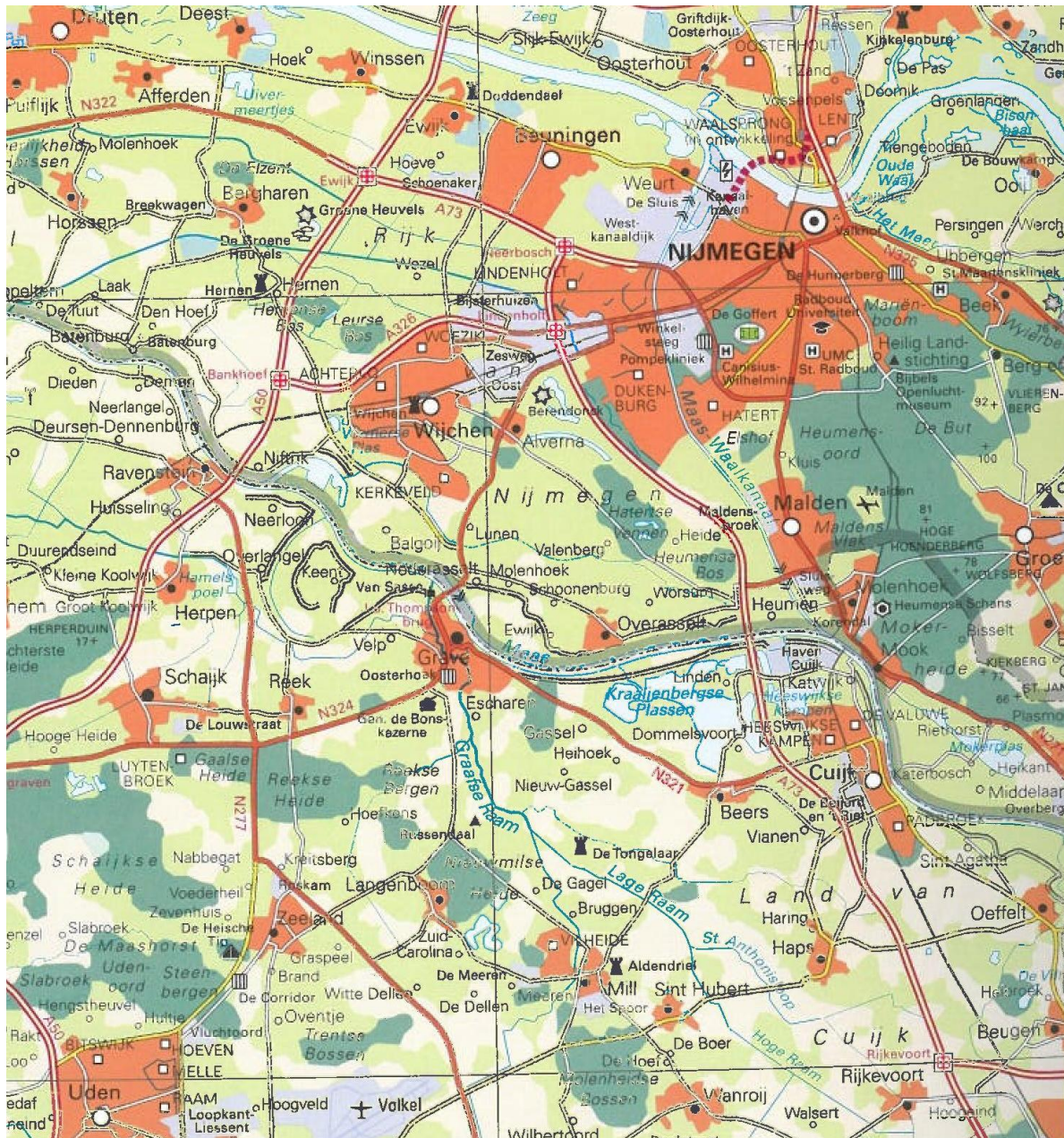


Figure 2: Cuijk in regional context (Grote Bosatlas, 2007)

The restructuring of Cuijks city centre has been planned to start over the course of 2015. In this restructuring plan, there is made a distinction between the focal area and the ‘shell’. The focal area will be concentrated around the Louis Jansenplein (shown in picture 1 and 2) and Korte Molenstraat (shown in picture 13) and it contains the main shopping area. It has been drafted around the main concentrations of shops, bars, restaurants and cultural spots, as shown in figure 3. According to Centrumvisie Cuijk (Gemeente Cuijk, 2014), the transformation of the city centre of Cuijks calls for a compact area in which the streets will be likable and where visitor flows will be concentrated. The

municipality aims for the emergence of a place for gathering, a meeting spot where all functions are nearby.

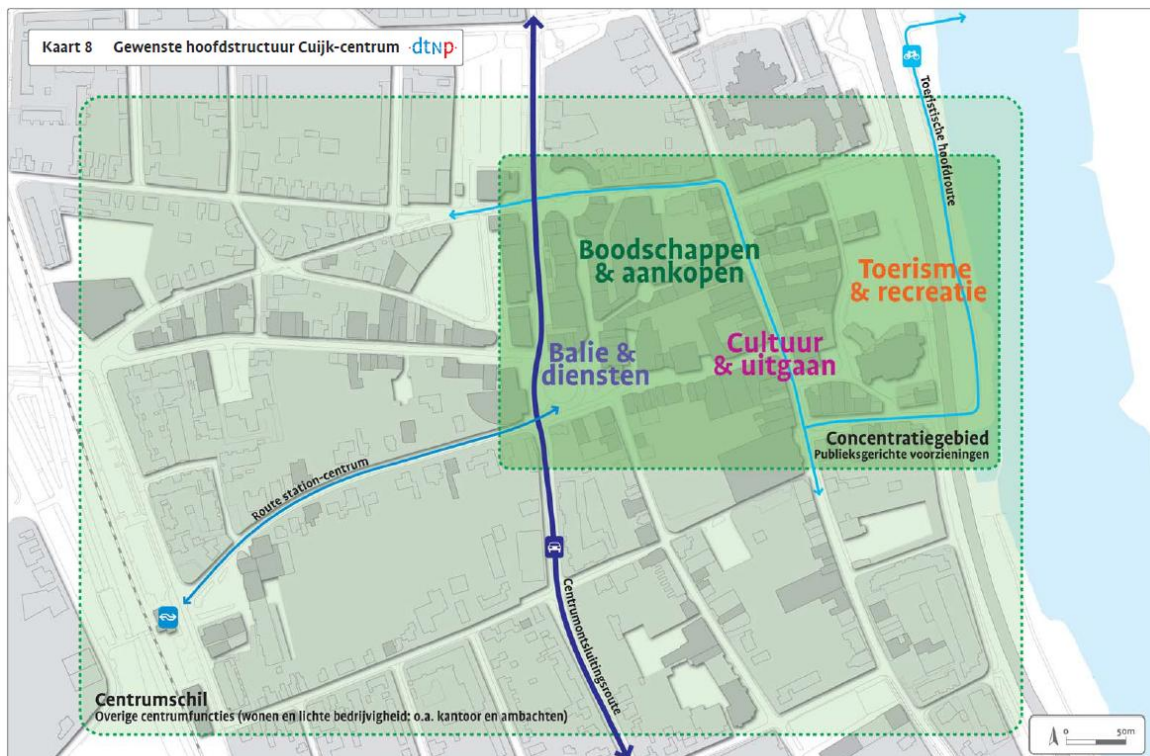


Figure 3: Focal Area of the city centre of Cuijk (Gemeente Cuijk, 2014).

Within the focal area, there is aimed to sort the different functions into separate areas. This results into four concentration areas; shopping area, culture & hospitality area, tourism & recreation area and the office & services area. Because the different areas are situated next to each other, the potential customer should be able to combine a visit of one of the concentration areas. The focal area can be seen as a the concentration area of activities. Just outside of the focal area, we find the 'shell'. This contains de Molenstraat (shown in picture 4), de Kaneelstraat (shown in picture 3) and the Southern part of de Grotestraat. This area has been appointed as the problem area. In this area, there is aimed to gradually remove the retail function and partly replace this by the residential function. There is a lot of vacancy expected in this area because the it is no longer part of the shopping area

In this thesis, I will focus on the city centre of Cuijk as a whole, so this includes the both the focal area and the 'shell'. The main difference between these areas is the approach of the municipality towards these areas. For the focal area, there are restructuring plans, which divide the area into zones. The focal area is the place where activity should take place. The municipality will not support new shops in the shell area, and will attempt to convince them to locate themselves in the focal area. The shell

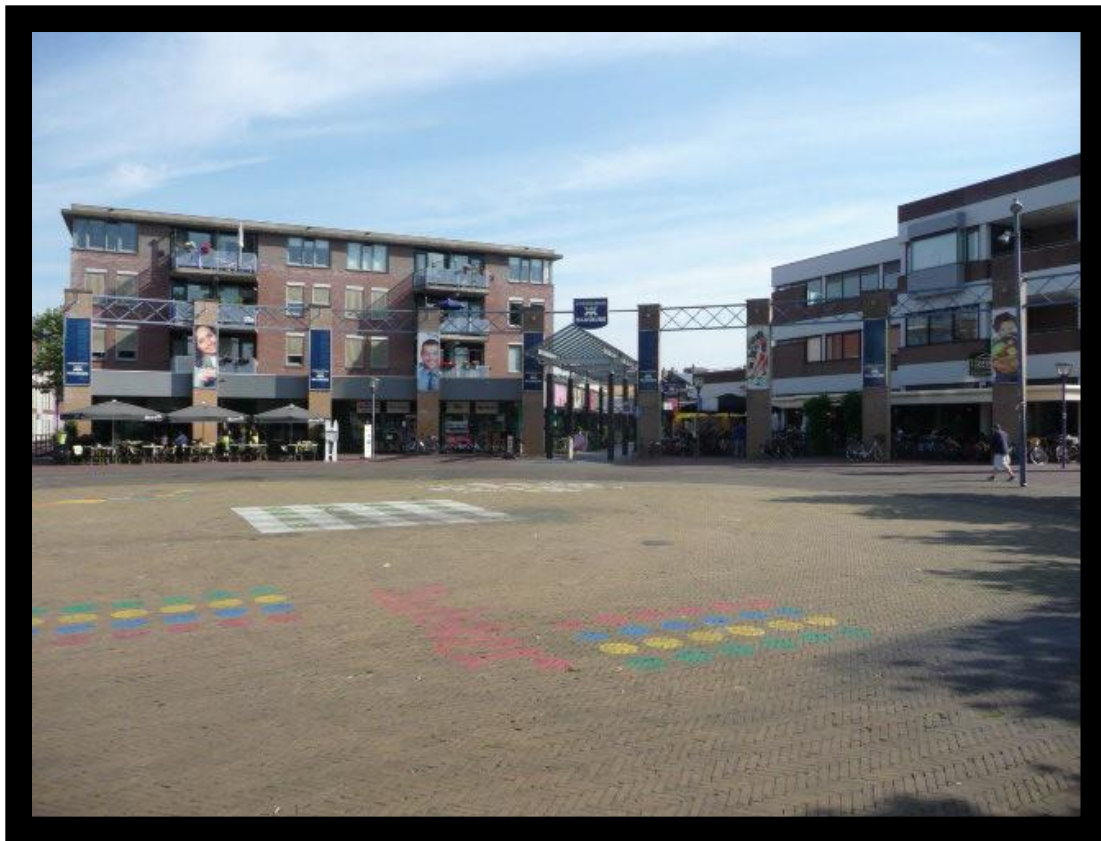
area, which formerly has been part of the shopping area, will become a mixed zone of shopping, residing and working. The roads have often been named as approach roads, referring to their usage as passageways in order to get to the city centre from outside of the area.

.1.4 Relevance

The relevance of the research can be explained from both a scientific and a practical viewpoint. Even though the research has a practical aim, the scientific relevance could also be important.

The scientific relevance of this research can be found in the application of the theory of rhythm analysis on contemporary cities. Lefebvre has published this theory in 1991, where he applied it on cities in that period of time. Since then, Lefebvre has often been cited by many researchers of contemporary cities. David Harvey's 2012 book *From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* takes Lefebvre's view on cities as a basis and it even has a preface about Lefebvre's vision. This indicates the theory could be very useful nowadays. Still, Harvey uses examples of large world cities, just like Lefebvre did using *his* Paris. This research uses Lefebvre's view on cities as a starting point, attempting to show if, and in what way this theory is still applicable on contemporary smaller-scale Dutch cities, specifically focused on the city centre.

To discuss the practical relevance of this research, there should be mentioned the research in this thesis can be placed into the larger context of the situation in city centres in Dutch cities. Almost every city in the Netherlands has recently been faced with the same problems of vacancy. This begs the discussion about to what extent the centre of the city are future-proof and how important these city centres are for the city. In order to face the problems in the city centre, Platform31, an institution for urban and spatial research, has started a project to cooperate with municipalities to face this problem together. My research, which is specifically focused on the inner city of Cuijk, will also play a role within the broader research of Platform31. However, I have to be aware of comparing the city centre to other city centres. The rhythms, the situation is different for every street and for every city. Still this research is initially oriented towards policy change for the municipality of Cuijk, but can also be a point of reference for the other municipalities as a possible way to approach and research the problems in their city centres.



Picture 1. Louis Jansenplein



Picture 2. Louis Jansenplein



Picture 3. Kaneelstraat



Picture 4. Molenstraat

2. Research design

In this chapter, the research design of my thesis is described. The research objective and the research questions are discussed in this chapter.

2.1 introduction

The main question in this thesis is how to go from an analyses of daily activity on a place towards recommendations for transformation and change in (spatial) policy. In this study, I distinguish three main focus groups, in which almost all people who are involved with the approach roads of the inner city; the visitors, the users and the residents. I made this distinction on the basis of their relation to the streets. I made this distinction in order to cover every group in the city centre in this research, it increases the possibility to get many different stories out of the interviews. However, I do not take these groups separately, but I take these people as a group called stakeholders. These groups will not be compared to each other, but are various in order to gain different insights in the city.

The inner city of Cuijk is characterized, just like most other inner cities, by its mixed function. In the current situation, there is a large amount of shops and stores, cafés and bars, and there is also much space used as residential area . After the transformation of the inner city of Cuijk, the commercial function will slowly decrease in the approach roads. In order to keep these streets thriving, the disappearing shops and stores cannot only be replaced by the residential function. By doing this rhythmanalysis, there is attempted to explore the different rhythms of Cuijk. Does the municipality with its rezoning only shift the rhythms into another place, or does the municipality create new rhythms? After this research, there could hopefully be done some recommendations on spatial policy for the city centre of Cuijk.

In this study, there will be done practice research. According to Verschuren & Doorewaard (2007), the aim of practice research is to make a contribution to a (policy) intervention in order to change an existing situation. The research is done in order to solve a practice problem. The practical problem is the rising vacancy level, but also the lack of knowledge and policy plans to generate a future-proof inner city. The municipality of is currently transforming and improving the city centre. They see rhythmanalysis as an possible new approach to the area because it focuses on the experiences on street level, as an alternative to more common approaches that focus on economic values, often on a higher scale. The research behind the Centrumvisie (2014) is an economic one. This research, focused on everyday life, can be an alternative for the Centrumvisie

An important distinction that is made in this thesis is the distinction between two different perceptions of space: perceived space and lived space. In order to research the perceived space of

the inner city of Cuijk, I will attempt to analyse spatial policy of the municipality. I will do this by analysing the spatial plans and by doing interviews with the policymakers and contributors. Lived space will be analysed by doing a rhythm analysis by interviewing the visitors, residents, users and other specialists of the inner city of Cuijk. By doing this research, the perception of lived space by Lefebvre will be kept in mind.

The aim of this research is to fill a gap of knowledge. In this thesis, I will work with two different visions of the city, which should be called ideal types. These ideal types stand facing each other, rather, this does not mean that only one of them can be reality. The first one is a capitalist view of the city. This concerns the viewpoint as a place of consumerism. The city, and the spatial policy for the city should be designed in order to maximize consumption and making profit. This view of the city is connected to the fast linear rhythms of everyday life. The second one is a more traditional viewpoint of the city, in which the city is a place for people to reside. The city centre is a place where pursue the quality of life should be pursued. This view of the city is connected to the more slow, cyclic rhythms of everyday life.

2.1 Research objective

The research objective in this thesis is:

The objective of this research is to critically engage with the rhythms of everyday life in the city centre of Cuijk in order to make recommendations to the municipality of Cuijk on interventions on spatial policy.

The research model in this thesis is as follows:

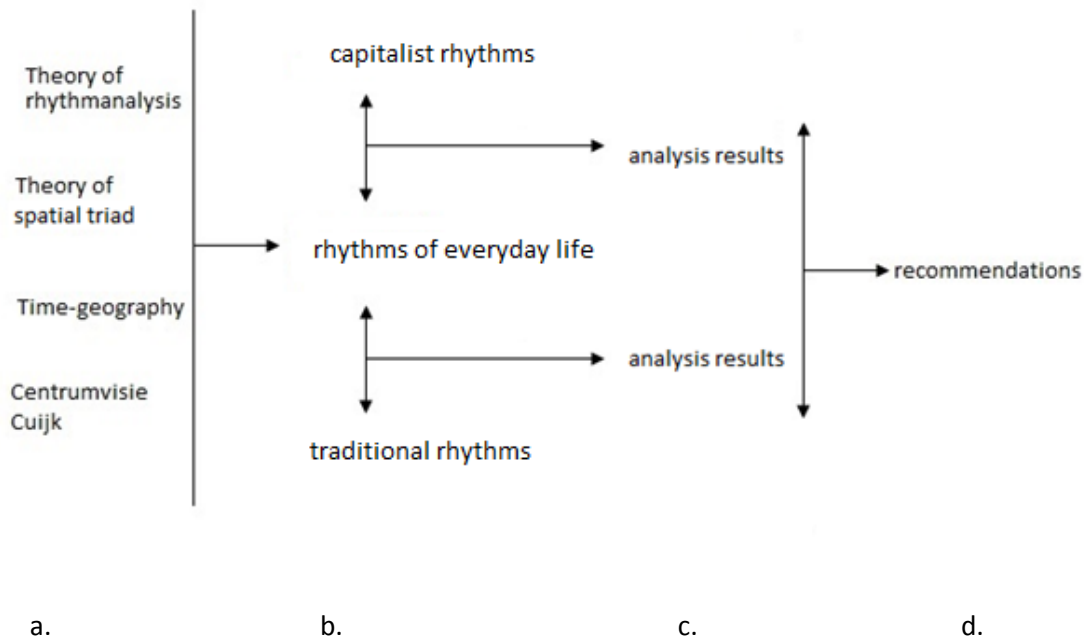


Figure 4. Research model

The research model is divided into four different stages: a, b, c, and d. These stages should be elaborated in the right order. This research proposal should be seen as a product of stage a. at my internship at the municipality of Cuijk , I have started to work on phase b, c and d. The theory that is used in this thesis; theory on rhythmanalysis, theory on spatial triad and time-geography will be applied to the city space of Cuijk and its policy plans (a) in order to explore spatial situation in the inner city of Cuijk. This current situation will analysed through the use of two perceptions of space, conceived space and lived space (b). Conceived space will is expressed by the spatial policy by the municipality. This will be researched by the analysis of the spatial plans by the municipality, and by interviews with the responsible persons. Lived space will be researched by a rhythmanalysis of the inner city of Cuijk. The rhythms of Cuijk is explored on the basis of two ideal types of cities: the capitalist city and the traditional city. This is done by exploring the associated rhythms which produce that kind of city space(c). This will in the end lead to recommendations to the spatial policy plans of the municipality of Cuijk (d).

2.2 Research questions

The research question in this thesis is

“How has capitalist urbanisation transformed the rhythms of Cuijk and how does it affect the rhythms of everyday life?”

I drafted four sub questions in order to answer the research question. These questions are as follows:

1. How are the rhythms of everyday life in the city centre of Cuijk affected by capitalist rhythms?
2. How are the rhythms of everyday life in the city centre of Cuijk affected by traditional rhythms?
3. In what direction does the municipality of Cuijk attempt to shape the rhythms of Cuijk by the use of rezoning plans and spatial policy?
4. How could the policy of the municipality of Cuijk be positioned between the ideal types of capitalist and traditional cities?

2.3 Outline of the thesis

In chapter 3, the theoretic framework that will be used to analyze the results of the interviews, will be outlined. In this chapter, Lefebvre’s theory of rhythmanalysis and his understanding of space will be discussed. In the conclusion of that chapter, there is build a framework in order to make the theory workable and applicable. In chapter 4, the interview methods that are used in this thesis are described. Chapter 5 is the first chapter of the analysis of the interview results. This chapter focuses on the influence of capitalist rhythms on the rhythms of everyday life. The first sub question will be answered in this chapter. In chapter 6 focuses on the influence of traditional rhythms on the rhythms of everyday life, this regards the second sub question. Chapter 7 describes the way the municipality of Cuijk deals with the rhythms of Cuijk and attempts to answer the third and fourth sub question. Chapter 8 is a conclusion, in which the research question is answered.



Picture 5: Maasburg



Picture 6. Mobility scooters at the Maasburg

3. Theoretical framework

In this chapter, the theoretical framework is expanded. The chapter is divided into different parts. This results into a theoretical framework, that is presented in part 3.8.

3.1 Temporalities

The experience of city space is about all the different senses of a human being, which means that urban space can also be smelled, felt, tasted and heard (Lefebvre, 2004). For example, an industrial area in the city is often perceived as a very unattractive place. This is not only defined by its material features like large factories and highways, but also by the smell of oil and gas and the sound of driving trucks. This all creates a feeling of a cold place, a place that is not very charming, where people do not feel very welcome.

By experiencing urban space, time is a very important factor. Over the ages, humans have been searching for ways, to quantify time into objects (Birth, 2012). This resulted in the 24-hours clock that we know, and the calendar that is used all over the world. However, these objects to measure time have become a leading tool in the activities of human beings. All activities are nowadays planned on certain moments of time, based on our general idea of time. It's not only objects like clocks and calendars that time is projected in. When looking at the city, there are a lot of things in which time can be experienced. These are not only objects, but also human behaviour can cause an experience of time in the city.

Why is time so important? We can say that there is nothing more fundamental than time (Mofatt, 2014). However, time is a human concept. It orients and synchronizes people within their (social) lives. Two sorts of time concepts can be distinguished; time that is understandable through the body and a more culturally rooted understanding of time. Time concepts are an important part of a deep-rooted culturally specific sociological life pattern (Mofatt, 2014). Time concepts play a central role to people's worldviews and identities.

According to Wuthrich (2013), cities are experienced with vivid and contrasting senses of time as 'fast' or 'slow'. This works the same for particular places within cities. What makes people experience tempo at a particular space? Is it the mass of people on a certain place, or is it more about the way people act on that place? Fast places are usually described as complex, busy and agitated, their social situation is often portrayed as repetitive and accelerated. (Wuthrich, 2013). In contrast with these fast places, slow places are often seen as quiet and ordered. Social life in these places is often

patterned and distinct. Slow and fast places are always relative to each other. When a place is perceived as a slow place, it is always because it is slow, compared to other places. This means that a city is built out of places with different temporalities. Slow spaces, like parks and suburban neighbourhoods exist alongside fast places like cross roads and shopping areas.

The temporality of a place is not measurable by indicators. The sense of time is an inter-subjective experience based on what happens in the surrounding area of the perceiving person. In a certain way, sense of time, we can also call it tempo, a part of a place. This is caused by different factors, like noise and smell but also visual aspects. We can say that the tempo of a space cannot really be measured, but it can be experienced. It can be seen as the perception of space by people, space in this case, includes the objects and the view, but also its social life in that place (May & Thrift, 2001).

Wuthrich (2013) claims that place-temporality can be seen as an aesthetic experience. Here, time is represented in urban space, which is sensuous, expressive and represented. An important assumption Wuthrich makes on the experience of time in space is about the role of rhythm. She claims that the overall sensorial experience of place temporality is rhythmic and resonant. This is because the urban everyday life is defined by temporal patterns of events in urban places. Several scholars have defined social space as patterned by routines of everyday life. The most prominent researcher on this field is Henri Lefebvre, who suggests *“urban places are polyrhythmic fields of interaction, shaped by repetitive social practices and other events that are overlain and harmonize in time and space (Lefebvre, 2004, in Wuthrich, 2013, p. 392)”*. Urban space can be seen as a site where rhythms come together and which are eventually shaped by these rhythms. In order to link this to the aesthetics of the city, there is often used the metaphor of music. Rhythms should be experienced sensually. In order to ‘listen’ to the city, one can distinguish the different rhythms of the city. The different layers of music, in which music is often composed, can be compared to the different rhythms coming together in an urban place, to compose the social setting in that area.

3.2 Rythmanalysis by Lefebvre

One of the most largely discussed theories on urban rhythms is the *Rhythmanalysis* by Henri Lefebvre (2004). In this theory he discusses the socio-spatial relationship between the body and space. Rhythm is seen as a certain understanding of time, where repetition is the basic element. According to Lefebvre the city has been built out of a lot of different rhythms which take place at the same time and at the same location (Degen, 2006). All these rhythms together create a form of daily life, which is based on repetitiveness. This means situations become recognizable and predictable. A lower scale example can be people who go to work on the same time every day. When the rhythms of people

are combined and translated into a place, there can for example be noticed that on certain cross-roads there is a lot of traffic at set times. The amount of traffic on a certain place can be seen as a rhythm on its own. However, it is created by other rhythms. In a way, rhythms create and structure daily life.

A rhythm can only exist when there is repetition, rhythms can be seen as a set of things that constantly reappear. Lefebvre claims that there are two sorts of rhythms, based on two different sorts of repetition (2004); linear and cyclical repetition. They are always linked to each other, even when there is tried to distinguish and separate them. The first sort of repetition that Lefebvre speaks of is linear repetition, which means there is constant consecution and repetition of (almost) the same phenomenon at roughly the same interval. Generally, it always comes forth out of human and social activities and it is often there in order to maintain human temporal activities for a longer time period. For example, Students following a course, they do not only go to one lecture. There is often a set of lectures that together makes it a course.

On the other hand, there are cyclical rhythms. These rhythmic can be characterized by their cosmic origin. They are mostly things that happen in nature, where humanity has no power to change anything to. The most important examples are the cycles of day and night, seasons and years and tides. Every cyclical rhythm has its own period of frequency. These rhythms are about periods that are interspersed with other periods.

For researching urban social life, we should focus on the gathering of linear and cyclical rhythms at a certain place. These rhythms are different, but yet linked to each other. For example, when the sun rises (cyclical rhythm), people will wake up and start doing their daily activity (linear rhythms). We can say that linear rhythms are always structured by taking into account the involved cyclical rhythms. Cyclical rhythms are always involved, they cannot be 'switched off' and can hardly be changed by human action. There is an obvious link between the everyday and the cyclical and cyclical time. Lefebvre claims that cyclical time has long been the only understanding of time that humans had (Elden, 2004). Right after mechanisms for measuring and calculating time were invented, a distance was created.

Rhythms can vary in duration, but rhythms that continue can structure the everyday as much as linear time (Crang, 2001), however, Felski (2000 in Crang, 2001) claims that *"Everyday life is above all a temporal term"*. In reality, the every cycle has to be seen as a multiplicity of temporalities. Some temporalities are long run, some short, some are frequent and some are rare. This causes that the

everyday life can (of course) not be seen as linear time, that every day is the same. There is a multiplicity of rhythms that structure everyday life, but these rhythms can always change. When we look at the urban place, we can say that it is a site composed and characterized through patterns of multiple beats (Crang, 2001).

What do these beats actually mean? According to Crang (2001), the notion of beats is a way to describe the diversity of rhythms. These beats can be seen as the repetition of a certain phenomenon, when looking at these beats over the long term, rhythms can be distinguished. Rhythms can vary in different fields, like duration of the beat and the length of time before the next beat begins. Another important factor is whether the beat is constant or not. Some rhythms have constant beats, like always having dinner at the same time. Others have a less constant beat, like always going to the same store. People visit the store every day, but always at different times. Another important way where rhythms can vary is power towards each other. Some rhythms can be overruled by other rhythms, because they seem to be more important or they make other rhythms impossible.

According to Lefebvre (2004), Rhythms are only perceptible through the body, using the five different senses. The most important object of research is the human body itself. The human body consists of a bundle of rhythms, these rhythms are different from each other, but they are in tune. It can be said that the human body can be seen as a set of rhythms that are in full harmony. Lefebvre calls this the eurhythmic body; a body which is composed of several rhythms, like every part of the body has its own function. Together, they keep each other into balance. Important is also the surroundings of the body. This includes the material world, but also the social setting in which the body moves. In order to explore rhythms, a rhythmologist should listen to the body as a whole, so at the body as a bundle of rhythms.

When researching everyday life in an urban area, why should we focus on rhythms? The theory elaborates on temporalities on the city, suppressing each other (Crang, 2001). This theory about temporalities often lead to narratives of acceleration, like the example of 'slow' and 'fast' cities. However, rhythmology is a more complex way to look at the role of time in the urban field because it can be seen as a form of critique on everyday life. In Lefebvre's opinion, everyday life in the city is shaped by the structures of capitalism. Rhythmology is a theory that elaborates on the notion that urban life is determined by the repetitive characteristics of the capitalist mode of production. He saw the urban life as being shaped and gripped by these structures. Another reason is the dynamic viewpoint of rhythms. Rhythmology can be seen as a way to describe the city through time. It can

be seen as an alternative for the common, more static way of researching that only focuses on a certain point in time. Rhythmanalists are more aware of the ongoing, repeating and cyclical characteristics of everyday life.

3.3 Lefebvre and his understanding of space

In order to understand and interpret the more or less abstract theory of rhythmanalysis, it is important to develop a certain understanding of space. First, I will highlight Lefebvre's understanding of space. After that, I will use Lefebvre's insights to develop a more critical understanding of space. Lefebvre already acknowledged that space is one of the most important concepts in social research. He claims that space is fundamental for our understanding and interaction with the world (Watkins, 2005). However, the general understanding of the concept of space, even in the scientific landscape, was not very much developed. He focused in his understanding of space on lived experience, which he saw as the main factor in determining space (Watkins, 2005). Lefebvre did not attempt to produce the discourse on space, he rather attempted to expose the actual production of space by gathering various kinds of space into one concept. This is reflected in Lefebvre's notion on the production of space as a bundling of people's experiences and translated to a collectively created spatiality. Space should be seen as a product of everything that (socially) happens. The term 'production' has a broader meaning than just the making of goods. It includes that production of society, knowledge and institutions (Elden, 2004). We can say that the production of space means the creation of the material, but also the social world.

Lefebvre claims that space is not fixed. He suggested that space should not be seen as the result of interaction on that particular space, but rather as a site of ongoing interactions of social relations (Zhang, 2006). In order to understand this ongoing interaction, Lefebvre offers an analytic tool to disentangle three separated layers of space. This tool, which is formally known as the Spatial Triad, offered a new spatial understanding. The spatial triad is about a triplet of connected ways to see urban space: perceived space, conceived space and lived space (Lefebvre, 1991). Perceived space is concrete space, space that is perceived by everyone who is in that space. Conceived space is the representation of that space, like a map or a picture of that particular space. This is a more abstract form of space, which also makes it possible to measure space. The third form of space is lived space, which is both material and abstract. It is space where human beings are involved. The space of human beings is both in nature and abstraction. Lived space is modified over time, through its use (Elden, 2004).

This lived space can be linked to the notion of rhythmanalysis. By doing rhythmanalysis of a certain space, we can transform our understanding from a perceived space into a lived space.

Rhythmanalysis makes an individual look critical at a space, by taking into account the (social) history of that particular space. Rhythms can be seen as a concept that proceeds on the notion of social production of space. Lefebvre sees rhythms as a way to read a space. Elden (2004) is critical about this notion: *“reading a space is not like reading a book, it is more like critically reading a book”* (p.192). There should be necessary to take care with power relations, intent and context.

In this paper, there will be continued on the notion by Lefebvre that space is a social product, a site of ongoing interactions of social relations that make the place. In order to make lived space a measurable and understandable concept, I see lived space as the gathering of the physical and the social that is at that place. Rhythms have an two-way relation to space. Spaces are produced by its rhythms, but rhythms are also affected by space. In this thesis, there will be a focus on the role of space in these rhythms. How does city space (physical and social) affect rhythms, and how are space and these rhythms related? When this is understood, it can be determined what the municipality, who has the power to change space, can do in order to change the rhythms.

3.4 The critique of everyday life

Henri Lefebvre is often described as a Marxist thinker, I think this is an important notion that should be taken into account. Lefebvre wrote his work on everyday life as a form of critique towards the capitalism. Lefebvre claimed capitalism is more and more structuring the lives of people who are living within the system (Elden, 2004). In the years before the second world war, this was visible in the class societies and the people worked to make money and spend the money in order to let it flow into the system. After the second world war, society moved towards a consumer society. Everyday life is both under-developed and over-organized within such a society (Elden, 2004). Lefebvre uses Marx's concept of alienation to describe the role of capitalism in everyday life. According to Lefebvre, the capitalistic, consumer society causes alienation because people do not behave in their natural human way, they are constrained by the capitalist system. Slowly, people get more and more alienated from their normal human behaviour by the system. When applying this on rhythms, it can be stressed that human behaviour is driven by the rhythms that come forth out of capitalism. For example, this means that the rhythm of people going to work every day, comes forth out of the fact that they need to make money. This can also be applied to space in which people's rhythms take place. The city space is subjected to capitalism. Money largely determines how what the city space looks like.

Lefebvre thought that this consumerism, would make every person in the world somebody who acts as an individual, but is in the end the same person as all the other individuals. In this thesis, I will keep in mind the critique of Lefebvre, and see the rhythms of the city as a product of dynamics and power of capitalism.

3.5 Rhythms of the city

The viewpoint of rhythms is an important subject to question. In order to explore the rhythms of a particular urban space, there has to be researched how that particular urban space is involved in the everyday life of people. For example, when the rhythms of a supermarket will be researched, there should be focused on the people that visit that place. The place was to be part of people's rhythm, in that way the place gets its own rhythm, shaped by the rhythms of people.

People can be part of a large amount of rhythms at the same time. This can be a tricky concept, according to Bachelard (2000), *"the study of time must avoid the confusion of time with uniformity, but instead emphasize the phenomenology of rhythms"* (p. 100). From a phenomenological perspective, Bachelard suggests that rhythm is a fundamental element of all existence, and that people should be challenged to become aware that all the rhythms in people's lives are enmeshed. Bachelard mentions a form of power-relations which he calls 'superimposed time', the domination of a rhythm above another. Lefebvre adopted the Bachelard's ideas in order to analyze the bundle of rhythms. In the eyes of Lefebvre (2004), rhythms should be studied in relation to each other. He unites the relations between rhythms by three concepts; polyrhythmia, eurhythmia, and arrhythmia. Polyrhythmia is the existence of multiple rhythms, eurhythmia is the consonance of these rhythms and arrhythmia is the conflict of these rhythms. Polyrhythmia is the coexistence of multiple rhythms. Rhythms can exist alongside each other, involving different people at different places. On the other side, people can be part of several rhythms at the same time. When rhythms in the city move synchronically, we speak of eurhythmia. One of the most prominent examples can be the (cyclical) rhythm of the four seasons and the rhythm of plants and trees growing and flourish. Also in social life these rhythms can be distinguished, for example when there is congestion on the road. People's rhythms come together at the same place. Sometimes, the rhythms in the city get into conflict. This can be seen from the viewpoint of a single person, who is too late to catch the train. It can also be seen from a polyrhythmic viewpoint, when there are conflicts in the city between groups of people with different interests.

Lefebvre (2004) claims rhythmanalysis is focused on the usage of the different senses. He claimed that social space is experienced first. By using rhythmanalysis, the social production of space can be

exposed. It seeks to capture empirically the embeddedness of social relations in the sensory make up of space (Degen, 2006). The analyses of rhythm makes it possible to grasp the temporal and the lived character of space. In order to research this temporal and lived character of space and to be able to research the experience of urban space, there can be focused on two different forms of rhythms; rhythms of movement and activity and on the other hand more embodied, sensory rhythms. According to Degen (2006), rhythms of movement and activity are created and constituted by daily movements and practices: the everyday commuting to and from work, the traffic on the streets and the shop owners opening their stores at set times. These forms of rhythms could be linked to the writings of Jane Jacobs (1961), where she described the everyday practices on the streets as a sidewalk ballet. The mix of a layered flows of movement and practice that repeat each day give the people who are involved with the place a sense of location (Degen, 2006).

In addition to the rhythms of movement and activity, there can also be distinguished more embodied, sensory rhythms. This assumes that spatial experience is shaped by constantly shifting sensescapes (Degen, 2006). It can be summarized as the feel or the atmosphere of places. The repetitiveness in this is abstract, but it is related to the feeling that is caused by this space every single time.

3.6 Finding rhythms

“To attend to the rhythm of the contemporary city is not only to simply mirror the patterns of time and movement in which it presents itself but, to go beyond such representations and to consider the energies, priorities and relations in which the urban is realized, reproduced and remade” (Smith & Hetherington, 2013, p.10). When analyzing rhythms, one should not only try to find rhythms, they should be viewed critically in order to see what the rhythms reveal. When rhythms can be found in a place, we can see that as an indication for a patterned social life. When there is looked critically, the rhythms can be filtered and separated from each other. Then, the question can be raised how the rhythms are triggered and what the role of this rhythm is in social life in that space. Rhythms should in that sense, not only be seen as an object of study, but also as a tool to explore the structures and causal connections between phenomena in urban everyday life.

According to Lefebvre (2004), a rhythm can only be grasped when one gets out of the rhythm, but not completely. One should be part of the rhythm in order to understand what is going on, but also step out of it to have a total view. Lefebvre compares it to learning a language, where somebody really learns the meaning of words when one has to produce it, to talk in that language. Lefebvre poses the idea of the view ‘from the balcony’, where one is sitting above the street, viewing what is

happening. When one is in the middle of street, when one is directly part of the rhythms, the rhythms are very hard to separate from each other because this person is immersed by the multiplicity of rhythms. By contrast, from the balcony, one can get a general overview and then it is possible to distinguish different smells, sounds and events from down the street.

In this thesis, I will attempt to grasp the rhythms of the city. I will focus on the use of all the senses in order to understand what is going on in that place. The approach of the different senses will be used because rhythms are all about experience, it is hard to quantify and to actually measure them. Lefebvre speaks of 'a view from the balcony' to measure rhythms. In my opinion, this is a much too one-sided approach to rhythms. I think it is right to first have a general overview of the urban rhythms. However, this way of exploring rhythms is focused too much on the interpretation of the researcher. I think the perception of the urban rhythms of the researcher should be tested in accordance to the people who are considered as part of the rhythms. These people are less-theory loaded and could probably give a more complete overview about what really happens in that place

In this thesis, the understanding of rhythm analysis differs from Lefebvre's understanding of it in some points. The most important aspect to deviate from Lefebvre is the viewpoint of these rhythms. Lefebvre wrote his work by keeping in mind the multiple speeds and movements when he looked at the city from above (Amin & Thrift, 2002). In this thesis, the focus is more on street level, on the individual. By examining individual stories of experiencing the city, there will be done an analysis of everyday life in the city. Another important difference is the character of the rhythms. Lefebvre sees rhythms as outcomes of the power of capitalism and uses his theory to be critical about the alienation of everyday life by capitalism. By using two viewpoints of the city, I attempt to claim that everyday life is not completely alienated by capitalism but that there is also space for the aspects of traditional forms of everyday life. With this notion, I claim humans not always to be *a homo economicus*, a person who is always trying to maximize its wealth, but is also living his life in the city in the way that he or she wants.

3.7 Operationalization

The theory of rhythm analysis seems a little vague and impractical. Therefore, I have turned it into a workable theory by using a couple of terms that come forth out of the theory. This would make rhythm analysis easier to use and better to understand. Firstly, I use two ideal types of cities in order to make a distinction between two sorts of rhythms; the capitalist city and the traditional city. I assume that the fast, linear, capitalist rhythms are making the capitalist city, the more slow, cyclic, traditional rhythms make the traditional city. These are two discourses of what a city should look

like. I assume that in every city, these two sorts of rhythms both appear and that is hard for people to make a distinction between them. In Lefebvrian terms: Every person has been alienated by capitalism and is in that case part of the capitalist rhythms, however, everyday life is not only lived by the dynamics of capitalism. People try to take their right to the city (Elden, 2004), *“The right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualism in socialization, to habitat and dwelling”* (Lefebvre, 1968 in Elden, 2004). It is about life past these capitalistic forces. When doing a discourse analysis by using these sorts of rhythms as discourses, it becomes possible to separate these two rhythms in everyday life.

These two ideal types start with a basic idea of what they are. Still, these two concepts are bit vague. In order to make the distinction between them more clear, I have developed a couple of contradicting characteristics on the basis of literature and theory of Lefebvre, combined to the most widely discussed topics in the interviews.

Capitalist city rhythms	Traditional city rhythms
Fast	Slow
Global	Local
Linear	Cyclical
Focused on spending money	Focused on staying
Accessibility	Walkability
Attractiveness	Aesthetics and sociability
Economically strong	Strong identity / recognizable
Competition	Cooperation

Figure 5. Two ideal types of cities

According to the used literature and the conducted interviews, **the ideal type of a capitalist city centre** is a fast place where globalisation has trickled down to every part of life. The shops are all large chain stores that sell the same products as others. People are seen as customers, who have to be trained, tricked and steered so they could buy in these stores. These stores are opened as much as possible, so they can maximise their profits. The spatial organisation of the city centre is focused on accessibility by car. It is important that the capitalist city centre is accessible for customers from outside, so they could spend their money in the city centre. It is important that the city centre should commercialise itself. Therefore, it is important that some kind of experience is created in order to attract and retain customers. The capitalist city centre is economically strong, it is a place where companies are willing to establish themselves.

According to the used literature and the conducted interviews, **the ideal type of a traditional city centre** is a slow place where the traditional way of life is the normal way to go. Shops are all independent, and they know their customers and the people behind them. The city centre is a place where local people meet and go shopping. The city centre is a nice place to stay, there are several facilities that improve the length of staying in the city centre. The municipality contributes with its policy to the liveability in the city centre. It attempts to make it a safe, warm and walkable place to reside. It is a place where people meet each other, a social place. It recognizes and respects the local symbols, traditions and identity, without emphasizing it for commercial purposes.

3.8 Theoretical model

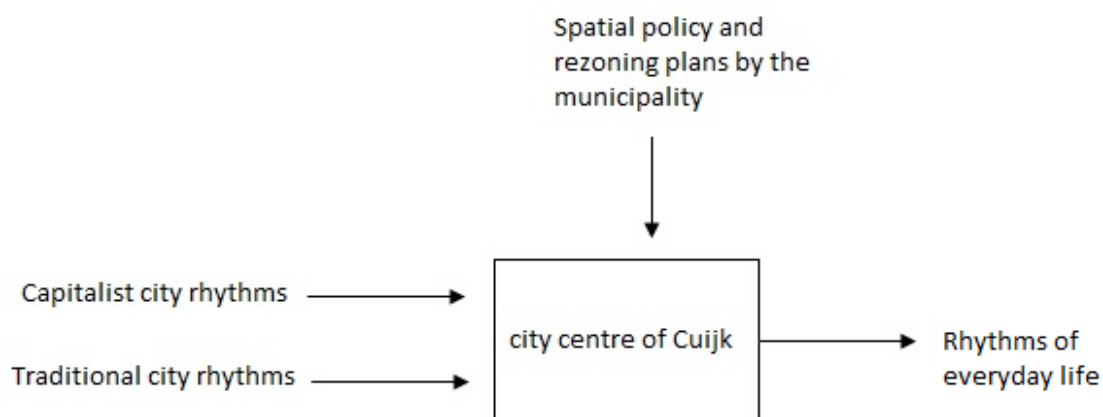


Figure 6: theoretical model

In figure 6, the theoretical model of this research is shown. In this thesis, it is assumed that the lived space of the city centre of Cuijk is produced by both capitalist city rhythms and traditional city rhythms. The municipality is trying to steer the rhythms of Cuijk by applying their conceived space to the city centre. This will in the end lead to the rhythms of everyday life in the city centre of Cuijk.

Explanation of terms:

Capitalist rhythms: The characteristics of capitalism that affect everything. Capitalist rhythms are worldwide processes, the effects of globalisation. It affects and shapes city space and in the end, everyday life.

Traditional rhythms: The local place-specific processes that have shaped city space in the first place. The traditional rhythms are more and more repressed by the capitalist rhythms.

Rhythms of everyday life: The daily life practices in city space, which are affected and shaped by both capitalist rhythms and traditional rhythms.



Picture 7: Distress sale at a local clothes shop at Louis Jansenplein.



Picture 8. Bankrupt clothes shop at Korte Molenstraat thanks its regular customers.



Picture 9. Grotestraat



Picture 10. Vacant buildings in the Tuigleerstraatje

3 Methodology

In this chapter, the methodology of the research will be expanded. The first chapter will explain the research strategy, where there is explained how the research designed and how the data collection will be done. In the second chapter, the research material will be expanded. In the final chapter, there will be described how gained data will be analysed.

4.1 Research strategy

This research can be characterised as a practice research. According to Verschuren & Doorewaard (2007), a practice research has the aim to contribute to an intervention to solve an existing practice problem. This research has the aim to contribute to urban policy of the municipality of Cuijk, in order to make the city centre of Cuijk future proof. However this research is very theory-loaded, it is not the aim of the research to contribute to the theory. The theory is used as a tool to conceptualize the actual situation.

The aim of this thesis is to search for profound knowledge, rather than only discover and proof linkages. Because the research is about the experiences of a large amount of people, several people who belong to the group of study will be interviewed. The aim of these interviews will not be to search for similarities in the experiences, but more to broaden the source of information. Every interview should be a new source of information and could be seen as a another piece of the jigsaw in order to give a detailed and complete overview of the rhythms of the city centre.

According to Lefebvre (2004), one should simultaneously be part of the rhythm but also be outside of the rhythm. With this notion, Lefebvre meant rhythms should not be measured but be grasped by the rhythm analyst. In order to translate this into practice, it is important to realize who is the rhythm analyst. In some parts of the research, the researcher is the rhythm analyst, there he should try to become part of the rhythms in order to avoid perturbing them. Rather, in most parts of this study the researcher is secondary rhythm analyst. The researcher will interview people about their experiences, there is attempted to catch their experiences of rhythms.

The manner of data collection has been solely qualitative. By doing interviews with people will attempt to find out how the different people experience the rhythms of the approach roads, and how these rhythms are connected each other. The qualitative form of research is the logical option when a research is focused on finding profound knowledge (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). The

interviews I have planned to do vary in length and design. In order to grasp the rhythms, the interviews on the streets will be concise and they will be focused on collecting personal information about movement, activity and experiences. There will also be done a couple of depth interviews in order to explore the problems, process and interests in the case around transformation and rezoning in the city centre of Cuijk. In order to get that knowledge, I have also done interviews with policymakers of the municipality to discover the way the policy of the municipality is connected to the rhythms in the streets.

In order to limit the research field, the type of research in this thesis can be considered as a case study. According to Verschuren & Doorewaard (2007), a case study is a mode of research in which the researcher attempts to gain a profound and comprehensive insight in one or a few objects or processes. In a case study, there is always a small amount of research objects, which are researched intensively. Creswell (2007) describes case studies as *“a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case description and case-based themes”* (p.73) . There are several forms of case studies, they all differ on the terms of intent or on the size of the case. In this research, there is decided to only focus on one case (the inner city of Cuijk), but within this case, there can be distinguished several focus points (Molenstraat, southern part of Grotestraat and Kaneelstraat). There is no intention to compare the research results of these streets, the streets should be seen as an individual object and should be treated as a single case. In this way, we could also say there are three cases. In my opinion, this research can be typified as a single case study. This means there is just one phenomenon researched, and there is a single case used in order to research this phenomenon (Stake, 1995, in Creswell, 2007). By only focusing on one case, the research has become specific for this single case, the inner city of Cuijk. On the basis of this study, there could only be drawn conclusions which are related to the inner city of Cuijk, even though other municipalities deal with the same problems. I think a rhythm analysis is a very specific method that works specifically for the researched situation.. Every street is different and so are their rhythms.

This research is characterized by its focus on a low level of scale. This means that the major part of the research has to be done on street level. The means to do this are observations and interviews. By observations, I will attempt to view the rhythms at the streets from the outside. These observations could hopefully help to get a general view of the rhythms at a certain place. After the observations, there could be done interviews with people who are involved with these rhythms. In this way, there

can be found proof for the rhythms that have been found before. More important are the choices, constraints, linkages and power relations that can be found behind the rhythms.

4.2 Research material

In this thesis, the data has been gained in two phases. In the first phase, the data collection has been done by observation. In the second phase, there have been done interviews. There has been made a separation between two sorts of interviews. At first, there have been done interviews to explore the rhythms of the city, and second, there have been done interviews in order to explore the way the municipality deals with these rhythms.

In order to explain the selection of respondents in this thesis, I will first draw the sub questions again. The sub questions in this research are:

1. What are the rhythms of everyday life in the city centre of Cuijk from a capitalist viewpoint?
2. What are the rhythms of everyday life in the city centre of Cuijk from a more traditional viewpoint?
3. In what direction does the municipality of Cuijk attempt to shape the rhythms of Cuijk by the use of rezoning plans and spatial policy?
4. How could the policy of the municipality of Cuijk be positioned between the ideal types of capitalist and traditional cities?

In order to answer the sub questions of this research, there have been done observations and interviews. The sub question can be separated into two parts, based on the data that is needed to answer the questions.

Sub questions 1 and 2 can be considered as part one. These questions are answered by observations of several parts of the city centre, and interviews with important stakeholders. These two questions will be answered by the same data but by analysis of the data, it will be split into two parts, two viewpoints. In order to answer these questions, information from the field is needed. Next to observations of the researcher, there also had to be interviewed a couple of experts. In this case, experts of the city centre were needed. I have decided to select these experts in order to vary in the following characteristics.

- **Geographical location:** I have tried to interview several experts in various parts of the area, to gain as much geographical spread as possible. In this way, I want to cover the whole city centre.
- **Relation to the city centre.** I have tried to interview people whose daily life takes place in the city centre of Cuijk. I looked for as different as possible relations to the city centre. This means I have interviewed shop owners, who are financially dependent from the city centre, but also members of cultural organisations and inhabitants, who see the area in a different way.
- **Key players.** I aimed to interview with different power relations in the city centre. Powerful people have been interviewed, but also the normal people who are just part of the rhythms of the city centre. This has resulted in the interviewing of a couple of key players in the city centre, like the centrummanager and the neighbourhood council.

The interviewing of the 'stakeholders', the people of the city centre of Cuijk has been done in two phases. The first phase contains the rhythms of the visitors. Interviews have been done on the streets in order to explore the way they see and use the city centre. Because of the fact that people are always in a hurry and are not always willing to participate in a lengthy interview, I have tried to interview around 12 people, for a shorter length of time. The interviews with the visitors of the city have all been done in the heart of the city, around the Louis Jansenplein. I did this because there was the highest chance of finding real visitors, people who are not living in the city centre of Cuijk.

Next to this, I have interviewed a couple of 'stakeholders', people who are involved with the city centre, people whose everyday life takes place within the city centre of Cuijk. I initially aimed to interview shop owners and residents. However, in my research, I found it very hard to find residents in the area to participate. For that reason, there have only been interviewed two residents. The information will stay part of the research because there interviews do not differ that much from interviews with shop owners. Next to the interviews with shop owners and residents, I have also interviewed 'centrummanager' Clemens Binkhorst, two members of the neighbourhood council, Leo Langen from the Fotoarchiefdienst and Herman van Rhee, member of Cultureel Hart Cuijk. These people are also considered to be part of the group of 'stakeholders'. The shop owners have been chosen on geographical location within the city centre. In that way, I have tried to interview people from every part of the city centre. In this way, I hope I have covered the whole city centre. Some of the shop owners and residents have asked to be named anonymously in my thesis. This is because there are some tensions in the city centre between the municipality and the shop owners and with between the different shop owners. For that reason, I have decided to name them all anonymously

and to name them after the street in which they are located. A list of the interviewed is shown in attachment 2.

In order to answer the last two sub questions, I have done some interviews with people from the municipality of Cuijk. This, together with the Centrumvisie document should cover the seventh chapter, about conceived space. In adjustment # there is show, who I have interviewed in order to gain information about the policy of the municipality. Underneath, there can be found a list of people who are interviewed. These people are selected on their role within the policy of the municipality. All the interviews that have been conducted, have been transcribed and analysed by using Atlas.ti. The analyses has been done by the use of discourse analysis.

4.3 Discourse analysis.

In this thesis, discourse analysis is used in order to analyse the gained data. Discourse analysis has been chosen because of its focus on language and meaning. The rhythms of the city centre can, according to Lefebvre, only be found when one does completely immerse into it. Applied to the conducted interviews, I think rhythms of the city can only be discovered when people's view on the city are taken into account. Discourse analysis, can by the perfect way option in order to achieve that.

Discourse analysis is an method that is focused on language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking and beliefs of the respondents. It is about the way of thinking that is behind the statements in the interview, the world view of the respondents. This world view, the discourse out of which people talk, it an important part of the context of the statements. Discourses can be revealed and determined through the analysis of text. It is about the way people say things, and out of which believes, ways of thinking and rituals this comes from.

In order to make this workable, useful and above all, *Lefebvrian*, I only use two main discourses in this thesis. These two discourses are based on two ideal types of views of the city centre: the capitalist city centre and the more traditional city centre. The separation between these two discourses is done by making two relational views per interview, one capitalist, one traditional. These relational views are used to write down the results of the interviews with the stakeholders in two separate paragraphs, one about the capitalist rhythms of the city and another about the traditional rhythms of the city.

The interviews with the experts of the municipality are also coded in that way. The results of these interviews will be described in a separate paragraph, the capitalist and the traditional rhythms will in

that paragraph be used in order to describe how the municipality steers this rhythms with its (spatial) policy.



Picture 11: Maasstraat



Picture 12: Maaskade

5. Lived space: capitalist city rhythms.

This chapter concerns the capitalist view of the city. I will discuss the money-driven rhythms of Cuijk, which are driven by market forces intent on making all life a commodity. The rhythms I describe in this chapter are experienced by the people who are involved with the city. The capitalist view of the city can be characterized by Lefebvre's view of the city, where he claimed city space has been captured by capitalism. In that way, also the rhythms of everyday life are affected. In this chapter, I will discuss how this view of the city is expressed in the rhythms of Cuijk. This chapter is structured into eight paragraphs. The last paragraph is a short conclusion of the chapter.

5.1 Cuijk as a shopping area.

Most of the interviewed visitors of the city centre of Cuijk have come to the city for commercial reasons, to go shopping. They all claimed to have come for daily or weekly grocery shopping, rather than fun shopping. One respondents claimed: *"In Cuijk, one can buy anything, but it is not nice to go shopping here because in five minutes you've seen everything"*. Visitors claim both the amount of shops and the amount of visitors have decreased. They think this resulted in a larger amount of vacancy because the amount of visitors have decreased. Internet shopping has been named as an important reason for this decrease of shops in the city centre of Cuijk. People buy on the internet, rather than go to the city centre. According to the respondents, it is often the independent entrepreneur who is main victim of this decrease of visitors. One of the visitors stated: *"Most of the chain stores stay for a long time, the independent shops on the other hand, frequently change"*. Nowadays, it is hard to start a new shop and make it successful. For that reason, less and less entrepreneurs are willing to start a new business in the city centre of Cuijk. This cannot be seen as a local phenomenon. In many cities in the Netherlands, this is the case.

A broadly-supported way of thinking in Cuijk is that city centre needs some modifications in order to stimulate sales in the city centre. The prevailing opinion is the decreasing sales and the increasing vacancy is a temporary, solvable problem. They claim that the rhythms of the consumer from Cuijk does not fully converge the rhythms of the rhythms of the city centre. They think the city centre should change into something that could connect to these rhythms. An important complement is that the rhythms are interconnected and pushing each other away. When inhabitants from Cuijk do not go to the city centre, the city centre will have less (financial) recourses in order to adjust to them.

According to 'centrummanager' ¹Clemens Binkhorst, real shops will always be more vital than online shops. He claims that people place value on recognizable shops where they know the people and the products. He claims that people attach importance to their own rhythms of always going to the same shops and buying their products. He claims shopping is not only about getting the goods but also about the experience of actually doing the shopping. People also attach importance to personal contact. Physical stores are still vital. Shopkeepers obviously suffer from the rise of internet shopping. *"some people buy stuff on the internet and they ask if I want to help them with the instruction manual"* (shopkeeper, Korte Molenstraat). Shopkeepers claim that people are not aware of the dangers and effects of internet shopping, they see it as innocent and comfortable. This results in a change in the way shopkeepers provide information to their customers; they become more and more restrained to provide information. This capitalist rhythm influences these shopping rhythms in two opposing ways: The internet has been developed in order to spread information, but in this sense, internet has caused a closing down of openness. This is at the expense of people who are willing to buy at their shops. Every shopkeeper wants to counter these upcoming rhythm of internet shopping, but nobody really has the answer how to do this. As an alternative approach of the internet, Binkhorst claimed that shopkeepers should use internet as a tool to increase their own quality of service and increase their range of products and customers. They should not try to change these rhythms, but use these rhythms in a positive way in order to benefit from it.

According to the interviewed shopkeepers, the amount of visitors of their stores fluctuates. The simple fact that people are nowadays more flexible in how they organise their time. However, Wednesday and Saturday can be seen as the busiest days. This can be explained by the market on Wednesday, an important reason for people to go to the city centre. Saturdays are busy because most of the people have leisure time. Friday evenings is late-night shopping in Cuijk, shops can stay opened until 9 o'clock. However, not every shop is opened on that night, which makes it unclear for customers if it is late night shopping or not. Shopkeepers agree that every shop should be allowed to determine when they are opened or not, they should be able to determine their own rhythms. But because the rhythms of the various shops are not adjusted to each other, there occurs an unclear shopping rhythm. According to a shopkeeper (Molenstraat), late-night shopping in Cuijk does not have any added value. Because of the rising flexibility, there is a possibility to 'educate' the customer. This means the shopping rhythms of the customers can be steered by the right communication of the shopkeepers. According to this shopkeeper, these rhythms could be steered better when the

¹ Centrummanagement, (centre management in English), is engaged in the implementation of plans of the municipality and the association of undertakings in the city centre. They also stimulate and initiate cooperation between entrepreneurs and the organization of events in the city centre. Clemens Binkhorst is the front man of Centrummanagement.

opening hours of shops would be adjusted to each other. Centrummanagement could possibly be able to arrange that.

Cuijk is changing from a shopping centre for fun shopping and run shopping towards a grocery shopping orientated city centre. This is a change towards a more purposive visit of the city centre. This is caused by the disappearance of shopping opportunities, like fashion stores, but also the lack of atmosphere and experience in the city centre. This changes intentions of people to go to the city centre and the expectations people have from the city centre. The most important shortage in the eyes of the visitors is the absence of individual fish, cheese, vegetable stores. This can be a reason for some of the visitors to switch to other villages in the local area, like Uden and Boxmeer. People complain about the domination of the supermarkets and the decrease of quality of fresh food products that come with it. One of the respondents claimed: *"In here, I miss many important stores, like a greengrocer. Formerly, there had been a greengrocer in the Kaneelstraat. Fresh vegetables. I would rather not buy them in the supermarket and for me, that is a reason to go to a greengrocer in one of the surrounding villages, like Boxmeer."* The decrease of fresh food stores can be related to the rhythms of capitalism and the rise of monoculture. It can be seen as guilty pleasure, because most of the interviewed visitors of Cuijk went to visit the Emté, the local supermarket in the Maasburg. Next to the visit to the Emté, they went to some surrounding shops that also have a daily character, like Kruidvat and Hema. They are very positive about these shops and they like the idea of the compact city centre, where people do not have to walk large distances in order to get their groceries. Fresh food shops, which are not able to afford a building in the city centre, would be outcompeted because of the ease of going to the supermarket in the heart of the city centre. Possibly as a reaction of this rhythm, there will always be initiatives to (re)change this rhythms. According to an inhabitant of the Grotestraat, there have been has been an initiative to change this rhythm. *"I just got an advertising leaflet of a new shop in the Molenstraat, who are selling fresh vegetables, I think I am going take a visit soon".*

The target group of the shops in Cuijk are people from the city itself. "Cuijk is situated between the railway and the Maas. Cuijk is a narrow city and it has a limited hinterland" (Shop keeper, Kaneelstraat). People in surrounding villages are often orientated towards surrounding shopping centre's like Uden and Boxmeer. This is also reflected in the interviewed visitors of Cuijk, who for the majority originates from Cuijk. The inhabitants of Cuijk are traditionally poor. Diverse respondents mentioned the history of Cuijk as a city where low-qualified working class people lived and worked. However these factories have been closed for decades, these people and their families are still living in Cuijk. In fact, these people have low incomes and they will in that case, not stimulate the local economy much. This has been One of the shopkeepers said: *"Cuijk wants to invest in the city centre,*

but they want to attract people that do not exist, you can build a large shopping mall, but there is nobody to spent money there". However, the inhabitants of Cuijk have changed over the years. Because of the relatively close location to Nijmegen, many people from outside Cuijk have come to live in Cuijk. This has changed the population of Cuijk largely. This could probably have led to a variety of shops and supermarkets in diverse price ranges.

One of the shop owners claimed that buying is affected by the emotion of the customers. He claimed that the atmosphere in the city is essential for people to buy. This does not count for the specific purchases, but more for the accidental, unscheduled purchases. This idea is supported by Centrummanager Clemens Binkhorst. He claims *"Look, with all respect, Action (shop, Maasburg) is a decent business of course, but when you go shopping there, you see that it is a total mess and it smells like Chinese rubber. That's it. But when you enter Via Canella (interior design shop, Grotestraat), there is a completely different atmosphere and experience. And it is not even about the quality of the product, it is about the experience of shopping there. You will stay much longer, and you probably leave with an unexpected purchase."* Shopkeepers in Cuijk all have the idea that visiting the city centre should be a positive experience, and when this experience is positive, the centre will attract people who will buy their products. Most of them claim that nowadays, this experience is not offered at normal opening hours. By offering an shopping experience, shopkeepers think they can change the rhythms of customers from predominately focused shopping towards more unfocused shopping. However, in that case, there has to be offered a complete experience. This means that not only the rhythms of shops, but also the other rhythms in the city centre of Cuijk, like the rhythms of restaurants and bars and the rhythms of cultural institutions have to be connected to each other.

One of the most important things to determine the experience of shopping in the centre of Cuijk is the amount of vacancy. The vacancy level has risen drastically in the last few years and many visitors and shopkeepers see this as an important problem. Next to the decrease of shopping opportunities in Cuijk, it is also an large mood killer for shopping audience. An barkeeper in the Maasstraat stated *"At the entrance of the city centre, in the Molenstraat, the first thing you see is vacancy. That does not make it attractive for people to come to the city centre"*. The changing capitalist rhythms leave their mark in the streets.

5.2 Spatial organization

The location within the city centre is important for rhythms people have to deal with. In the Centrumvisie, in which the municipality has described its vision on the city centre in 2003, there were separated zones in the city centre, called axis. Cuijk had a shopping axis, a hospitality axis, a services axis and a cultural axis (Gemeente Cuijk, 2014). This is still visible when walking through the city.

Shopping activities take place around the Louis Jansenplein and most of the cafes and bars are centred around the Maasstraat and Grotestraat. Some of the cafés, on Louis Jansenplein and in the Korte Molenstraat, benefit from the shopping rhythms and attempt to win over the audience to combine shopping with the local café and bars. Some of the visitors claim that they often combine their shopping-related activities with visiting one of the cafes in the shopping area.

Many respondents claim that Cuijk has a very impractical structure. According to an inhabitant of Stationsplein, the centre of Cuijk is too long and narrow to be a well-functioning centre. He claims: *“When you go to the Grotestraat, there isn’t any contact with the other streets”*. For this reason, many people stay in the centre of Cuijk, rather than go walking around and visit other places in Cuijk. One of the visitors said: *‘if they want make something out of this city centre, they have to do it in here (at Louis Jansenplein), in there (Molenstraat), it is such a mess, in my opinion, it may be demolished. And the Kaneelstraat, there are also some shops but I would never walk all the way to that.* Some of the visitors claimed that they went to the Molenstraat for years, but nowadays, they do not visit the street anymore. The reason they give is because many shops they used to visit disappeared, others claim that it is too far away from the Louis Jansenplein. In the eyes of many visitors of Cuijk, the city centre is already very small and compact. This could mean that they do not bother to walk to the Molenstraat, but it could also mean that they are not aware of the Molenstraat as a shopping area. This means that their shopping rhythms are already adapted to the plans of the municipality to create a compact city centre. This theory can be supported by the question which shops they had visited. None of the respondents, who were all interviewed within the compact city centre, said to have visited or had planned to visit the Molenstraat. This could possibly prove that the Molenstraat is not only by the municipality, but also by the shopping audience seen as a peripheral area.

However, according to a shop owner in the Molenstraat, the shops in the Molenstraat depend on regular customers who do a very focused visit. Shop keepers in these streets value upon accessibility by car, the Molenstraat gives them the opportunity to be located next to the shopping centre, but where it is also possible for people to park their cars in front of the shop. They respond to a different rhythm of their customers. They do not (fully) depend on the shopping rhythms of the Louis Jansenplein, but they are connected to the rhythms of a traffic and the possibility of parking. This is expressed in the characters of these shops; most of them are unique shops, selling uncommon products. People go for a planned, purchase-orientated visit.

5.3 Independent entrepreneurs vs. chain stores

In the city centre of Cuijk, like in every city centre in the world nowadays, there are independent shops and chain stores. The rhythms of these shops are very different from each other. This

expresses in the way these entrepreneurs are involved with the city centre. An independent entrepreneur is very much involved with the city centre. He is individually dependent on a successful city centre, because he often invested a lot of money in his store. The chain store is dependent from the rhythms of the retail chain. An important example is Centrummanagement, an organisation that almost exclusively involves independent entrepreneurs. According to Clemens Binkhorst, in this case, there is a difference between franchise stores and chain stores because franchise entrepreneurs are often very involved with the city centre, the association of undertakings and the Centrummanagement. Franchise entrepreneurs can be seen as independent, they have power over their own business. According to Binkhorst, the amount of independent stores is decreasing in proportion to the franchise and chain stores. This means there are less and less (local) entrepreneurs involved with the city centre. This results in difficulties for the organisation of shopping events like *Cuijk Keigoed* and *Cuijk op Zondag*, these shopping events that are important for retailers because they can show themselves to the audience.

According to a couple of retailers, there are too many shopping events in Cuijk. They all also include regular shopping Sundays as shopping events. According to a retailer in the Grotestraat, shopping events should remain special in order to remain successful. Cuijk should confine itself to the large shopping events that attract regional attention. Alongside the opening hours, the increasing amount of shopping events is a result of the rhythms of the 24-hours economy. This concerns extended opening hours and a larger amount of Sunday shopping hours. These extended opening hours do not directly imply more sales. According to a retailer in the Molenstraat, extra opening hours does only result in more costs. *“people can only spend their money once”*.

During the large shopping events like *Cuijk Keigoed* and *Cuijk op Zondag*, there is a polyrhythm of shopping in the city centre. Every store is opened and does something extra to create a nice atmosphere in the city centre. The cafes around the Louis Jansenplein are also involved with this event. The Centrummanagement attempts to improve the atmosphere by involving live music, theatre and play area for children. This event can be seen as a commercial event, focused on selling and making profit. For this reason, the cultural institutions do not participate in these events, they have their own events, like *Cultuur aan de Maas*². This event is more focused on the presentation of cultural institutions, not on marketing and optimising sales. Herman van Rhee claims that the cultural institutions do not participate in the shopping events because the shopping audience and the visitors of cultural institutions are far from the same. It can be seen as separated groups of people, with different rhythms.

² Cultuur aan de Maas is a yearly event, hosted by Cultureel Hart Cuijk, an interest organization in cultural activities in Cuijk.

5.4 Walking routes

Many of the respondents believe that walking routes are the most important factor whether or not people visit a shop. The current spatial organisation of the city centre of Cuijk implies a shopping route that crosses shopping mall Maasburg (shown in picture 5), and runs from the Grotestraat (shown in picture 9) and the Korte Molenstraat back to the Louis Jansenplein. This shopping route has been criticized by many respondents because it is not clearly indicated. The route runs through the HEMA, where it is not very clear for visitors that there is a passage. Also, the Grotestraat only has a few shops, which makes it not attractive for people to visit. The Grotestraat is a street that has been identified as a street for bars, cafes and restaurants. This street only comes to life in the evenings and at night, but at shopping times, the street looks quite abandoned. Restaurants and bars are still closed and this does not create an inviting place. The rhythms of the shopping part of the city and the rhythms of the catering industry are not polyrhythmic, they move past each other.

5.5 Cuijk as a city for restaurants and bars

The city centre of Cuijk has a large hotel and catering industry. There are more than 25 businesses, which are mostly concentrated around the Grotestraat and Maasstraat. The Grotestraat is shown in picture 9, the Maasstraat in picture 12). These businesses are very diverse, there are both restaurants and bars. Some restaurants are focused on local customers, others like Brasserie 't Zusje, are focused on customers from a wider area. This is the same for the bars in Cuijk, which are all focused on a particular age group. The rhythms of the catering industry stand pretty much alone, they are not connected to the shopping rhythms of the Louis Jansenplein and Korte Molenstraat, mostly because they are too far away from them. The only cafes that are polyrhythmic with the shopping rhythms are the cafes and bars on the Louis Jansenplein.

Shopping events are an important source of income for the shops in the city centre of Cuijk. The cafés and bars in the city centre have their own events, that are a very important source of income for the bars. One of the barkeepers stated: *"I assure you that it would be very hard for us to stay economically healthy without having a events like the kroegentocht"*. The 11-kroegentocht is a yearly event that yearly takes place in February. The event is about the celebration of carnival and yearly attracts thousands of people, mostly youngsters. This barkeeper also stated that people are nowadays more and more visiting events and festivals, and are going less to local pubs and bars. The events are needed to attract people, who were formerly going to the bar by themselves. The local bar is becoming less and less a social meeting point, people want to experience something unique.

The barkeeper said he anticipates to this by organising events within his bar to attract people, *“Give your nights a name that makes them special, and there are 20, 25 percent more customers”*. Events can both be seen as a help and a hindrance. The role of bars in society has changed, they are not the social meeting place they have been before. For that, they have to compete with each other and with other events and festivals to attract people. This can be supported by the data from a research by Festivalmonitor (2015). According to their research, the amount of festivals in the Netherlands has increased from 708 festivals in 2012, to 801 festivals in 2014. As a result, the total amount of festival visits increased between 2012 and 2014 from 19.7 million visits to 22.7 million.

Because of this changing situation, the cafés and bars in Cuijk attempt to become more flexible. They attempt to connect to different sorts of rhythms. One of the rhythms they want to connect to are the rhythms of tourism. According to a barkeeper in the Maasstraat, the bars in the Maasstraat are working together to build a large sidewalk cafe to attract tourists in the summer. He mostly focuses on cyclist and the shopping audience. He does not connect to the visitors of the cultural institutions, because he does not really know what they do. The collaboration between the catering entrepreneurs is quite well, according to this barkeeper. In contrary to that, Centrummanager Clemens Binkhorst thinks there is more competition than collaboration between them. *“When I ask them somethings as individuals they are always willing to participate, but when I ask them to do something as a group, there are always difficulties”*. He thinks that the difference in pricing and the different locations of the bars cause this competition. The catering entrepreneurs all compete for the same group of people. They all have the same costumers and they do not profit from walking routes or colleagues nearby, in contrast to shops and stores. For this reason, they are less dependent from each other.

Many respondents believe the renovation of the theatre will stimulate the sales in the city centre. Next September, the theatre will be re-opened. It is expected that this will attract many people from outside Cuijk to the city centre. According to a catering entrepreneur in the Grotestraat, the re-opening of the theatre will be a boost for local restaurants. They are planning on setting up arrangements to combine a visit of the theatre with a visit of a local restaurant or cafe. Also shops keepers think they will profit of the theatre. A shop owner in the Grotestraat believes that once the theatre is re-opened, the shop will be connected to the city centre again. It will generate a new walking route. This expectation is not supported by every respondent. A inhabitant of the Grotestraat stated that the theatre only offers activities for in the evenings. This cannot be connected to the shopping rhythms, that only exist during the day.

5.6 Cuijk as an accessible city.

An important role in the rhythms of Cuijk from a capitalist viewpoint is the accessibility of the city centre by car. In the current situation, The Louis Jansenplein and Korte Molenstraat are pedestrian zones and the Grotestraat, Zwaanstraat and Molenstraat have restricted traffic. In Cuijk, there have been discussions for years about the traffic situation around the city centre. This disagreement on this point is reflected in the opinion of the visitors. An often discussed point is the amount of traffic that should be allowed in the Grotestraat. Most of the visitors claim that traffic should be able to pass the Grotestraat, for several reasons. The most important reason is the unclear traffic situation when the street will be closed. Respondents mentioned that tests with the reduction of traffic around the centre in the past have been lead to unclear traffic situations. However, other respondents claimed that the Grotestraat is in their opinion, not part of the shopping area. It should be seen as a catering industry area and it should therefore be accessible for traffic. It is also said that traffic is important to keep the street 'alive'.

"People always want to park their cars as close as possible to the city centre" stated a restaurant owner in the Grotestraat. The location of parking spots are have very strategic importance in the city centre. They are the start and the end of the walking routes. Next to that, they should be easily found by car drivers. In the current situation, the most important parking spots are the underground parking lot beneath the Maasburg, the parking lot on Zwaanplein, the unpaved parking lot at Zandberg and the parking lot behind the Theatre, in the Kaneelstraat. Also the unpaved parking lot at Deken van den Ackerhof functions as an important parking lot on the eastside of the city centre. This has spatially been pictured in figure 7.



Figure 7. Parking lots in Cuijk

On this map, one can see in a glance that the parking spots are all situated around the Louis Jansenplein, Maasburg and Korte Molenstraat, the heart of the shopping area and the place where people would finally go to. An important notion is that the Molenstraat completely seems to be excluded from the walking routes between shop and car. However, this is not completely true, because the Molenstraat has many parking spots by the side of the road.

Some visitors talked about the parking policy. In Cuijk, there are blue zones, where people are allowed to park for a maximum time of two hours, and parking spots where people have pay per hour. Some visitors claimed that the 2-hour parking policy precluded them to visit a cafe after their shopping activities. This parking policy connects to the rhythms of grocery shopping, not to the rhythms of fun shopping and staying in the centre of a longer time. The policy of 2-hour parking fits in to the image of the capitalist city, there things go fast and there is no time to relax. The aim of the 2-hour parking is to avoid that the parking places will be occupied by inhabitants and employees of businesses in the city centre. They want to park their cars for the whole day, they will not remove them every two hours. The 2-hour parking spaces are created for the idea of a customer that quickly does his grocery shopping and directly drives home.

The capitalist city is a place that is focused on attracting people from outside the area. Assumed that these people would come by car, parking spots should be well indicated. A visitor stated: *"I would say, build a parking lot around the city centre and make a sign how much time one should walk to the city centre. It is important to clearly indicate that, so that people know where they stand"*. However, Restaurant owner in Grotestraat claims that parking spots are new better indicated. That is important for visitors of the city from outside. The restaurant owner says he is located on the edge of the city centre because of its accessibility by car. *"On this side of the city centre, people are not bounded to the blue zones, 2-hour parking. That means that they can park their cars in front of my restaurant for free"*.

Not everyone is happy with the parking policy in the area. Sometimes, the accessibility of one can go at the expense of the accessibility of others. The interviewed shopkeeper in the Kaneelstraat, told that the parking policy is an important factor for the amount of customers in her shop. She claimed that the parking policy is now focused on a short visit. People had to pay for parking and in that way, they were able to park in front of the stores. The shopkeeper told that the municipality is going to change the parking policy in the Kaneelstraat, the paid parking spots will become free parking spots. She expects that these spots will daily be occupied by inhabitants and employees of businesses in the city centre. This means that the Kaneelstraat becomes a parking space for the compact city centre,

and that the shops in that street will not be visible because of the parked cars in front of their windows. The rhythms of compact city centre are overruling the rhythms of the approach roads. The Kaneelstraat can be seen as the space of this shop owner and she feels this space is taken away from her. This is initiated by the municipality, who are using their policy to steer in that direction.

5.7 The image of Cuijk

An important aspect of the capitalist city is the image of the city. The image is important in order to attract customers from outside. An important aspect of the image of the city is its look. The quality of the look of the city has of course decreased a bit by the rising vacancy in the city, that has been mentioned earlier. Also, what has often been mentioned is the ugly entrance of the city centre, on the northern part of the Grotestraat and the Molenstraat. According to centrummanager Clemens Binkhorst, this has also a result of the vacancy. *“One of the former shop owners has written down on his building things like Sale and Close Out, Now he is gone, and we still deal with this ugly building”*. However, he claims that this is above all a practical problem, rather than a policy problem. The look of the city can easily be improved.

The interviewed shop keeper in the Korte Molenstraat can notice when there has been advertised before. *“When early in the season, there has been advertised in a targeted manner, we all benefit from it the whole season”*. He means it generates a lot of tourist, who come to visit the city centre. Between the interviews, there has been some differences in the idea of what is interesting for tourist to visit the city centre. Many shop owners tourist come for shopping and visiting cafes and bars. In contradiction, according to Herman van Rhee, the cultural institutions of Cuijk could play an interesting role in the tourism in Cuijk. But, as a critique, he claims that policymakers often approach culture as a trigger for shopping audience. And that is not the right approach, according to him. He says that the cultural institutions can be commercially interesting for cafés and bars, but they do not pay enough attention to them.

5.8 Conclusion of this chapter

The rhythms of the city centre of Cuijk have been captured by capitalism. Characteristics of the ideal type of capitalist city centre are present in the city centre of Cuijk. In this concluding paragraph, I conclude how the capitalist rhythms have made Cuijk into a capitalist city.

People come to the city centre in order to go shopping. The focus in shopping has changed the past few years. Because of the disappearance of retail, the focus has shifted from a total shopping area (fun shopping and targeted shopping) to more targeted grocery shopping. Many retail has disappeared because of a shift in the economic focus. Internet shopping has taken over a large part

of the market, this is at the expense of the physical, local shop. The local, family-owned enterprises are often the victims of the economic shift. They don't have the chain of stores to rely on and they are dependent of their local reputation in order to survive. Internet shopping has also changed the way of shopping in physical stores. Because of the dangers and concurrence of internet shopping, retailers are restrained to provide information to their customers. They think that the information they give as an expert, will be used by them to buy the same product on the internet, instead of in their shop.

The decrease of shops in the city centre of Cuijk has led to a less attractive shopping area. the decrease of shops has led to less shopping opportunities, but also the disappearance of shops has caused vacancy, that has a negative influence on the atmosphere in the city centre. It indicates a vicious circle, a bad atmosphere in the city centre will discourage people to come to the city centre, which makes it less attractive at all. This has caused more targeted visits of the city centre. People come less to the city centre for staying, they come to do some targeted shopping and directly leave after that. The current facilities support this behaviour; the parking facilities near the city centre only allow people to park for two hours and the most of the shops are concentrated very close to each other, in a shopping mall. The shopping mall has become such an easy place to go shopping. It is that functional that people directly leave after they went shopping.

The vacancy in the city centre of Cuijk causes a feeling of nostalgia, loss and mourning. People do not visit certain streets anymore because the shops they used to go to have gone bankrupt (see picture 7 & 8). This could be the reason for a lot of negative attitudes towards the city centre. "*Cuijk is not Cuijk anymore*" is often said, Cuijk has changed, but people still expect the old Cuijk, the place they know.

The atmosphere in the city centre changes when there are events. This could be shopping events like Cuijk Keigoed and Cuijk op Zondag, but also events like De Kroegentocht. During events, Cuijk becomes a place to stay because in these days, customers are offered some kind of atmosphere. This nice atmosphere attract people to the city centre, also people from outside of Cuijk. This offered atmosphere increases the sales in Cuijk very much, according to the entrepreneurs. Therefore some of them call for more events but not every entrepreneur think this is a working solution. There is claimed that more events would make them less special. The power of events to create a special atmosphere is then in jeopardy.

The aim of the capitalist city centre is to attract as many people to the city centre. They are seen as customers who should be encouraged to buy as much as possible. An important part of attractiveness is mobility. In the everyday life experiences of the people in Cuijk, they claim the

mobility, particularly the parking opportunities in the city centre, do not fulfil their needs. At the parking spots that are close to the city centre, people can only park for two hours for free. This does not make it attractive to stay in the city centre for a long time.

There is also attempted to attract tourists to the city centre. According to the interviews, people see it as an important opportunity in order to make money. However, there has been discussion about what is actually interesting for tourists to visit. The cultural institutions in Cuijk are often considered as an important trigger. However, there is assumed that this will automatically lead to an increase of shopping audience. Actually, the shopping part, cultural part and hospitality part of the city centre are not communicating and collaborating. Also, there is said that the cultural audience is a different audience compared to the shopping audience. Tourism is considered to be an important factor for the city centre to make money but it is unknown how this money should be actually generated.

6. Lived space: traditional city rhythms

This chapter concerns a traditional view of the city. I will discuss the traditional rhythms of Cuijk, These rhythms are experienced through rhythms of everyday life, the rhythms of the people . The rhythms I describe in this chapter are experienced by (one of the) people who are involved with the city and have in that way, affected their own rhythms. The traditional view of the city can be characterized by local, small-scale and slow rhythms In this chapter, I will discuss how this view of the city is expressed in the rhythms of Cuijk. This chapter is structured into four different paragraphs. The last paragraph of this chapter is a short conclusion.

6.1 The function of the city centre

Traditionally, the city centre is a place for local people to buy and sell their goods. Despite the capitalist rhythms that have changed everyday life, localities still exist and play an important role in the everyday lives of the people of Cuijk. Capitalist rhythms drive back the traditional rhythms because things like capital have more power. Dominant interests like technocrats, bourgeois urbanists and capital shape spaces, and in the end, also everyday life (Merrifield, 2002). Still, in everyday life, people have their own rhythms and use the rhythms of the city in their own way. Also, they can use traditional rhythms as a critique to the more and more expanding capitalist rhythms.

In the interviews I did, the role of the local in everyday life was often mentioned. It is often mentioned that Cuijk should not be compared with a city like Nijmegen. Clemens Binkhorst stated: *“In a large city, you are one out of many. In here, people know each other. I am talking about a city of 20.000 inhabitants. People know who owns the bakery, who owns the Readshop”*. According to him, that also creates a kind of goodwill factor. This means that in a local community, people are more This goodwill factor has, according to a shop keeper in the Kaneelstraat, been decreased the last decades. *“Cuijk is not Cuijk anymore, when I came here, forty years ago, everyone knew each other. And now, with all the new neighbourhoods. Everyone who is living at the Heeswijk³, why should they grant me instead of anyone else? They do not even know me”. If you are, for instance, not a member of the same sports club as they are, where do they have to know you from? I Do not think there is still some kind of goodwill factor. Not like in the early days, there were four of the same shops and they specifically went to yours.”* She claims that the urbanisation has made a city out of a small village. A lot of recognition has been lost in this period.

Two of the interviewed shop owners claimed this goodwill factor could also be a grudge factor. An interviewed shopkeeper in the Molenstraat claimed that the goodwill factor is surely there, but

³Heeswijkse Kampen, a district of Cuijk in the North-West.

“There is often said, not only about me but also many of my colleagues, that we live in too much prosperity”. He said that people have the idea that the entrepreneurs in Cuijk make too much money and people do not want them to make more money because of them. There are ideas and prejudices in the city about these entrepreneurs, that they make too much money and the people in Cuijk act upon these prejudices. This idea of a local grudge factor is supported by the bar keeper in the Maasstraat. *“Formerly, my bar has been a bar for young people. The times have changed and I have changed everything in here in order to create a new atmosphere. Still, in popular wisdom, you are still the bar for youth, where others are not welcome”* He says that because everyone knows each other, there is a world of rumour and hearsay in the city. People are often not open for new things, he claims. The local aspect of the small scale and the known customers affect the rhythms of the shop owners on two sides. On one side, the local aspect causes a feeling of a known place, where customers know the entrepreneurs personally and are willing to buy at their stores because they grant them the business. On the other side, they are part of a local community of rumours and prejudices. Negative prejudices about a an enterprise can cost a lot of customers.

The local culture of Cuijk is often mentioned. According to many of the respondents, the people from Cuijk have a reputation of whining. For this reason they are often called the ‘nuilers’, which means people who are always nagging. An inhabitant of the Stationsplein said that when he came to live here, back in the sixties, the people were very stubborn. *“But when you the people trusted you, after a while, they were very willing to cooperate. But they were very stubborn. Now it has changed because there have come many people from outside to live in Cuijk.”* This reputation of the people from Cuijk has been acknowledged by an inhabitant of the Grotestraat. He claims *“they always talk with their hands in their pockets”*, which means that they are complaining but not willing to help to improve it. If these prejudices of the people of Cuijk are true cannot be determined but the neighbourhood council came up with a striking example about the public meetings they host *“You know what it is, when it concerns the streets in which people actually live, then they come to the public meetings. In Advance, they always have idle talk, but when push comes to shove they do not show up”*

Another local aspect is the shop as a meeting place for local people. Clemens Binkhorst claims that important for people to feel at home in the city centre, that they know their way to go. Identification with the people and the city space is important to feel at home. The large amount of cafes and bars in the city centre of Cuijk support the idea of the local business as a place for meeting and gathering. Herman van Rhee, member of Cultureel Hart Cuijk, indicated that they monthly hosting a debate night about culture in a local bar. *“It is always nice, we always have subjects that people find*

interesting". Next to that, local bars have their regular guests. A bar keeper in the Maasstraat said that he is involved with a couple of local sports clubs in order to get them to his bar every week.

According to a shop owner in the Kaneelstraat, the transformation to a more compact city centre can be seen as a transformation to monoculture. *"nowadays, everybody has to shift to the city centre. In the centre, everyone has its own little place, there is no need to go to Cuijk for that reason"*. In her view on the city centre, it not about optimizing sales, but about offering the people of the city something unique in order to let the city remain

The city centre is a place where many different people with varying purposes come together. The rhythms of different (groups of) people clash in the city centre. This can happen at different fields, at different levels. One of these things is the nuisance that has been caused by noise pollution. An inhabitant of the Grotestraat claimed that sometimes, there is noise pollution But he claims: *"I decided to live here only four and a half years ago, so I have no right to complain about the fact the yearly elfkroegentocht or other parties, just outside of our house. Of course, sometimes it is hard. But there is only one bar, and that is not the nearest, it is pretty far away actually, which always play their music so loud, I can hear everything"* it seems that people in the city centre get used to the varying rhythms of the city centre, and they got used to it. An restaurant keeper in the Grotestraat said that often, people are not that easy . *"At the end of this street, at the Markt, for 40 years there has been a fairground. 10 years ago, people have come to live there. Those people complain about the fairground. When you decide to live there, you also have to accept there is a fairground, a couple of days every year"*.

6.2 Walkability

An important aspect of the traditional city centre is walkability. According to an inhabitant of the Stationsplein, it is almost impossible to reach the city centre from his home by walking. He claims that the infrastructure at the Stationsstraat has been almost impassable. *"My wife cannot go around without a walker. The sidewalks here in the city centre are too narrow and too bumpy. So when she wants to walk to the city centre, she is forced to walk on the driveway, or on the bicycle lanes.* For that reason, they even change their behaviour, by instead of walking , using the car to go the city centre. Walkability is a very important topic when there is an aging population. This can be pictured by the mobility scooters in picture 6. In 2010, The centre area of Cuijk, had an population where 36% is older than 65 (CBS, 2015). Since then, there have been a couple of construction projects in the centre of Cuijk, that has been offering suitable accommodation for the elderly. This means the amount of older people will probably rise the next years. They often move to the centres of small cities and villages to situate themselves close to amenities. The rhythms of the elderly are important

part of the rhythms of Cuijk. But the rhythms of Cuijk are not always adjusted to them. In order to adjust to the rhythms of the elderly, an shop keeper in the Molenstraat made his shop accessible for walkers and mobility scooters. *“There are no thresholds so everyone can just roll in, so for wheelchairs and walkers, there are no constraints.*

In order to increase the walkability, the municipality has considered to close the Grotestraat for car traffic. This should increase the walkability and should make room for sidewalk cafes on the streets and transform the street from a travel area to a residence area. This would be a complete change of rhythms. In the council meeting of 16-03-2015, there has been decided to only close the street at special occasions, like shopping events. According to a shop keeper in the Grotestraat, closing down the Grotestraat offers opportunities to create a better quality of public space. She regrets the disappearance of the sidewalk cafes at the end of the Molenstraat / Grotestraat because this had always been a success. Also the cyclic rhythms like the sun play a large role. In the evenings, the sunshine falls on the eastern part of the Grotestraat. This makes it suitable for large sidewalk cafes *“There (now Brasserie Het Zusje, formerly De Korenwolf), was always one of the nicest sidewalk cafes of Cuijk. It is not there yet, but it was always sunny on that spot. And also in my shop. The evenings are always sunny. For that reason, this side could be perfect for sidewalk cafes”* There actually other cyclic rhythms that cause arrhythmia. According to a bar keeper in de Maasstraat, the trees in the area Maasstraat, Grotestraat Maaskade make a visit less pleasant. *“We recently had some problems with the sticky substance that fell down from the trees, also the pigeons in the trees made a mess out of the sidewalk cafes”*. In order to tackle these problems, the municipality recently has removed some of these trees.

Walkability is not only the extent to which people are able to walk through the city (passability), it is also the extent to which the city space is suitable to spend time in. Street furniture is an important aspect of this. A good quality of street furniture is needed to create a place to stay, space to reside. The interviewed shop owner in the Korte Molenstraat, the street furniture in the city centre lacks of conformity: *“Look, in the Molenstraat, the benches have different colours. In here, they are ugly orange instead of the nice black benches in the Molenstraat”*. Not only the aesthetics of the street furniture has been questioned, also the functionality of the furniture is not optimal. According to the neighbourhood council, the bicycle storage in front of the Maasburg, lacks functionality. *They claimed: What we think it is a thorn on our side, people all park their bikes next to the shopping centre. Of course, they want to park as close as possible to the centre. People often say that there is no space for parking left”*. The quality and location of the streets furniture is related to the rhythms of the people of Cuijk. In their rhythms to go shopping, they want to park their bikes next to the shopping mall. Despite the fact that the street furniture is limited the amount of bikes at that spot,

people's rhythms are set to go against the rhythms that the street furniture prescribes. Now, the neighbourhood council calls to change the street furniture, to connect to peoples rhythms.

The function of the street furniture can also be determined by cyclic rhythms. According to a visitor, the benches on the Louis Jansenplein are sometimes used as a waiting area for the sidewalk cafes at the Louis Jansenplein. *"On sunny Sundays, people are always sitting here and watching the sidewalk cafes. When a spot comes free, people run at it"*. The weather transforms the benches from a lounge area into a waiting area.

On the values of the traditional city, it is important for a city to have nice aesthetics. These are needed to have an optimal quality of the city space. In Cuijk, the aesthetics of the city space has often been criticized. The aesthetics of the city space are often associated with the atmosphere of the city centre. A shop keeper in the Grotestraat said that *"There is such a bad atmosphere, I do not enjoying grocery shopping here, I only go to the stores I need to go and leave quickly."*

An important part of Cuijk that has been exclusively been decorated as a place to stay, is the Maaskade (shown in picture 12). According to a resident of Stationsplein, the Maaskade is 'the middle of nowhere'. He claims that *"The Maaskade is a barren place. They have this rusty iron and there is no entertainment at all. The Jan van Cuijkboat is there, but there is only iron, no sidewalk cafes"*. He claims this has been caused by the cyclical rhythms of nature, because *"it is always cold, Cultuur aan de Maas has used the place years ago as their activity area, but that is only possible when the weather is perfect"*.

Another field in which the cyclical rhythms of nature determine the aesthetics and atmosphere in the city centre are when the street lights go on at night. A shopkeeper in the Korte Molenstraat indicated that the city centre is lightened at night by white coloured led-lightning. He claims this transforms the city into a cold place, a place that not feels likable and cosy but a place that is only enlightened for safety reasons. He thinks these sort of street lights are an important reason people do not want to be outside at night.

6.3 Spatial exclusion

The Kerkstraat and Kerkplein (shown in picture 14) have often been mentioned as a isolated location, one that is not connected to the rest of the city centre. The public space of that place makes that possible. According to Leo Langen, the street lights in the Kerkstraat make it into a unattractive place for people. *"In the winter, it is just like a ghetto. There are some small lights there but it is a very dark street. People are too afraid to walk in the street, they do not feel safe in such a place"*. An inhabitant of the Grotestraat shares this idea of that area. He claims that the area has been neglected and now

it has become a place without rules and order *“There is only one trash can and that one is always full. The crows in here pick everything out because the people in here, they throw in everything they have left from their food. On Saturdays, it is very busy in the city centre, people throw their trash everywhere. There has been a time that they cleaned it on Sunday morning, but that is no longer the case”* As a result of the place has being neglected, the place has become criminal and impoverished. *“people are dealing drugs there”* he said. On the other side of the street, at the Tuigleerstraatje (shown in picture 10), the atmosphere and safety has according to Leo Langen improved in the past few years. *“The Tuigleerstraatje has always been a street that nobody dared to pass. Why? Because there was a lot of scum, dealing drugs. The people did not feel safe there. This has been reduced the last few years. But, ten years ago, old people where not passing that street. It has all reduced, it is more opened now”*

By means of the interviews, I have spoken to many different people, who are situated at different places within the city centre. An important issue that came across was being of not being part of the city centre. The policy of the municipality to create a core area and a surrounding area of the city centre, has caused feelings of (spatial) exclusion. In every one of the streets that the municipality has identified approach roads, the shell of the city centre, I have interviewed an entrepreneur. They all have specific reasons to be located in that part of the city centre. The shopkeeper in the Molenstraat and the restaurant keeper in the Grotestraat said to be located at these locations because of the accessibility. The shop keeper in the Kaneelstraat claimed to be located because the approach roads have a unique character, that fit in the unique character of her shop. However, when he municipality has diminished the shopping area, the approach roads were slowly pulled away from the rhythms of the city centre. The shopkeeper in the Kaneelstraat claimed: *“If they change it in the right way, I really want to be part of the city centre, well, not the city centre but to be part of the shopping area. Now I experience that the shopping area extends till there (Crossroad Korte Molenstraat – Kaneelstraat) and they clearly show it by putting a crush barrier in the middle of the street. The cars cannot drive along and they have to turn around. That is almost impossible. I think it becomes a such a messy street. I don’t want to part of their event, so I close my shop.”* She stated that when there are shopping events in the city centre, she finds her shop outside of the event area. She said she also experienced it in smaller things like *“when they are handing out vouchers for fritters at the end of the year, I do not get them. Only the entrepreneurs in the city centre get them”*. This spatial exclusion raises the question who exactly owns these streets. The decision of the municipality, which has been taken out of capitalist motives like sales maximizing and attractiveness, has consequences for the everyday life of entrepreneurs in the approach roads.

6.4 Cooperation

In the traditional city, the people in the city attempt to cooperate with each other in order to create a liveable city for everyone. In this sub paragraph, I will discuss two important organisations that play an important part in the cooperation between the people of the city centre: centrummanagement and the neighbourhood council.

The first organisation is centrummanagement, that has been founded in Januari 2013. It functions as a cooperation between the entrepreneurs of the city centre, the association of undertakings and the municipality. *The aim of centrummanagement is to have an implementing entity which has the tools and the aim to strengthen the city centre* (Duncan Horst). Centrummanagement generates its money by directly taxing the entrepreneurs of the city centre. In that way, every single entrepreneur in the city centre pays for the events that take place in the city centre, also the chain stores who refused to pay before. Centrummanagement focuses on the implementation and of the policy and plans that are adduced by the association of undertakings and the municipality.

The implementation of these plans has to be done by the entrepreneurs themselves. For that reason, Centrummanagement recently has developed a new system in which entrepreneurs in the city centre become part of working groups, all sorted out on different fields like safety, atmosphere or parking and traffic. There are also separated working groups for each event. The centrummanagement is an organisation that attempts to unite the rhythms of the different entrepreneurs. As an organisation, the entrepreneurs could unite, and try to create their own rhythms, instead of all adapt to the existing rhythms. A striking example could be there is now dealt with the varying opening hours. According to an entrepreneur in the Molenstraat, there is too much conformity about the opening hours in the city. *“as long as there is no conformity, I stay opened at shopping nights. The owner of the shop next to mine and I always determine our opening hours in cooperation with each other. So, when we are opened, we are both. When we are closed, we are both. Because then, it is clear for visitors and then it does not matter to be closed”*. The shop keeper indicated that when there is no conformity, he thinks it is a moral duty to be opened as much as possible. He thinks that it would be good to have some kind of agreement between entrepreneurs because now, the entrepreneurs are affected by the rhythms of capitalism where shops are opened as much as possible and entrepreneurs compete each other. The shop keeper said that is almost impossible to completely move with these rhythms: *“were are not robots, we cannot be opened twenty-four seven”*. The same is mentioned by the bar keeper in the Maasstraat, when talking about the amount of events in the city centre. He says it is hard for him to help organising these events because then, there comes too much pressure on his shoulders. *“Well, it is a lot of organisation and we, as a catering industry are off*

course working many hours a day. We are not a business that has several different branches, It is just me, alone. Sometimes, there is no time for extra things left. I think that is the problem. Look, for instance, the people who organize the kroegentocht are all external people, they are not connected to one of the bars. Of course, there is a lot of cooperation but there is no bar keeper involved”.

Not every entrepreneur is happy to have centrummanagement in the city centre. An important aspect entrepreneurs do not appreciate is that they pay taxes in order to finance the centrummanagement. The shop keeper in the Korte Molenstraat refers to his liberal beliefs. He believes that others should not interfere in his business. According to the shop keeper in the Kaneelstraat, these are the characteristics of entrepreneurs. *“My husband would say, this is typical entrepreneurship. Otherwise they would never have become independent, especially this obstinacy cracks the association of entrepreneurs. You do not want to be part of it.”* Most of the entrepreneurs are actually curious and excited about the plans of the centrummanagement. *“I have noticed they have some interesting ideas”*, according to the bar keeper in the Maasstraat.

Another important organisation that attempts to improve cooperation in the city centre is the neighbourhood council of Cuijk. This organisation operates as an interest group for the people who are living, residing and working in the city centre of Cuijk. This means they not only represent the inhabitants, but also the shopkeepers, employees and even the visitors of the city centre of Cuijk. The aim of the neighbourhood council is, according to them, *“to pursue a pleasant city centre for living, working and residing”*. They are an intermediate between the municipality and the people of the city centre of Cuijk. The organisation gives the people of the city centre a voice, it helps them to obtain a form of power in order to (re)claim their right to the city. The neighbourhood council can be an organisation that could function as a protector of the traditional rhythms, by opposing the capitalist rhythms in the city centre. They gave the example that they think it is important for children to have a place to play. *“For instance, when they building somewhere and there is no playground for children. There must be something for children, there cannot just build and abandon these children to their fate”*. The neighbourhood council consists of volunteers and consists of a group of people who are all living inside of the area. For this reason, they are a point of contact for people in the neighbourhood.

6.5 Conclusion of this chapter

The rhythms of the city centre of Cuijk have been captured by capitalism. Still, Cuijk would not be Cuijk if there are no traditional rhythms city rhythms. Characteristics of the ideal type of traditional city centre are present in the city centre of Cuijk. In this concluding paragraph, I describe how the traditional city rhythms have made Cuijk a traditional city.

An important aspect of the traditional city rhythms is the local culture. According to a couple of entrepreneurs in the city centre, the local goodwill factor is an important factor in their business. Because they consider Cuijk as a small city, they think there is more personal contact between entrepreneur and their customers. They think this personal contact will lead to a goodwill factor, where customers grant entrepreneurs their money. In contrast, this idea is not supported by every entrepreneur. There also claimed that Cuijk is that much changed by capitalist urbanization, that this goodwill factor belongs to the past. Next to a goodwill factor, the local aspect of a small city does also cause a grudge factor. Tales and prejudices in the local community make or break the image of a shops and bars. The image of the shop or bar and the owner in the local community is an important part of getting customers. One of the entrepreneurs claims that there is the idea that the local entrepreneurs make too much money and for that reason, people do not grant them their money anymore. Another important aspect of the local is the city centre a meeting spot for people in the city. The shop is named as a place where people meet each other, in particular bars have that function. Local bars cooperate with local institutions in culture or with sports clubs in order to generate this meeting point function.

In order to be a place to stay, rather than a place to pass, the walkability of the city centre becomes a determining factor. Cuijk has a walking zone, which is considered by the people of Cuijk as pleasant. There is some discussion about increasing the walkability of the Grotestraat, however, this will to at the expense of the accessibility by car. According to some elderly, the walkability for people with walking difficulties could be improved. The large amount of elderly residing in the city centre make this an important item. Humbs and potholes in the streets constrain them to get around with their walkers. There are also other reasons that influence the walkability in some parts of the city centre. The Kerkstraat is that bad enlightened that people do not want to walk in that street at night and also, the Maaskade is often subject to wind and bad weather, that it is often not suitable as place to stay. Another shortcoming in order to be a place to stay is the state of the street infrastructure. The benches are considered as ugly and outdated and the streetlights lack the atmosphere.

The policy of the municipality is focused towards a compact city centre. This actually has some consequences for the social relations between the city centre. Because the municipality has in this way created a core and shell area, a kind of centre en periphery. This has lead to feelings of exclusion in the shell area. They feel like they have failed them and therefore, they want to be part of the city centre again. The exclusion is noticed by things like being part of the shopping area during events. In order to reclaim their right to the city, the entrepreneurs in the Molenstraat have gathered to fight their spatial exclusion. They succeeded, the municipality council decided in favour of the

entrepreneurs of the Molenstraat. The plans changed, the Molenstraat became part of the shopping area again.

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Picture 13. Cars in the Korte Molenstraat



Picture 14. Kerkstraat

7. Represented space: the policy of the municipality

In this chapter, I will describe how the municipality is attempting to create a new timespace in the city centre of Cuijk. To what direction do they want to shape the rhythms of Cuijk and how are they using (spatial) policy in order to achieve that. This chapter is divided into five paragraphs. The last and final paragraph is a short conclusion.

The main reason for heading towards a compact city centre is its shape; it is narrow and elongated and it is assumed that therefore, it does not function in the right way. In the Centrumvisie (2014) document, it has been called a meeting place of the Cuijk municipality area and surrounding area with a variety of shops, restaurants, bars and culture. The policy document has been drawn in order to frame the future development of the city centre. It is focused on retail and catering, which are considered the most important sectors of the city centre.

7.1 Economically strong city centre

Duncan Horst says the city centre as a shopping area is *“is neither fish nor fowl, it is not a typical centre for grocery shopping and it is no typical centre for fun shopping. This has been the same for years. Still, there are a couple of nice shops, a couple of boutiques. These are still shop-shops, and not grocery shopping oriented shops. But next to that, there are a couple of supermarkets, some daily shops, a liquor store, a drugstore, those are concentrated in the city centre. These are all things that are bought in a high frequency, they suit with the profile of a centre for grocery shopping”*. In order to choose between these profiles and develop the city centre, the municipality has set its mind to become a more grocery shopping oriented city centre. Horst claims the economy forces them to choose that path. *“It is very hard nowadays to get specialty stores in the city centre. There is a lot of vacancy, especially in the Kaneelstraat, Grotestraat, Molenstraat. That is not without reason. Many entrepreneurs are older than sixty, who are going to quit or who already have quit. Those are often local bounded family-owned Enterprises with a specialized character. These shops are replaced by shops who are more involved with daily, grocery shopping or even, they are not replaced by anything. This means the shopping function reduces more and more.*

In order to attempt to maintain the current shops and stores, and keep the city centre alive, the municipality shifts its focus from a shopping area to a recreation area. According to Horst, this does not mean the recreational form of shopping but more a combination of shopping, culture, restaurants and bars. In practice, this means they attempt to change the rhythms of Cuijk. formerly, the city has been focused on creating functional space, a place where people can go shopping and

where they can directly leave. Now, they more focus more on keeping these people in the city centre. Horst claims that the longer people stay in the city centre, the more money they spend.

For this reason, the municipality recently has initiated to bring the rhythms of the different sectors in the city centre more together in order to connect them to each other. Horst stated *"It is important to have a good connection when the shops are closing. when can you get to the restaurants and cultural institutions?, the underground parking should be opened long enough , I think these things should be connected well to each other"*. The first, and most obvious step is to involve the local catering industry with shopping. Most of the people who come to the city centre go shopping, and nice looking sidewalk cafes could make them to stay longer in the city centre. Recently, the municipality has encouraged them to make more use of that connection. Horst said *"Until recently, the cafes and bars at the Louis Jansenplein were closing very early, at five a.m. There are people sitting there, drinking coffee and they are just chasing away you're customers. Now, it is opened a bit longer. People can stay there and can also go for something to eat afterwards"*. The city centre should, according to him, be the place where all the activities take place and therefore, there has to be wide variety of activities, shopping, catering, culture and also aesthetics.

In order to keep the customers longer in the city centre, Horst claims there should be distinguished two sorts of people, people who are doing grocery shopping and directly leave and people who are visiting the city for recreation. *"people who go shopping do not want yet to visit the cultural institutions. Maybe they go to local cafes to drink coffee but that's it. They will leave afterwards. People who are visiting the city for recreation can be pulled by the catering industry, and that is close to the cultural institutions. According to Horst, the city as a place for recreation is directly associated with tourism. "The tourists and recreationists is a growing sector. The ferry on the Maas is an important reason for this growth. Those people will walk around in the city and they will stay longer in the city centre. They also get in the cultural part of the city centre"*. Horst claims these groups of people should be seen as separate. This does not mean the municipality wants them to stay in the cultural part. *"It would be nice if they would also go to the Louis Jansenplein and sit on those sidewalk cafes. Then, it will be likely that they would also visit some shops. If they only stay in the cultural part of Cuijk, around the church and the Maaskade, they do not see that there are also some opportunities for fun shopping. We should avoid the situation where people do not have a clue what they could do around here"* It seems that the city centre as a place to stay is exclusively seen for people from outside. The view of the city centre by the municipality is to see the city centre as a tourist attraction. The city centre as a meeting place for local people is not mentioned, local people would use the city centre, in their eyes, only for fast grocery shopping.

7.2 Public space

The municipality is pursuing an economically strong city centre. This will be done by focusing on tourists from outside to come to the city centre. One of the most important tools of the municipality to make the city attractive for visitors is public space. The municipality is now drawing a plan for updating the public space, as a result of the sewage system which is to be replaced in the Grotestraat. According to Gerian Snels, this is chosen to be a moment to redecorate the public place in the whole city centre. There is a lot of support for updating the public space because of problems with too small sidewalk cafes, parking problems and specific requirements of entrepreneurs. Another reason for updating the public space is the competitive position in the regional area. According to Gerian Snels, the city centre of Cuijk loses customers to neighbouring cities, because of their new, updated public space. He stated: *“When you look at neighbouring cities, Wijchen, Gennep, Venray, they all get a new city centre. This attracts people and they are going to sit at the sidewalk café, they stay in the city centre for a longer time. The economy recovers. People from Cuijk are also visiting those cities and go shopping there instead of shopping in Cuijk”*.

It is important that the new public space will also steer the walking routes of the people in Cuijk. The municipality attempts to use the new public space in order to make a connection between the shopping area around the Maasburg and Louis Jansenplein, and the culture and catering area around the Grotestraat and Maasstraat. Snels claims that Cuijk should use its own strengths in order to develop the city centre. *“The redevelopment of the public space should be done on the basis of culture instead of shops, because shopping sector is not the best sector”*. For this reason, the cultural part of the city centre, which is considered to be qualitative because of its old buildings and its aesthetics should be connected to the shopping area. *“When you walk through the city centre, it is not inviting to walk to the Maas, there are also not nice terraces around the church. It is all limited to this small shopping area”* He thinks the qualities of Cuijk are not fully exploited. *“In almost every village or city, there are functions around the church, often sidewalk cafes. In here, there is nothing. And when people are sitting on the sidewalk cafes in that area, it is only a short stroll to the Maas. They can walk around there. There could also be made something in public space for children, a playground, or little fountains”*. This part of the city centre could be connected to the shopping area by road signs, but it would be better to emphasize it by public space. This should be done by aesthetics and by creating natural walking routes to that side. Also the public space in the area itself will be developed. A reason the sidewalk cafes in the Grotestraat are not functioning yet, it the character of the Grotestraat as a main road. Snels said: *“when you are sitting at a sidewalk cafe in the Grotestraat, you are almost run over by the cars passing by, it is not a place that can be used as a place to stay”*.

In the last few years, the public space in the city centre of Cuijk has been developed without a general overview and vision. The people of Cuijk have, often with help from the municipality, attempted to control their own space. This is visible in the public space of Cuijk. Snels claims: *“There are nothing more than obstacles. Trees, Bicycle stands, everything runs through each other. This has been increased through the years, people have added a pole or a bench. That kind of restructuring belongs to a different era. Now it is more clustered. Street furniture will be put together. Now we focus on the accessibility of the public space. The single interventions of the recent years have missed its target. The policy was like, when a car was parked somewhere, just put a pole in the ground and it is made impossible”*. The municipality of Cuijk thinks there should be a clustered approach to update the public space. This will not go at the expense of the people of Cuijk and the way they have made the city space their own. The decision making concerning updating the public space will be done in cooperation with the inhabitants, shop owners and other stakeholders.

There are two important things that the municipality is attempting to improve by updating public space, The first one is the walkability in the city, the second one is the aesthetics and looks. Increasing the walkability will be done by arranging public space in a way that car drivers do not feel welcome in the city centre. They will ride slowly through the city centre, but will not park at the side of the road. In this way, traffic can still pass the streets, but the walkability will be improved. Another problem that is mentioned by the municipality that could be tackled by the new public space is the walkability for people with reduced mobility. The municipality acknowledges the elevation differences and the streets of the city centre, which makes it a difficult terrain for the elderly and the visually impaired. The walkability will also be improved by the development of unequivocalty in public space. Snels claims: *“It is like a slalom through obstacles. We have these bicycle stands where no one is putting his bike in, and when everyone it just putting his bike in front of the bicycle stands, it takes too much space. There are entrepreneurs who have billboards in front of their stores, one has his billboard next to the other and in that way, they are almost in the middle of the road. Another one has a play set for children in front of his store and another has some kind of banners. It is a little of everything. It looks chaotic and messy”* in order to get rid of this mess, the municipality wants to create uniformity in the streets. This will not only improve the walkability, but also the aesthetics of the city centre.

The second thing the municipality wants to improve when updating public space are the aesthetics of the city centre. In order to become an attractive place to stay, the municipality wants to use the new public space to achieve uniformity in the exterior and advertising of shops in the city centre. This could only be done in cooperation with the entrepreneurs of Cuijk. Snels stated: *“It does not only concern a new carpet, the entrepreneurs also have to participate. They need new facades, new*

canopies, it is important that they pay a bit more attention to their buildings, in order to improve the looks of the building. When the new public space is there and they still put billboards in front of their stores, it will not become a success.

The uniformity can only be achieved by cooperation with the entrepreneurs of Cuijk. It is important that they will become conscious of the importance of uniformity for the aesthetics of the city centre. When it looks neat and well, the attractiveness of the city centre will increase. This will automatically mean more sales for the entrepreneurs. According to the municipality, the entrepreneurs are responsible and should be willing to invest in their building and change their look. The municipality is only initiating and steering this process. Snels said: *“That sidewalk cafe looks so much more upper class than those yellow Lipton Ice parasols, it is something we cannot influence, that is something they have to invest in. Don’t use those cheap plastic chairs, use normal chairs that looks inviting. This is not a one-way street, it is a two-way street”*. They will try to achieve this by cooperation. By showing the entrepreneurs how the streetscape could look like when they would go along with the design. The municipality is now with the design of the public space, also drawing a visual quality plan. In this plan, the municipality will define how the facades and billboards of the local shops should look like.

7.3 Maintenance of public space

The municipality is not only responsible for planning and furnishing of the public space in the city centre, they are also responsible for the maintenance of the quality of the public space. An department of the municipality that is responsible for maintaining the public space is the park-keeping. The municipality has park-keeping under its own management. The city centre is the area where the most attention is paid to by the park-keeping. According to coordinator John de Valk, the city centre is cleaned every week, in contrast to every two months like in a normal neighborhood. This is because the city centre acts as a very strong symbol for Cuijk, the municipality wants it to be clean and attractive. Next to that, the city centre is a place for shopping. A clean place can stimulate the sales and time people spent in the city centre.

John de Valk raises the question who owns public space. According to him, the people of Cuijk own public space. This often causes some tensions and haziness in the way there should be dealt with the city centre. De Valk mentions the example of whose task it is to place trash cans in the city centre. *“Look, when you sell French fries, and people are eating them outside, you must also have your own trash can in which people can drop their waste. Now they often say, the municipality must place trash cans in the streets”*. He claims the public space is the space of the people of Cuijk, they are responsible for what happens. However, he claims this opposes the tendency of the people of Cuijk

to assume the municipality is responsible for it all. *“When can say the people are responsible are responsible for the public space in Cuijk, it is their space. Lately, I see this tendency a lot, people seem by be very busy, they are all at work. They think all the work should be in the municipalities hands.”* Another important reason for this tendency is the start of Centrummanagement. Entrepreneurs are now forced to pay for Centrummanagement and think that because they now pay for it, centrummanagement is responsible for everything that involves the city centre. De Valk acknowledges that there are also entrepreneurs who sweep the sidewalks at their stores every morning.

The park-keeping is an important actor in the implementation of new infrastructural plans in public space. Where architects and policymakers often think about the esthetical or the commercial side of public space, the park-keeping is more aware of the functionality and the way of maintenance. Often, the maintenance of public space is not something that is taken into account by policymakers and architects. De Valk claims: *“The question is how are we involved with the process. I think this could be improved. Sometimes, there is new public space somewhere, and I ask myself, how are we supposed to maintain this?”* This does not connect with the policy of the municipality towards the maintainance of public space, De Valk mentions they often have to deal with budget cuts, but instead, the municipality is building public space which is are harder to clean. The harder it is to clean, the more money it costs. It seems like the capitalist rhythms have also captured the everyday life business rhythms within the municipality.

7.4 Cooperation

To cooperate with the entrepreneurs in the city centre, the municipallity is involved with centrummanagement. Duncan Horst told the municipality has initiated the foundation of centrummanagement in order to have an executive organization with money and power to strength the city centre. At the time of the establishment of Centrummanagement, there has been drawn a plan in order to describe how the structure should be, and what tasks in the city centre should belong to centrummanagement. In this plan, there has been determined that centrummanagement is exclusively responsible for the implementation of the plans of the city centre. These plans would be made by the municipality, or by the association of undertakings. Instead of just using this structure, the centrummanagement has never functioned in this way. According to Horst, the association of undertakings has stopped functioning the start of Centrummanagement. The board of the association of undertakings has become the board of Centrummanagement and left the association of undertakings without a board for two years. Without the association of undertakings, the centrummanagement has lacked of input. Centrummanager Clemens Binkhorst had to lead the

discussion and decision-making as well as the implementation of these decisions. The structure that has been drawn, has never been completed in the right way. Now, the municipality has initiated to make the structure work. The association of undertakings has a new board and this has to lead to a professional structure. In practice, this has led to the formation of workgroups. This will influence the rhythms of everyday life in the city centre, because the workgroups will become responsible for many aspects of the city centre. By coordinating and initiating the centrummanagement, the municipality is using its power to influence the rhythms of everyday life in the city.

7.5 Conclusion of this chapter

In order to control the rhythms of everyday life in the city centre of Cuijk, the municipality wants to steer them in order to adapt them to the changing capitalist rhythms. The rise of internet shopping and the growing amount of vacancy in the city centre asks for a change of everyday life rhythms in the perspective of the municipality. The change in everyday life rhythms should be the solution in order to keep the city centre future proof. There are a couple of tools, the municipality uses in order to try to influence people's rhythms of everyday life. Restructuring plans and future vision, the updating of public space and the role of the municipality in centrummanagement.

By using restructuring plans and future vision, the municipality attempts to create a compact city centre. This means that the municipality will only cooperate with people who want to start a shop in the middle of the centre. Also, they make it easier for people to change the shopping function of buildings in the edge of the city centre, into a residential function. For this reason, the municipality attempts to fight vacancy and create a smaller city centre. This has to stimulate people to go to the city centre and walk into the different shops.

By updating the public space, the municipality attempts to create a better atmosphere in the city centre. This will increase the attractiveness of the city centre and should contribute to a longer dwell time in the city centre. The municipality attempts to increase the dwell time in the city centre. This is done by improving aesthetics, but also by creating a public space that involves the Grotestraat and Maasstraat with the rhythms of the city centre. This has to open the gates of Cuijk and make people aware of the fact that Cuijk is more than just a place for grocery shopping.

Finally, by the role of the municipality in centrummanagement, the municipality can help to unite the entrepreneurs of the city centre. In this way, they can also steer their rhythms in order to reach a polyrhythm in the city centre. The centrummanagement has to be an organization which is responsible for the implementation of the plans the municipality makes together with the

association of entrepreneurs. This involves appearance and aesthetics, but also the organization of events. The municipality has in this way supervision over the events that are held in the city centre.

8 Conclusion

This study could both be seen as an alternative and a addition to the Centrumvisie, that has been taken into use in March 2015. It is an addition because this research uses information from the Centrumvisie, and explores fields which are neglected in the document. It is also an alternative because this research uses a different perspective, which could change the view on the city centre. By seeing the city centre from a Lefebvrian perspective, I have attempted to look beyond the economical view on the city that has been used in the Centrumvisie and tried to show that the city centre is a place where different kind of rhythms come together. This idea has led to the following research objective:

The objective of this research is to critically engage with the rhythms of everyday life in the city centre of Cuijk in order to make recommendations to the municipality of Cuijk on interventions on spatial policy.

This research has been performed by applying Lefebvre's theory of rhythmanalysis to the city centre of Cuijk. From the theory, there has been developed two ideal types of cities; the capitalist city and the traditional city. It is assumed that the city space is produced by its rhythms. In this thesis, I assume there are capitalist rhythms and traditional rhythms that shape city space. Capitalist rhythms have through the years, captured city space. Although, traditional rhythms are actually still present in the city and help city space to keep its own traditions, looks and identity. In order to explore how this city shape is changed, there has been researched how these rhythms are experienced in everyday life in the city centre of Cuijk. Next to that, there is also explored how the municipality deals with these rhythms and how they are using (spatial) policy to create a new timespace. Are they heading towards a more traditional city centre or are they supporting the more and more pervading capitalist rhythms? And how does this affect the rhythms of everyday life? The central question in this thesis is:

How has capitalist urbanisation transformed the rhythms of Cuijk and how does it affect the rhythms of everyday life?

Based on theory and empirical findings, there has been drawn a scheme in order to identify the characteristics of the ideal types of cities. On the basis of this scheme, I will write down the conclusion of this study. The consists of opposing characteristics of the ideal types, which will be discussed individually. This scheme is shown in figure 5.

Capitalist city rhythms	Traditional city rhythms
Fast	Slow
Global	Local
Linear	Cyclical
Focused on spending money	Focused on staying
Accessibility	Walkability
Attractiveness	Usefulness
Economically strong	Strong identity / recognizable
Competition	Cooperation

Figure 5: Two ideal types of cities.

This chapter is divided into four parts. The first part discusses the general findings of the research. This chapter is about findings of the city as a whole. In the second part, the scheme that has arisen from the theory will be involved. In this part, I will use this scheme to discuss how the rhythms have transformed the rhythms of everyday life. In the third part, the scheme will be used again in order to discuss the (spatial) policy of the municipality. How do they steer the rhythms of everyday life? In the fourth and final chapter, I will do some recommendations on the policy of the municipality in order to embed the results of the research in future (spatial) policy plans.

8.1 General findings

The role of the city centre in society has changed in the past few years. Capitalist rhythms like the rise of internet shopping has caused a decrease of the amount of public. Also, the increasing mobility has caused a competition between city centres on a regional scale level. This has led to a city centre that is vulnerable and dependent on investments. Municipalities use to commercialize their city centre. They advertise for their city centres in order to attract visitors from outside of the municipality. They hope their city centre is economically strong enough to attract large chain companies to the city centre in order to get a subsidiary in their city centre. Meanwhile, these capitalist rhythms have ousted the traditional rhythms of the city. The uniqueness of the original city space has slowly been exchanged for a standardised city space, space that is almost the same as in every city. The slow local rhythms are changed by fast global rhythms.

Also in Cuijk, this is the case. Capitalist urbanism has changed Cuijk largely. Monoculture in the urban landscape has appeared, using shopping mall the Maasburg as a striving example. Nowadays, many of the vulnerable entrepreneurs in the city centre, the independent entrepreneurs, have already

gone bankrupt. This has led to high rates of vacancy in the city centre, which is detrimental to aesthetics and atmosphere of the city centre. People worry about the future of their city centre. They talk with feelings of nostalgia about the city centre. This could partly be attributed to the changing capitalist rhythms in the city, but also to the local culture. The local culture is often describe as a culture of nagging and complaining. This could also be an important reason for nostalgia.

The city space has been produced by the gathering of capitalist rhythms and traditional rhythms. This affects the rhythms of everyday life. In order to discover how Cuijk has been affected by capitalist urbanisation, the scheme from the theoretical chapter will be used in order to determine how these rhythms have affected the rhythms of everyday life.

8.2 The rhythms of Cuijk

In this paragraph, I will use the scheme to explain the way capitalist urbanisation has affected the rhythms of everyday life in Cuijk. In order to do this, there will be used examples from the city centre.

Fast vs Slow

In the city centre of Cuijk, a spatial partition between the fast rhythms and the slow rhythms can be distinguished. The Grotestraat can be seen as the street that separates them both. The fast rhythms are on the Korte Molenstraat, Louis Jansenplein, Maasburg side of the the Grotestraat. The other side has been submerged by traditional rhythms. The fast rhythms are most visible in the shopping rhythms. An important factor to support the fast rhythms in shopping is the parking policy. The blue zones that are situated next to the city centre, only allow people to park for less than two hours. When people want to park their cars for a longer time, they have to use the parking places further away. This stimulates the visitors of Cuijk to make their visit last no longer than two hours. It stimulates the fast rhythms of Cuijk. This influences the everyday life rhythms of the visitors. They do not see the city centre as a place to stay but as a place to visit and directly leave.

In contrast, there are also still slow rhythms in the city centre of Cuijk. Especially in the area around the Kerkstraat, there are still slow rhythms. This can be substantiated by the large amount of cultural institutions and gardens. Next to that, there is also some public space, using the Pakhuis as a striking example. These slow places are also slowly getting into contact with capitalist rhythms because some cultural institutions say they are getting more and more commercial.

Global vs Local

The city centre of Cuijk has changed as a result of the advent of large global phenomena like internet shopping and subsidiarization. This has lead to a decrease of local family-owned enterprises. Many

people regret this, they say the city centre becomes boring and predictable because the city centre now looks like all the others. People get nostalgic because all the old shops disappear and large chain stores take over. Internet shopping has also its impact. People now often order their products online. This leads to less visitors in the real shopping places, the city centre. Entrepreneurs also suffer from the internet in another way. They say people come to the shop for their expertise but eventually buy the product online. This has led to a closing down of openness, entrepreneurs now feel restrained to provide customers information.

Still, there are also local phenomena into force. People attach great importance to recognition and meeting. Many people speak of a rural small-scale village culture where people know each other. This could be positive in the shape of a local goodwill factor. However, there is also mentioned this has disappeared years ago. It could also be negative in the sense of a local grudge factor.

Linear vs Cyclical

An important field in the city in which the linear rhythms and the cyclical rhythms oppose is in the opening hours of the local shops. Shopkeepers feel the high pressure of having to be opened as much as possible, this could be seen as heading towards a linear rhythm of a 24 hours economy. This could be seen as a result of the capitalist rhythms, that forces shops to always be opened to optimize the sales. However, the cyclical rhythms of everyday life clash with these capitalist rhythms. Shopkeepers say that they also have a life apart from their shop and therefore they sometimes close at certain times. Still, they feel the pressure of being opened as a moral duty towards other shops in the city centre.

Focused on spending money vs Focused on staying

What is the role of the city centre? Is it a place where people should spend their money or is it a place where people are able to spend their time. The capitalist rhythms have caused a feeling of the use of the city centre as a place to buy. But the surrounding cafes at the Louis Jansenplein are slowing down peoples rhythms, creating a place to stay. Now the city centre of Cuijk is often seen a centre for grocery shopping because there are not many reasons for people to stay. The opening of the theatre could change this. There is expected a lot of this new facility, people think it will bring people to Cuijk and change the Grotestraat into a busy area with restaurants and bars.

Accessibility vs Walkability

The capitalist city can be described as a fast city, in which everything is accessible by car. The traditional city is characterised by the slow movement of walking. In Cuijk, the friction between these

two has been discussed often. Should the Grotestraat be a street where cars could drive in order to be accessible for people from outside or should it be part of the walking zone in order to be a place to stay. Capitalist urbanism has caused a need for parking spots in the city centre because people often come to the city centre by car. This has caused advantages for some shops and restaurants to be located on the accessible edge of the city centre. This process has slowly increased the size of the city centre. People claim they are not going to walk to the edges of the city centre, like the Molenstraat. They think it is too far away.

Still, there is attached importance to a walkable city centre. People complain about the quality of the streets and sidewalks in the city centre, which are hardly passable for the elderly, using scoot mobiles and walkers. Also people claim the street furniture is been dilapidated, which makes the street not suitable as a place to stay.

Attractiveness vs Usefulness

Entrepreneurs regret the lack of atmosphere and aesthetics in the city centre. They think the decreasing atmosphere is a reason for people to not visit the city centre, or to only go to the city centre for focused shopping. Therefore, they think the public space should be updated in order to make it attractive. They also often talk in terms of walking routes, these are routes that are indicated by the street patterns, which stimulates people to walk around the shops. Entrepreneurs ask for update and improvement of the public space and the walking routes, so they will have more customers.

However, attractiveness and aesthetics can go at the expense of the usefulness of city space. An example can be given regarding the Louis Jansenplein. An entrepreneur claimed that there have been made plans to update the aesthetics of the Louis Jansenplein for many years now, but he claimed they should not update it. He says it is important that the square could be used for the weekly market. He places the functionality of public space above its ability to attract visitors and keep them in the city.

Economically strong vs Strong identity and culture

The capitalist rhythms in the city centre of Cuijk slowly decrease the amount of local family-owned enterprises. These are replaced by chain stores which are often powerful and have to money to buy or rent premises in the city centre . People from Cuijk acknowledge that the chain stores stay and many initiatives to become an independent entrepreneur fail and go bankrupt. This leads to a city centre that only consists of chain stores and is according to many people, the same city centre as all the others. The local shops that made Cuijk unique have gone away.

Still, there are many local independent entrepreneurs in Cuijk. They use their local character as an important tool to attract and bind customers. The specific service they can offer makes them a very strong actor in the local economy.

Competition vs Cooperation

In Cuijk, entrepreneurs are very aware of the fact that a good cooperation is needed in order to create a qualitative city centre. Still, the capitalist rhythms have made them competitors which often results in bad collaboration. This can be seen in the remark of Clemens Binkhorst, who claimed the owners of the bars are not collaborating well enough, because they do not grant each other the money. Also, it is said that the centrummanagement is still not functioning well enough. According to a shop owner, this will always be the problem of independent entrepreneurs, she claimed they only have become independent so they are their own boss.

Conclusion

The global swallows up the local, but the local will always exist because people attach importance to a recognizable city centre with their own known, local elements. A city centre should be a place where both of the rhythms come together, they should be balanced. A purely capitalist city does not function because people cannot identify themselves with the city space anymore. A purely traditional city cannot function because there is not made any money. Therefore, these should be mixed or exist next to each other so they could strengthen each other. Only in that way, the city centre could be vital

In Cuijk, the problem is the city centre is more a place to buy than a place to stay. The entrepreneurs outside of the fast shopping area are the financial victims of this trend. Still, Cuijk has a strong local culture that is still present in the everyday lives of the people of Cuijk. When the city space would use it more to show this culture, it would be a place to bring people together. The whole city centre would profit from this.

8.3 The policy of the municipality

In this chapter, I will discuss how the municipality of Cuijk attempts to steer the rhythms of Cuijk with its spatial policy.

The municipality is heading towards a compact city centre. According to the vision of the municipality, the future shopping area of the city centre should be reduced in order to get all the shops concentrated into a smaller area. This could lead to a more walkable city centre because all the shops are now on walking distance. However, this does also lead to the loss of the specific local

shops. Many of them are located in the approach roads of the city centre and they will get isolated and are no longer part of the shopping area. This will lead to a monocultural city centre, losing its own identity. It is a two-fold measure, heading towards both capitalist and traditional characteristics of the city centre.

The municipality has planned to update the public space of the city centre. This will improve the aesthetics of the city centre and the walkability within the city centre. Next to this, the new public space should also connect the shopping area to the more recreational area around the Grotestraat and Maasstraat. The reason for this is idea of the municipality to make people stay longer in the city centre; the longer they stay, the more money they spend. The creation of a recreation area instead of a shopping area comes forth out of economical motives. The creation of a total experience of the city centre as seen as the only way local shops can retain customers. It can be seen as the way the city centre adapts to the changing capitalist rhythms.

The municipality assumes when the city centre is renewed, they are able to attract people from outside to Cuijk. They focus on tourism, and the city centre of Cuijk as a place for day trippers and recreationists. Heading towards these capitalist rhythms could go at the expense of traditional rhythms, the local people could feel displaced, they would become a guest in their own town.

In 2013, the municipality has initiated centrummanagement in order to gain control over the rhythms of the city centre. They capitalist idea of competition between the local entrepreneurs was replaced by the more traditional idea of collaboration. The centrummanagement has been cooperated in order to get more collaboration between the local entrepreneurs. This would in the end result in a higher quality of events and a larger involvement of the entrepreneurs with the city centre.

To conclude, the municipality has in some ways chosen the path to focus on the traditional rhythms of the city. They did this to create an alternative for the contemporary capitalist city. They attempt to make the city centre of Cuijk a place to stay, by slowing down the rhythms of Cuijk. Still, this policy is focused on attracting people from outside Cuijk, there is not much focus on creating a place to stay for local people. It is assumed these people will come to the city centre by themselves, though, this cannot be taken for granted

8.4 Recommendations for the municipality

In this paragraph, there are described a couple of recommendation for improving the policy of municipality. These recommendations are based on the results of the research. These recommendations should be seen as ways to deal with the different rhythms in the city. Suggestions

of how this could possibly be implemented in city space are included. These are focused on changing or restoring the balance between the capitalist rhythms and traditional rhythms. The suggestions should not be seen as the outcome of the research but as ways to deal with the rhythms of capitalism.

- As a result of the research, there can be said it is important to reach awareness about the influence of the capitalist rhythms and traditional rhythms on the city centre of Cuijk. In this way, there could be strived to urban development that both takes into account capitalist rhythms and traditional rhythms. Capitalist have slowly captured city space and in the end, everyday life. This process is still going on and this will change a lot in the future. By explaining this by using rhythmanalysis, there could be raised awareness of this process and the way there could be dealt with.
- Because city space is being more and more captured by capitalism, there will be paid more attention to that what is local. This is reflected in the research by the nostalgia and the local culture. By using local symbols, the local characteristics of Cuijk could be remained. In restructuring plans and spatial policy, this could be done by involving the buildings of the old part of the city centre, around the Grotestraat, Maasstraat and Kerkstraat with the city centre. Also, the Royal Regouin terrain could be a place that many people from Cuijk could identify with. The industrial past of Cuijk, nota bene one of the traces of early capitalist urbanisation, could be used to strengthen the local identity.
- The purpose of the restructuring plans of the municipality is the extension of the dwell time in the city centre. This is often associated with the desire to have people from outside Cuijk visiting the city centre. Often, there has been spoken about tourism. This should actually not be a main reason for development but should rather be seen as a nice extra. The development of the city centre of Cuijk should be aimed towards the local people of Cuijk. In this way, the people from Cuijk will come to the city centre for recreation and they will not feel abandoned by their city space.
- The municipality approaches the extension of the dwell time in the city centre as a way to attract people to the shops. From a traditional rhythm perspective, this should be seen the other way around. How could a shop contribute to update the quality of the urban space and how could a shop help to make people stay in the city centre. These shops should be positioned at the right place so they could be valuable to city space. This will improve the quality of the urban space. An example of this can the Ice cream store at the Louis Jansenplein. This shop could make the Louis Jansenplein a place to stay because people go

there to eat their ice. This leads to a lively square and this improves the atmosphere in the city centre.

- In the shift from 'a place to buy' towards 'a place to stay', every part of the city centre should go with this flow. The municipality has already initiated to extend the dwell time of visitors by connecting the rhythms within the city centre. The municipality has initiated to extend the opening hours of the cafes at Louis Jansenplein to connect to the shopping rhythms. However, when the municipality wants to connect the shopping area to the recreational area around the Grotestraat, Kerkstraat and Maasstraat, the Grotestraat should also become a place to stay at daytime. Now, the Grotestraat only comes to life at night. This could be done by giving the restaurants and bars the opportunity to place their sidewalk cafes at the side of the road, so it could get the lively atmosphere at daytime. In this way, the shopping audience and the audience of the cultural institutions can be merged in a recreational area. As a side note, the cultural audience and the shopping audience are far from the same. One should not attempt to get the visitors of the cultural institutions to the shopping area and vice versa but they can be brought together in a recreational area in-between these two areas.
- City centres in small cities are often the residential area of the elderly. Also in the city centre of Cuijk, this is the case. These people are often unable to go along with the rhythms of capitalism, and appreciate a slower city centre. The walkability is an important aspect of this city centre and this could be improved in Cuijk. For this reason, the holes in the streets should disappear, making it possible for walkers and mobility scooters to pass. Extra attention should be paid to the Stationsstraat because this is the less walkable street of all. The sidewalks are small and sloping.
- As an important traditional rhythm, it is essential for local entrepreneurs to maintain the relationship between local people in order to retain the goodwill factor. In order to maintain this relationship, the entrepreneurs could pick up some initiatives on the internet, in particular on Facebook. The experiences of young people take more and more place on the internet. This could be used to bring that experience to the city centre. The successful initiative 'Cuijk Verrassend', that informs people about the local practices, could play a role. In this way, this could contribute to a stronger binding between the city centre and the local people.

In order to expand on this research, there could be done further research in order to elaborate on this research. This research should be seen as a explorative research because there could only be drawn conclusion about how there should be dealt with the different rhythms in the city. The way this could be implemented into spatial policy should be explored in further research.

8.5 Reflection on the research

In this paragraph, I will reflect on the research. I first will reflect on the process of the research and after that, I will reflect on the research results.

The process of the research has progressed on schedule. Since I started my internship on the 1st of March, I have done a lot of work in order to finish the research before the 15th of August. This has succeeded. I am fairly satisfied with this thesis, I could have improved some things. In particular, the selection and approximation of the respondents could have been better. I have based my list of respondents on the networks of others, so I could get into contact. I probably should have to do a more critical selection in the respondents in order to do a better research. Also, I initially wanted to interview more of the residents of the city centre. I have sent the residents a letter, but none of them reacted to my interview invitation. Therefore, I was thrown back to the networks and contacts of contacts. Also, the small amount of time restricted me to do more interviews.

My initial idea of processing the interview results was to contrast the results of the visitors, residents and users. Among the way, I found out these groups are hard to distinguish from each other. Often, a shop keeper was also a resident. And also, many of the people I thought were important to interview, could not fit into the picture. For that reason, I dropped the idea and switched to a different approach. Still, the interview guide I made beforehand, were still focused on my initial idea. For that, I had to customize my interview guides along the way.

On the results of the research, I can say I am glad to have proved the theory of rhythmanalysis is still relevant today. Lefebvre's theory has been written in 1991 and is based on the 1991 cities. Still, the theory seems to be an interesting approach for the situation in contemporary cities.

The results of this study are a little bit vague and unpractical. However there could be drawn some conclusions of redevelopment of the city centre of Cuijk, it does not result in practical solutions to make the city centre of Cuijk a better place. The municipality initially hoped this could be derived from my research. Still, I think my research could contribute to the (spatial) policy of the municipality.

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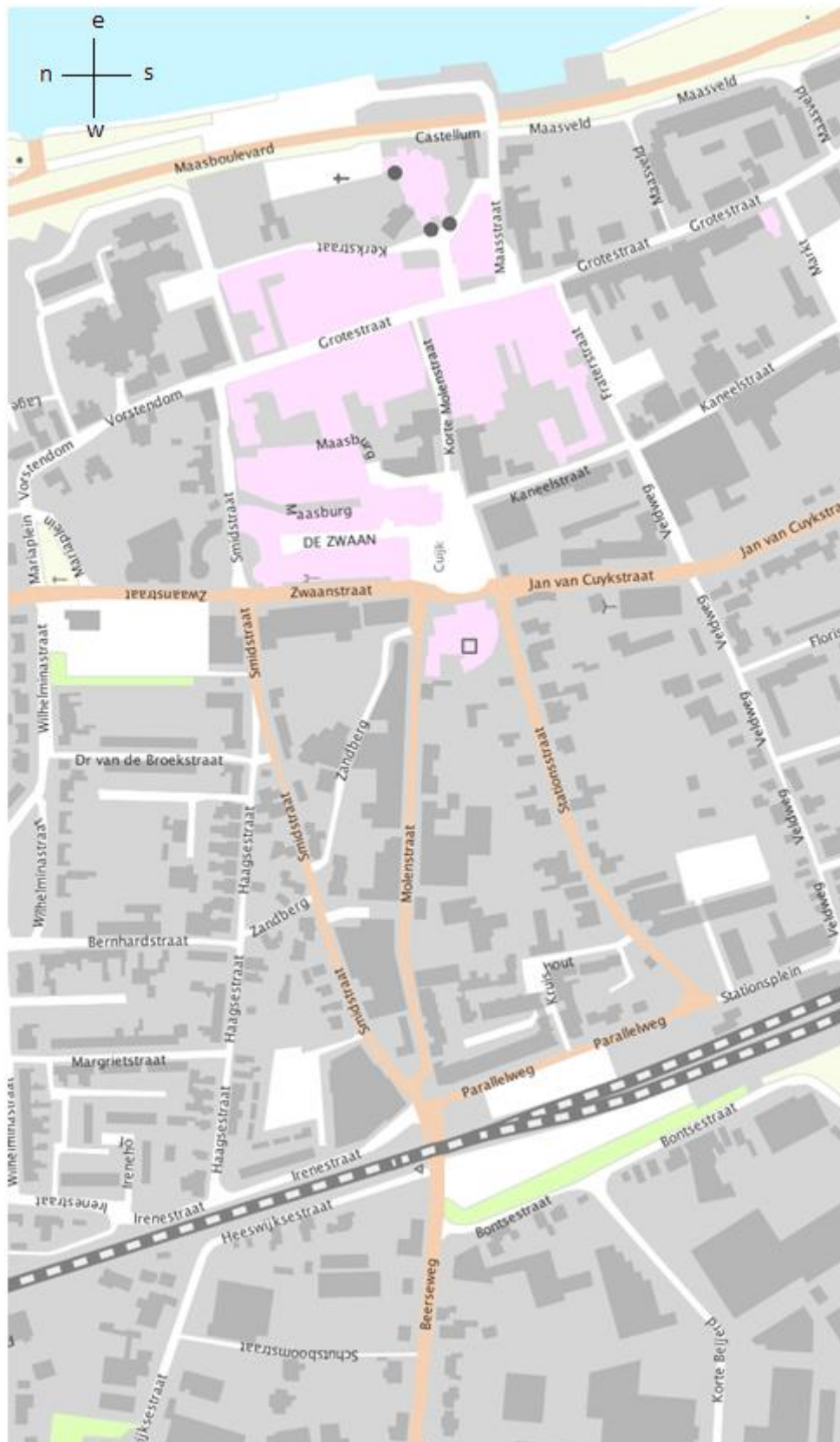
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Adjustment 1: map of the city centre of Cuijk



Adjustment 2: list of interviewees

Interviewed visitors of the city centre	Interview date	Place of interviewing
Visitor 1	09-03-2015	Maasburg
Visitor 2	09-03-2015	Maasburg
Visitor 3	10-03-2015	Louis Jansenplein
Visitor 4	10-03-2015	Louis Jansenplein
Visitor 5	10-03-2015	Louis Jansenplein
Visitor 6	10-03-2015	Louis Jansenplein
Visitor 7	10-03-2015	Korte Molenstraat
Visitor 8	10-03-2015	Korte Molenstraat
Visitor 9	11-03-2015	Louis Jansenplein
Visitor 10	11-03-2015	Louis Jansenplein
Visitor 11	11-03-2015	Louis Jansenplein

Interviewed actors of the city centre	Interview date	Interview guide
Shop owner Grotestraat 1	18-03-2015	User
Shop owner Grotestraat 2	18-03-2015	User
Shop owner Korte Molenstraat	17-03-2015	User
Shop owner Molenstraat	13-04-2015	User
Shop owner Kaneelstraat	07-05-2015	User
Bar keeper Maasstraat	07-05- 2015	User
Restaurant owner Grotestraat	13-05-2015	User
Leo Langen (Fotoarchiefdienst)	21-05-2015	User
Herman van Rhee (CHC)	01-04-2015	User
Clemens Binkhorst (centrummanager)	19-03-2015	Specific
José Bardoel & Annie van Voorst (neighbourhood council)	20-04-2015	Specific
Resident Grotestraat	01-04-2015	Resident
Resident Stationsplein	08-04-2015	Resident

Interviewed government officials	Interview date
Duncan Horst, (bedrijfscontactfunctionaris city centre)	03-06-2015
Gerjan Snels (infrastructure specialist)	29-06-2015
John de Valk (Park-keeping coordinator)	01-07-2015

Adjustment 3: interview guides (in Dutch)

Interview guide: Bewoner van het centrum van Cuijk / resident of the city centre.

Geboortjaar.....

m/v

woonplek.....

woonsituatie.....

1. Wat zijn uw dagelijkse activiteiten? → Tijd-ruimtepaden.

- Welke route legt u dagelijks af in de binnenstad naar uw dagelijkse activiteiten? → baseer op activiteitschema.
- Welke vervoersmiddelen gebruikt u om bij uw dagelijkse activiteiten te komen?

2. Welke winkels in Cuijk bezoekt u geregeld?

- Waarom kiest u voor deze winkels?
- Bezoekt u deze winkels op vaste dagen, en tijdstippen. Waarom kiest u deze tijdstippen uit?
- In hoeverre is de locatie van de winkels binnen het centrum van Cuijk belangrijk?
- Wat vindt u over het winkelaanbod van Cuijk in het algemeen?

3. Welke horeca in Cuijk bezoekt u geregeld?

- Waarom kiest u voor deze horeca?
- In hoeverre is de locatie van de horeca binnen het centrum van Cuijk belangrijk?
- Wat vindt u van het horeca aanbod van Cuijk in het algemeen?

4. Welke culturele instellingen bezoekt u geregeld?

- Hoe belangrijk is het aanbod aan culturele instellingen voor u om hier in Cuijk te verblijven? (Schouwburg)

5. Welke andere activiteiten onderneemt u in het centrum?

6. Ervaart u overlast in het centrum van Cuijk? Op welke manier?

- Ervaart u overlast in uw eigen woning? Op welke manier?
- Ervaart u overlast in de buurt? Op welke manier?
- Wie is verantwoordelijk voor deze overlast?
- Wat zou er gedaan kunnen worden om deze overlast tegen te kunnen gaan?

7. Voelt u zich veilig in de buurt?

- Op welke momenten wel / niet? En waar ligt dat aan?
- Op welke manier zou het gevoel van veiligheid kunnen worden vergroot?

8. Wat is uw houding tegenover Cuijk als woonplaats?

- Wat is in eerste instantie de reden geweest om in Cuijk te gaan wonen?
- Voelt u zich thuis in Cuijk?
- In hoeverre heeft Cuijk een centrale ligging ten opzichte van uw sociale contacten & dagelijkse activiteiten?
- Hoe vindt u de bereikbaarheid van uw woning?

9. Wat is uw houding tegenover uw woonplek binnen Cuijk?

- Hoe is uw relatie met de buurt? Worden er veel gezamenlijke activiteiten ondernomen?
- Hoe is het onderling contact met de mensen in de buurt?
- Wat vindt u van de recente ontwikkelingen in de straat waarin u woont?

10. Wat vindt u van de openbare ruimte in het centrum?

- Is er sprake van een logisch gestructureerd centrum? → straten zijn gemakkelijk begaanbaar.
- Het centrum ziet er mooi uit?
- Het centrum is goed onderhouden?
- Het centrum heeft een veilige en overzichtelijke verkeerssituatie?
- Het centrum is een fijne plek om te verblijven?

Interview guide: Bezoeker van het centrum van Cuijk / visitor of the city centre.

Geboortejaar.....

m/v

Woonplaats.....

1. Wat is de reden voor uw bezoek aan het centrum van Cuijk?

- Welke winkels zijn bezocht? → Kaartje
- Wordt dit gecombineerd met andere activiteiten in de binnenstad van Cuijk? → bezoek horeca, cultureel, bewoners.
- Zijn weersomstandigheden bepalend voor het wel of niet bezoeken van de binnenstad?

2. Welke route heeft u afgelegd naar deze plek toe?

- Aangeven op de kaart

3. Hoe vaak bezoekt u het centrum van Cuijk? → op vaste tijdstippen?

- Bezoekt u wel eens de: Maasburg, Molenstraat, Korte Molenstraat en Grotestraat → reden van bezoek. → wat vindt u van deze straten?

4. Is het centrum van Cuijk in uw beleving de afgelopen jaren veranderd?

- Is het winkel- en horeca aanbod veranderd? Zo ja? Op welke manier?
- Is het aantal bezoekers veranderd?
- Is de samenstelling van de bezoekers veranderd?

5. In hoeverre kunt u in Cuijk voor al uw aankopen terecht?

- Ziet u het centrum van Cuijk als een functioneel winkelgebied?
- Zijn er aankopen die u vroeger in Cuijk deed, maar waarvoor u tegenwoordig uitwijkt naar een andere aanbieder?
- Wat vindt u van de diversiteit van het aanbod aan winkels in Cuijk?
- Wat vindt u van de indeling van Cuijk met betrekking tot de locatie van winkels?
- Wat vindt u van de openingstijden van de winkels?

6. Hoe staat u tegenover het aanbod aan horeca in de gemeente?

- Hoe vaak bezoekt u het?
- Wat vindt u van de diversiteit en kwaliteit van de horeca?

7. In hoeverre ziet u de binnenstad Cuijk als een aantrekkelijke gebied om in te verblijven?

- Welke aspecten van het centrum zou u beschrijven als 'gezellig' en welke als 'ongezellig'?
- Voelt u zich altijd veilig in de binnenstad van Cuijk? Waar en wanneer wel/niet?

8. Hoe staat u tegenover de verkeerssituatie in de binnenstad?

- Auto's in de Grotestraat, fietsers in de korte Molenstraat?
- Wat vindt u van het parkeerbeleid in de binnenstad?

Interview guide: Gebruiker van het centrum van Cuijk / User of the city centre.

1. Wat zijn uw dagelijkse activiteiten? → Tijd-ruimtepaden + even voorstellen.

- Welke route legt u dagelijks af in het centrum naar uw dagelijkse activiteiten?
- Welke vervoersmiddelen gebruikt u om bij uw dagelijkse activiteiten te komen?

2. Wat is uw beleving van de bezoekersstromen in het centrum?

- Wat zijn voor u en de winkel/bedrijf/horeca-instelling waar u actief bent de piek- en rustmoment op de dag/in de week?
- Heeft u het gevoel dat het aantal klanten is toe- of afgenomen ten opzichte van een jaar geleden? → hoe komt dit?
- Heeft u het gevoel dat het type klanten is veranderd ten opzichte van een jaar geleden?
- In hoeverre is het aantal klanten in de winkel afhankelijk van het weer? En van de seizoenen?

3. Hoe ervaart u de sfeer in het centrum van Cuijk?

- Hoe is de sfeer tijdens evenementen? Verschilt het van de 'normale situatie' en hoe komt dat?
- Zou u graag meer of minder evenementen in Cuijk zien?
- Welke ervaringen heeft u met toerisme in het centrum van Cuijk?

4. Heeft u te maken met overlast? Op welke manier?

- Wie is hier voor verantwoordelijk? Bezoekers, bewoners?
- Wat zou er kunnen worden gedaan om te zorgen dat deze overlast verdwijnt?

5. Wat is uw houding tegenover de regelgeving van de gemeente?

- Hoe staat u tegenover het regelgeving van de gemeente omtrent openingstijden, koopavonden koopzondagen?
- Wat vindt u van het parkeerbeleid in de gemeente?
- Wat vindt u van de bereikbaarheid van de binnenstad? → uw bedrijf. Rol van bereikbaarheid per auto.
- (indien eigenaar) → hoe is uw relatie met de gemeente en de ondernemersvereniging (centrummanagement).
- In hoeverre merkt u het nut van het bestaan van een centrummanagement of OVC voor uw winkel / voor het centrum van Cuijk?

6. Wat is uw bedrijf gerelateerd aan andere bedrijven in de buurt?

- Hebben jullie elkaar nodig? Of werkt het elkaar juist tegen?
- Worden er bepaalde afspraken gemaakt? (bijv. openingstijden, evenementen of reclame)

7. Wat vindt u van de openbare ruimte in de centrum? (straatbeeld)

- In het deel waar de betreffende winkel/horeca-instelling gevestigd is?
- In de rest van het centrum?
- Wat zou veranderd kunnen worden om het aantrekkelijker te maken?
- Op welke manier gaat uw bedrijf om met de leegstand in het centrum?

Interview guide: José Bardoel & Annie van Voorst, Wijkraad (neighbourhood council).

Welke belangen behartigt u? en wat betekent dit concreet voor uw dagelijkse activiteiten? → samenstelling van de raad? Op basis waarvan komt iemand erbij.

In hoeverre zijn de bewoners van het centrum betrokken bij de wijkraad? Is er veel interesse en draagvlak voor de activiteiten van de wijkraad?

Hoe is het contact van de wijkraad met de gemeente? Op welke manier komen de belangen van de wijkraad uiteindelijk bij de gemeente terecht?

Komt de wijkraad ook in aanraking met instanties als het centrummanagement & de OVC? Zo ja, op welke manier?

Hoe ziet u de huidige ontwikkelingen van het centrum? De afname van het winkelaanbod. Hoe wordt hier vanuit de bewoners op gereageerd?

Wat betekent dit voor de bewoners van het centrum in de praktijk? Enerzijds een vermindering van de mogelijkheden in de binnenstad, anderzijds minder overlast in de woonomgeving.

Wat is de rol van de wijkraad in de transformatie en herbestemming van het centrumgebied van Cuijk? Op welke manier wordt de mening van de bewoners meegenomen in het beleid. → voorbeeld: bewoners aanloopstraten. Zijn de bewoners op de juiste manier geraadpleegd / geïnformeerd?

In veel delen van het centrumgebied, is er een woonfunctie en een winkelfunctie naast elkaar. Vaak is er in die gebieden erg veel sprake van leegstand. In hoeverre wordt het leven van de bewoners aangetast door de toenemende leegstand?

Welke bewonersinitiatieven zijn er om het centrum van Cuijk actief en levendig te houden?

Hoe is de relatie van de bewoners van het centrum met de lokale winkels en horeca? Zijn er wel eens spanningen i.v.m. overlast. En zijn er wel eens spanningen met de bewoners onderling waar de wijkraad moet bemiddelen?

Wat is jullie houding omtrent nieuwbouw in het centrum? Kan het een nieuwe impuls geven aan het centrum?

In hoeverre verandert nieuwbouw de samenstelling van mensen in het centrum, en daarbij de belangen van deze mensen? (Cuijkse Cantheelen)

Hoe is de wijkraad betrokken bij het parkeerbeleid in het centrum van Cuijk?

Hoe is de wijkraad betrokken bij de verbouwing van de schouwburg. Stelt de wijkraad eisen aan de nieuwe schouwburg, als belangrijke culturele functie voor de bewoners. → veel andere culturele initiatieven. In hoeverre is dit in het belang van de bewoners?

Is het veilig in de buurt? En op welke manier draagt de wijkraad bij aan de veiligheid in de buurt?

Vragen naar eventuele bewoners die kunnen worden geïnterviewd + initiatieven.

Interview guide: Clemens Binkhorst, Centrummanager.

1. Waar is het centrummanagement voor verantwoordelijk? → schema erbij waarbij de bedrijfsstructuur staat aangegeven.
2. Welke belangen behartigt centrummanagement. Is het een actiegroep of waakt het voor ontwikkeling op lange termijn? En wat is uw rol hierin?
3. Wat zijn uw dagelijkse activiteiten als centrummanager
4. Hoe is uw relatie met de lokale ondernemers? → veel eenduidigheid of soms ook conflicten?
5. Hoe is de relatie met de gemeente?
6. Wat zijn volgens u de belangrijkste ontwikkelingen van het centrum van Cuijk de afgelopen jaren?
7. Welke ontwikkelingen in het koop- en winkelgedrag zijn de oorzaken daarvan?
8. Ik constateer een ontwikkeling van een klein winkelgebied naar een uitgebreid boodschappengebied, met de het verdwijnen van modezaken en de aanwezigheid van zaken als Blokker, Hema en Action (tegenovergestelde van punt 1 in 10-puntenplan). In hoeverre denkt u dat die trend zich voortzet?
9. Wat voor soort winkels vestigen in zich in het Centrum van Cuijk? En welk soort winkels hebben de grootste kans op levensvatbaarheid in Cuijk?
10. Welke functies zouden een kans bieden voor de leegstand.
11. Een andere landelijke trend is de verplaatsing van de focus van besteden naar beleven? Hoe kan Cuijk hier in mee gaan? → concreet.
 - fillialen vs zelfstandige ondernemers. Wat kan gedaan worden om de lokale ondernemers te behouden?
12. Ik hoor veel geluiden over de teloorgang van koopavond op de vrijdagavond! Wat zouden daar nog de kansen voor zijn?
13. Terwijl de winkels in het centrum het steeds moeilijker lijken te hebben, lijkt de horeca het wel goed te doen. Er zijn ruim 25 horecabedrijven, wat relatief hoog is voor zo'n klein centrum. Hoe kan het dat de horeca het wel redt?
 - Rol van evenementen
 - Rol van de bevolking van Cuijk?
 - Rol van het toerisme
14. In de centrumvisie wordt er gesproken over het toeristisch potentieel. Ik heb zelf meer het gevoel dat het een regionaal centrum is dat juist weinig toeristen trekt? Is dit potentieel aanwezig? En wat zou er gedaan kunnen worden om dit te realiseren?
15. Wat vindt u van de beslissing die de gemeenteraad maandag heeft gedaan omtrent de nieuwe centrumvisie?
16. Zou stedelijke herverkaveling (Molenstraat naar de Grotestraat) wellicht een oplossing zijn geweest? Of is dit te ambitieus en zou dit op teveel verweer stuiten.

Interview guide: Duncan Horst

Toekomstig winkelgebied

- Er is een duidelijke verplaatsing merkbaar van een klein winkelcentrum naar een boodschappencentrum. In hoeverre hebben niet-boodschappen-gerelateerde winkels nog kans op slagen in Cuijk? Op welke manier probeert de gemeente deze winkels nog te redden?
- Wat gaat centrummanagement betekenen. (creëren van meer eenduidigheid? Sfeer in het centrum?)
- Hoe gaat de gemeente hierin participeren?
- Doelgroep Cuijkenaren, of ook mensen uit omliggende dorpen. Hoe kun je deze mensen trekken?
- Op dit moment zijn de bezoeken van het centrum vaak doelgericht. Wil de gemeente dit veranderen? En op welke manier willen ze dit doen?
- Op welke manier zal de gemeente de looproutes aan gaan passen?
- Toerisme, hoe trek je deze? Waarom slechts fietstochten en dagjesmensen?
- Waarom zou een centrum van Cuijk graag toeristen willen hebben?
- Wat zou het centrum van Cuijk toeristen kunnen bieden? Hoe creëer je verblijfsruimte? (besteden naar beleven).
- De horeca op de Grotestraat zou, als het meer naar daghoreca zou gaan, ook bij de winkelritmes betrokken willen worden. Hoe zou dit gedaan kunnen worden?
- Aanloopstraten: In hoeverre is er met de aansluiting van de Molenstraat nog sprake van het compacte centrum?
- Denk je dat met het afsluiten van de aanloopstraten er een soort ontmoedigingsbeleid voor de aanloopstraten is ontstaan, waardoor de winkelfunctie langzamerhand verdreven wordt?
- Waarom zou een compact centrum de oplossing voor leegstand moeten zijn? → meer ketens? Hoe gaat het centrum zich onderscheiden van andere centra?

Toekomstig centrum

- Ik heb het gevoel dat de drie afzonderlijke assen nog steeds in leven zijn en dat deze afzonderlijk van elkaar bewegen. Probeert de gemeente deze assen aan elkaar te linken? En op welke manier?
- Het Louis Jansenplein moet straks vooral een verblijfsplein worden. Op welke manier kan dit worden gerealiseerd?
- Wat is de waarde van de culturele instellingen voor het centrum? → toerisme, maar ook in het creëren van verblijfsruimte voor lokale centrumbezoekers.
- Wat zal de komst van de schouwburg doen?
- Bereikbaarheid vs toegankelijkheid, hoe ziet de gemeente het toekomstige centrum mbt bereikbaarheid. Hoe ver moeten auto's kunnen komen? Of moet het lopen centraal staan?
- Hoe speelt de gemeente in m.b.t. de vergrijzing van het centrum. Op welke manieren wil de gemeente het centrum aan hen aanpassen?
- Uitstraling: Entree Molenstraat en Grotestraat noord zijn lelijk, wat gaat daar mee gebeuren?

Interview guide: Gerian Snels

- Waarom is gekozen om de openbare ruimte aan te pakken?
 - o Is dat het aantrekkelijk houden van het centrum als winkelgebied?
 - o of om het veiliger te maken?
 - o Autovrijer en loopbaarder?
- In hoeverre wordt er bij de nieuwe openbare ruimte rekening gehouden met de vergrijzende bevolking?
- In hoeverre moet de nieuwe openbare ruimte bijdragen aan een meer winkelgedrag?
- Op welke manier kan de openbare ruimte zorgen voor een langer verblijf van mensen in het centrum (combineren van bezoeken aan diverse activiteiten daar).
- Bij het proces is gekozen voor zoveel mogelijk participatie van de burgers en belanghebbenden. Waarom is daarvoor gekozen?
 - o Komt dit voort uit problemen in het verleden?
- Denk je dat de mensen ook daadwerkelijk inspraak hebben of is er sprake van een soort schijnparticipatie? → op welke gebieden hebben mensen daadwerkelijk iets in te brengen.
- Bij het verbeteren van de openbare ruimte heb je ook te maken met persoonlijk eigendommen (bijv. de gevels). Hoe gaat de gemeente daarmee om?
- Het Louis Jansenplein moet een centraal verblijfsplein worden. Hoe creëer je dat?
- Welke veranderingen in gedrag hoopt de gemeente daar mee te krijgen?
 - o Meer horeca die zich vestigt op het Louis Jansenplein?
 - o Meer bezoeken van lokale mensen aan het centrum / terrassen
 - o Langer verblijf in het centrum door bezoekers / boodschappen doen.
 - o Toeristisch perspectief vergroten?
- Enkele ondernemers in de Grotestraat zouden graag zien dat de Grotestraat meer bij 'het centrum' betrokken wordt. Bijvoorbeeld door terrasbezoekers of winkelbezoekers er heen te leiden? Wil de gemeente dit ook? En op welke manier kan dit worden gerealiseerd door infrastructurele aanpassingen?
- Hoe wordt er met de infrastructurele veranderingen omgegaan met de auto in het centrum? Wat mag hij wel/niet.

Interview guide: John de Valk

Wat zijn de (steeds terugkerende) problemen en werkzaamheden in het centrum van Cuijk waar de buitendienst steeds mee te maken heeft?

Hoe draagt de buitendienst bij aan de leefbaarheid in het centrum?

In de beleidsdocumenten las ik dat de buitendienst een oog & oorfunctie heeft. Hoe vertaalt dit zich naar de realiteit?

Hoe is de buitendienst betrokken bij (infrastructurele) veranderingen in het centrum?

Hoe draagt de buitendienst bij aan de veiligheid in het centrum?

Hoe wordt de burger betrokken bij de werkzaamheden van de buitendienst? Kunnen burgers bellen als er iets aan de hand is?

Hoe is het contact met de wijkraad, in hoeverre hebben zij invloed op wat er moet gebeuren? En het contact met de ondernemers (centrummanagement)

Kan de buitendienst aan alle werkzaamheden die er in het centrum zijn voldoen? Of moet de buitendienst soms ook werk uitstellen/weigeren/uit handen geven?

Evenementen. (vanuit beleidsdocument). Wat is de rol van de buitendienst bij evenementen?

Hoe wordt er in de wijk tegen medewerkers van de buitendienst aangekeken? (imago)?

Hoe zou het centrum er volgens u uit moeten zien? → buitendienst wil een praktisch centrum?