



Marginalized and monitored

*A Qualitative Study on Homelessness Criminalization in
Utrecht's Shopping Mall Hoog Catharijne*

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Image front page: Hoog Catharijne The Mall (CU2030)

Abstract

Today's day, scholars speak of a trend named criminalization of homelessness as society's marginalized groups increasingly face so-called experience anti-homeless laws and being excluded from public spaces. At the same time, municipalities privatize public space to recapture territory, for example transforming them into shopping malls. Utrecht's Hoog Catharijne, sharing a long history with homeless people, is such secured environment. This study shows that, after its completion of the renovation back in 2017, those unhoused and that their stay is discouraged due to variety of measures taken. As such, negative consequences are experienced as the vulnerable group's social status is lowered, and economic opportunities are decreasing.

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Introduction

'If only I were in Hoog Catharijne'

"Since its opening in 1973, the name Hoog Catharijne has been inextricably linked to drugs, dealers, and the homeless" is the way in which *de Volkskrant* opened its newspapers on July 26th, 1994 (Heijmans, 1994; Bongers, 2023). The news article describes how visitors back in the day identified the shopping mall as being unsafe as Hoog Catharijne existed out of a lot of niches where homeless slept and addicts conducted deals during the day. Therefore, visitors connected the 'H' and the 'C' not to 'Hoog Catharijne', but to 'Heroin' and 'Coke'. Further, the so-called 'Junkentunnel' that ran under the mall provided permanent shelter to approximately sixty people who lived in the most "degrading circumstances" (Schonenberg, 2020). Since this supply tunnel was a dry place, usually not visited by others, it gained a second function of being a hideaway for addicts during the last decennia of previous century (Bongers, 2023).

Ironically, the shopping mall's slogan 'If only I were in Hoog Catharijne' (Swieringa, 2022) did not match the situation at the time. All this taken together was reason for developers and the municipality of Utrecht to reserve 25 million euros to rebuild the whole shopping mall (Heijmans, 1994; Schonenberg, 2020; Bongers, 2023). It was considered that when a clear site would be developed crime and dealing would have no chance. Consequently, the niches disappeared, and shops transferred to the sides of the inner parts of Hoog Catharijne.

Today, more than thirty years later, the shopping mall's situation is completely different. Back in 2017, the shopping mall completed its redevelopment and when visiting Hoog Catharijne now, the image is no longer determined by addicts, and people laying on the ground. The monitoring by security guards and CCTV cameras helped contributing to the mall's transformation as today such measures assist shopping centres (Van der Kleij, Roelofs & Van Hemert, 2014; De Utrechtse Internet Courant, 2020; Bongers, 2023). Furthermore, the earlier mentioned 'Junkentunnel' closed during the turn of the century, while hostels were built where the former inhabitants of the tunnel could legally use drugs. These hostels were seen as a success story for keeping the homeless away from the shopping mall (Bongers, 2023). Thus, since visitors felt unsafe, urban planners reacted to the

presence of beggars and addicts with sanitizing the area of and around Hoog Catharijne, resulting in an increase of perceived safety (Heijmans, 1994; Bongers, 2023). A visit to the contemporary shopping mall, then, would almost make its visitors forget the circumstances described by Heijmans (1994) that were the order of the day in the past.

More exclusive urban landscapes through privatization of public spaces

Mitchell (1997, p. 323) notes that municipalities are increasingly trying to (re)gain control over public spaces by “recreating downtown streets as a landscape.” He further explains that these landscapes are developed “through the privatization of public space that accompanies laws such as those directed against the homeless” (p. 325). Shopping malls, commercialized landscapes praising consumption and comfort, are an example of such privatization of public spaces (Weszkalnys, 2008; Briken & Eick, 2011; Nasution & Zahrah, 2012; Rose, 2017). This has consequences for those being homeless visiting such places as those elements or persons considered ‘unhealthy’ or disrupting the process of consumption can be restricted (Amster, 2003; Crawford, 2011; Rose, 2017). Again, surveillance systems help in assisting shopping centres. As such, homeless people are sometimes erased from public spaces, normally accessible to everyone in society (Weszkalnys, 2008). The shopping mall of Hoog Catharijne as well is such privatized space where consumption is protected through several measures taken (Van der Kleij et al., 2014).

Furthermore, today’s cities identify the execution of activities such as begging and sleeping as ‘polluting’ the city (Robinson, 2019; Hennigan & Speer, 2019). As a counter-reaction, “anti-homeless laws are increasingly an endemic part of local landscapes” (Robinson, 2019, p. 42). As those being unhoused miss a private space to rest (Skolnik, 2019), such activities are being referred to as ‘homeless people’s activities’ by Herring and Yarbrough (2015). Also, so-called ‘hostile design’ is increasingly implemented to limit homeless people using certain spaces. Rosenberger (2020, p. 135) confirms this by saying that hostile design consists of “objects with the aim of discouraging specific uses of public space, frequently with the goal of pushing a particular population out of public space entirely.” Rosen (2023) states that such objects go hand-in-hand with earlier mentioned anti-homeless laws, while he considers CCTV-cameras being a form of hostile design

as well. Although these processes already existed for more than six centuries, the laws itself, and its consequences intensified since the last decade of previous century (Amster, 2003; Deverteuil, 2006; Murphy, 2009). All these examples considered, several academic articles speak of a growing trend named 'criminalization of homelessness' (Mitchell, 1997; Amster, 2003; Deverteuil, 2006; Hennigan & Speer, 2019; Robinson, 2019).

Utrecht's situation

However, according to RadioTelevisie Utrecht's (2023a) recent news article, the municipality of the city recently decided to stop placing any "street furniture aimed at obstructing the lives of homeless people" in public spaces. This homeless-friendly statement makes Utrecht one of the first cities doing so. Nevertheless, the passed motion does not automatically mean that Hoog Catharijne will no longer place or remove any forms of hostile design. Reason behind this is the fact that the shopping centre is a privatized space where property manager Kléppiere decides how the interior is shaped.

So far, this chapter highlighted the mismatch between the homeless people and Hoog Catharijne in the past. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the problem for homeless people is completely solved today. Instead, according to RTV Utrecht (2021), more and more homeless people are again gathering and sleeping around Hoog Catharijne. The recent active monitoring of the place possibly exaggerates the situation for these unhoused people as it facilitates in producing an environment in which consumption is pursued.

Research objective

This research's objective is to provide insights into the daily experiences of homeless people in Utrecht towards the recent sanitizing of Hoog Catharijne and its direct surroundings. In the first place this study wants to understand whether these individuals are subjected to policing, surveillance, and exclusion or not. It is possible that recently, after the transformation, more measures are implemented that restrict marginalized groups' stay in any way. If so, the consequences are felt. Therefore, this investigation also wants to call attention and make people aware for the consequences of excluding homeless people from specific spaces in Utrecht.

Not only are the social status and living standards of these already vulnerable people then lowered but at the same time are assigned to less secured places.

Main question and sub questions

To comply the two research objectives, the following research question will be central during this research on the shopping mall of Hoog Catharijne:

- *To what extent did the process of sanitization in and around the shopping mall of Hoog Catharijne cause a process of criminalization of homelessness in the area and in what ways do homeless people experience this possible criminalization?*

This research makes use of sub questions to help answering the main question. The first of these questions is the following:

- *To what extent did, because of the sanitization of the space in and around the contemporary shopping mall Hoog Catharijne, a process of criminalization of homelessness materialize?*

This sub question will be answered through an analysis of the academic literature. Answering this sub question is important since the collection of data is then given context and, in this way, does not solely stay in a vacuum.

The following three sub questions will be investigated by directly involving homeless people as well as visiting the shopping mall itself:

- *How do homeless people experience today's situation of the shopping mall Hoog Catharijne after its latest transformation back in 2017?*
- *How does the renovated space in and around Hoog Catharijne restrict homeless people from entering, using, or inhabiting Hoog Catharijne and its immediate surroundings?*
- *To what extent are homeless people denied or actually removed from Hoog Catharijne?*

These last three sub questions require, next to an inquiry in the already existing academic literature, a direct exploration of the experiences of homeless people living in Utrecht. Qualitative methods will be a good opportunity to investigate both

questions since, according to several authors (see for instance Boeije & Bleijenbergh, 2005; Reulink & Lindeman, 2005), people's experiences and perceptions are better able to be explored when applying qualitative ones. Both photo supported in-depth interviews and observations are considered a valuable option to answer these sub questions.

Social relevance

This research is socially relevant in several ways. In the first place, the number of homeless people in the Netherlands is rising after years of decline. According to the Dutch central statistics office the number of homeless people in the Netherlands grew 'explosively' to 30.600 people in 2023 (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2024). The institution says that eighty percent of the homeless people in the Netherlands are male, while twenty percent being female. Van Doorn (2020, p. 42), at his turn, explains that the sudden surge in homelessness stemmed from a distraction from the issue following the success of a national campaign initiated fifteen years ago aimed towards the notion that "in our country nobody should sleep on the streets". In line with the recent increase, RTV Utrecht (2021) noted that the number of cases of nuisances from homeless people grew as well in the city of Utrecht recently. At the same time, more and more homeless people are again gathering and sleeping around Hoog Catharijne in "degrading circumstances" as stated by RTV Utrecht (2021). The lack of shelter accommodations for homeless people in Utrecht right now (RTV Utrecht, 2023b) is a possible reason behind this emerging challenge.

Consequently, homeless people are even more reliant on public spaces where they become increasingly undesired. This brings significant consequences for homeless people. Firstly, the earlier mentioned 'homeless activities', such as begging or sleeping on the streets, are increasingly fined as they do not fit the perfect image that cities strive to. Homeless people doing so risk being removed (Johnsen & Fitzpatrick, 2010; Crawford, 2011). The increased regulation of public spaces makes surviving in these places harder for marginalized groups in society (Mitchell, 1997; Doherty et al., 2008; Casey, Goudie & Reeve 2008, Hennigan & Speer, 2019). Herring, Yarrow and Marie Alatorre (2020) at their turn, say not much is known about the consequences and experiences for homeless people living in Europe facing such regulations since in the academic literature mainly the harder

move-along ordinances that criminalize homelessness in American cities are evaluated. What is known, however, is that this increased legislation resulted in the lowering of homeless people's social status as they increasingly become undesirable and unwelcomed (Amster, 2003; Doherty et al., 2008; Bongers, 2023). This is the other negative result homeless people face as they are more reliant on the streets.

Scientific relevance

Next to being socially relevant, this investigation is relevant in a scientific way. In the last decennium of previous century Bloch, Riddgway and Dawson (1994, p. 38) already called attention to study "the marginal members of the mall habitat". As a response for this call, several of such investigations have been conducted in multiple European cities. Both Lomell (2004) and Alhadar and McCahill (2011) for example explain how surveillance systems unwelcome specific segments of society into their shopping malls. Bongers (2023), however, states that Utrecht's case of Hoog Catharijne has been overlooked.

Furthermore, both Lomell's (2004) research and the study by Alhadar and McCahill (2011) failed to directly involve those who were being excluded. As such, Doherty (et al., 2008, p. 306) suggests and encourage academics to "engage more directly with homeless people themselves". Besides, Robinson (2019, p. 49) writes that "we have little empirical tracking how homeless people experience and navigate increasingly vigorous quality-of-life policing or evaluating the behavioural impacts of these laws on homeless people". Therefore, he calls for more research to better explore the behavioural consequences of such laws. But not only the effects of these laws need scrutinizing. Lehtinen (2020, p. 87), namely, states "we need a better understanding of how technologies [aimed at the homeless] are experienced, especially in cases where social justice is at stake." Thus, by interviewing homeless people themselves this thesis fills two academic gaps.

Theoretical framework

After introducing the research objective and related research questions, this study will now delve into the existing academic literature on homelessness and shopping malls. This chapter forms the theoretical foundation behind this study.

The 'best' city

Contemporary political discourse constructs public space to be a "space of consumption" (Zukin, 1998, p. 825). It is one of the recent manifestations cities deploy in order to lure richer segments of society. By attracting for example tourists, cities are assured of a reliable source of economic investments (Mitchell, 1997; Smets & Watt, 2013; Mosedale, 2016). Logically, for cities to appeal such tourists, they must do everything to stay attractive. Therefore, cities these days implement strategies to evolve into such privatized sites of consumption and pleasure according to Brands, Schwanen and Van Aalst (2015). Organizing big sports events, and the placement of shopping malls are only two examples of such strategies (Doherty et al., 2008; Smets & Watt, 2013; Sahito et al., 2020).

However, such tactics aimed at attracting higher income groups may often lead to a sharpening of socioeconomic inequalities (MacLeod, 2002). The reason behind this development is that inner cities stem from the contemporary thought that cities would become more unattractive and unsafe if degraded urban representations would be tolerated (Amster, 2003; Toolis & Hammack, 2015; Bongers, 2023). Hence, those with lower budgets would form a 'threat' to commerce and social order.

The 'revanchist' city

Neil Smith's (1996) concept of the revanchist city positions this tactic of removing those people unable to consume into a theoretical theory. According to this thesis, the upper classes seek to clean and revitalise the city by displacing marginalized groups of society from specific places. Otherwise, goes the thought, due to certain marginalized groups, such as skaters (Chiu & Giamarino, 2019) and homeless people (MacLeod, 2002), the city will no longer be inviting for those who deliver economic revenues. MacLeod (2002, p. 1696-1697) notes that "those excluded

from society are no longer viewed as victims and do not receive help; instead, they are punished or removed for not being able to properly adjust to market conditions". Cities can, for example, decide to enforce specific ordinances to stay attractive. These so-called 'quality of life laws' punish people who undertake low-level urban incivilities that would disorder public spaces and negatively impact other people's quality of life (Herring & Yarbrough, 2015; Skolnik, 2019).

Although Smith's revanchist thesis was inspired on New York's situation during the 90s, a specific form of such laws already existed in San Francisco during the 80s (Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008; Van Eijk, 2010; Herring & Yarbrough, 2015; Glyman & Rankin, 2016). These revanchist ordinances were called to life in an ultimate attempt to combat the "explosion of homelessness" caused by the lack of affordable housing five decades ago (Herring and Yarbrough, 2015, p. 6). Today, these anti-homeless laws are increasingly implemented all over the world. Additionally, municipalities privatize public spaces to recapture territory. MacLeod (2002) further elaborates that today's cities generate a profit-seeking and entrepreneurial character because of these strategies grouped under the term 'urban entrepreneurialism' by Hennigan and Speer (2019). By doing so, revanchist policies contribute to creating a divided city, both in social and economic ways and thus sharpen socioeconomic inequalities according to MacLeod (2002).

Debate on 'open' spaces

Multiple scholars even refer to the "death of public space" (Mitchell, 2003, p. 8). According to them, truly open spaces, where everyone is included, do not exist anymore. On the contrast, Rosen (2023) calls the assignment of spaces by the term 'public' misleading "because they do not serve everyone". Paddison and Sharp (2007, p. 102) agree by speaking of a romanticizing of public spaces. According to these two scholars "a period of free access to public space [...] never existed". The existence of a truly open space is idealistic and not feasible as stated by Mitchell (2003) and Wyatt (2022). Rather, public spaces are constantly challenged and debated. Surveillance methods as an example not only affirm, but also produce and even enhance this process (Paddison & Sharp, 2007).

Criminalizing homelessness

Some authors speak of a general trend going on these days, often referred to as 'criminalization of homelessness'. Lemings (2019, p. 303) defines it as the processes in which "the homeless community is stigmatized and subjected to criminal punishment simply for living and being in any place". Amster (2003, p. 201) adds that this criminalizing aims "to drive homeless people out of inner cities". In the academic literature this removal of those considered undesirable is referred to as 'spatial cleansing' or 'city cleansing' (Amster, 2003; Doherty et al., 2008; Dupont, 2011; Kennelly, 2015). Since those unhoused lack a private space, they are forced to live and execute certain activities others perform in their own house. Herring and Yarbrough (2015, p. 35) sums up some of these activities: "(1) standing, sitting, and resting in public spaces, including loitering and "vagrancy" (daytime restrictions); (2) sleeping, camping and lodging in public spaces, including vehicles (night-time restrictions); (3) begging and panhandling." Then, municipalities, due to the use of anti-homeless laws, punish certain activities when conducted in open spaces by those lacking a private space to perform them. Consequently, Herring and Yarbrough (2015) claim that particular groups of society are disproportionately impacted by these laws compared to other groups. Further, Mitchell (1997, p. 307) and Rosenberger (2023) reject the ongoing process of criminalizing these activities and asserts that "survival itself is criminalized".

Hostile design, or hostile architecture as some refer to, with for instance benches that are constructed in such way that sleeping on them is impossible, are a physical expression of today's neoliberal cities' attitudes towards homeless people (Hennigan & Speer 2019). Rosenberger (2020, p. 135) also argues that "it is helpful to think of hostile designs as mediators of experience, objects that are open to multiple uses and that have been redesigned for the purpose of closing off particular usages in accord with particular agendas." He continues by enumerating some examples redesigned to comply particular agendas, such as trashcans that unable prevent those looking for deposit bottles from rummaging in them, spikes in the ground preventing people to sleep and noise machines that make certain spaces unattractive to hang. Another, less obvious example, working under the "logic of absence", is the unavailability of certain objects in certain spaces (de Fine Licht, 2017; Rosenberger, 2023). Here, one could for example think of the lack of

for example benches or trash cans. Further, de Fine Licht (2017) and Rosen (2023) bring another example of using slippery materials that make the execution of certain activities uncomfortable. Rosenberger (2023), however, notes that such efforts, having negative consequences for marginalized groups, are not always focused to them per se. An example he refers to are the 'homeless proof' trash cans that may be aimed to repel animals.

At the same time, although not physically affecting marginalized groups, CCTV "cameras are (...) at times enrolled into hostile agendas" as they "have frequently been used to monitor those who appear not to belong in the surveilled space" (Rosenberger, 2020, p. 142). Therefore, surveillance systems "participate in hostile agendas [as]: (1) they extend the perceptual reach of hostile human actors and (2) they incite people under surveillance to police themselves" (*idem*, p. 143). As such, cameras best serve the hostile design when those undesired do know they are being targeted since visible surveillance systems have the effect of remembering the targeted population to 'behave themselves' because they are being watched. This relates to the famous work of Michel Foucault's 'panopticon prison'. In this prison, the cells of the prisoners are circled around a control room where security guards are stationed. The prisoners, however, cannot see whether they are being watched or not. Foucault explains that this idea of a constant possible surveillance shapes such context and even the people themselves (Rosenberger, 2020). Therefore, security cameras are referred to as the "logic of self-coercion" by Rosenberger (2020, p. 144). In practice, this means that so-called 'globe-cameras' are installed which operate so that it is unknown in which direction it is aimed. Further, he adds that boards on which house rules are listed fit such logic as well.

Again, as de Fine Licht (2017, p. 31) writes, "utilizing defensive architecture (...) is particularly bad for the worst-off". Despite most forms of hostile architecture are designed in such a way that they mainly target those undesired, it does yet mean that those not being targeted do not perceive the unwelcoming message per se (Rosenberger, 2023). Therefore, resistance efforts against different forms of hostile architecture may arise (Rosenberger, 2020; 2023).

Anti-homeless laws' consequences

The earlier mentioned anti-homeless policies were introduced to move out marginalized groups from certain public spaces. Since municipalities and countries are using different policies to combat homelessness, its impact on daily lives of homeless people varies from place to place. Mainly the harder move-along ordinances that criminalize homelessness in American cities are evaluated in the literature. Herring (et al., 2020) affirms that not much is known about the consequences and experiences of homeless people facing such regulations. When explaining these topics mainly the negative impacts were researched. First, Amster (2003) argues that by removing the unhoused from public spaces, other visitors and customers are illusioned that homelessness does not exist, further lowering the social status of these already marginalized individuals. In Herring's (et al., 2020) article multiple other examples can be found. Here, it is stated that the homeless being interviewed "found anti-homeless enforcement not only frustrating, but also demeaning" (p. 140). Craven, Sapra, Harmon and Hyde (2022) and Herring and Yarbrough (2015) contribute by explaining that such laws can have negative impacts on homeless people's health. Fear and depression are two of the given examples caused by the constant chase by police officers.

Moreover, there are cases known where homeless participants felt othered when having social interactions downtown because of these discourses (Toolis & Hammack, 2015). Both discrimination and violence were a direct consequence. The same research found that homeless people simply do not accept being excluded from some spaces. Instead, they said that they felt being part of the community or referred to their humanity. In the meantime, Herring and Yarbrough (2015) found that more than ninety percent of the interviewees stayed in the same area, despite being obliged to move by police officers. Robinson's (2019) research, conducted in Denver, shows comparable findings. The lack of legal alternatives is again the reason behind this challenging of being excluded from certain (secured) spaces (Toolis & Hammack, 2015; Robinson, 2019). Additionally, one's safety is not guaranteed in the more dangerous public places out of the public eye, homeless people are forced to. So, despite being introduced to remove certain groups of people from public spaces, anti-homeless laws have rarely succeeded in achieving the purpose of spatial cleansing.

Discussion about the intention of anti-homeless laws

Finally, a debate “has emerged regarding the intent and consequences of such [heavy-handed] laws” (Robinson, 2019, p. 44). The question that academics and politicians raise is whether the ordinances directed towards the vulnerable of society are beneficial in any way and indeed reach their objective eradicating homelessness as a whole (Saelinger, 2006). People in favour of such ordinances share the opinion that homeless people live as “anti-social person[s] in need of correction and enforced support” (De Graaf Van Doorn, Kloppenburg & Cathalijne, 2011, p. 7). In line with these kinds of policies is the social justice approach. In here, the main goal is to end the social and economic exclusion for homeless people by making it increasingly possible for them to get in touch with services and legal shelters (Robinson, 2019). Here, the use of coercion is permitted since it would be in best interest of those who ‘need’ help (De Graaf et al., 2011).

Not everyone, however, thinks that this kind of legislation is “intended to improve the lives of homeless people” (Robinson, 2019, p. 45). People that reject the anti-homeless laws say that surviving for homeless people would be simply made impossible (Mitchell, 1997). Others say that the coercive tactic would even worsen the problem of homelessness, despite being one of the most expensive approaches (Herring & Yarbrough, 2015; Rankin, 2019). Instead, these opponents advocate the compassionate laws that show support without a coercive character. Furthermore, they believe that arresting homeless people could for instance “create barriers to employment or housing”, since in some countries public housing authorities decide to exclude people who were arrested in the past (Skolnik, 2019, p. 81). As such, these ordinances have direct consequences for the lives of homeless people in the long term. Finally, Rankin (2015) explains that homeless people who have been arrested could also lose governmental benefits. In this way, while homeless people already live with big uncertainties, their future is then possibly paired with more insecurities. According to these authors, convinced of the positive effects of compassionate laws, not only homeless people are disadvantaged by the heavy-handed laws, but society as a whole too.

Glyman and Rankin (2016, p. 23) recommended local authorities “to regularly examine and evaluate the impact of their policies and practices on the visibly poor”. Robinson (2019) is even more definite and advises local authorities to adjust

their policies so that it is easier for those being homeless to move freely in public spaces as options for homeless people to live decrease. Both previous research, namely, found prove that the goals connected to the social justice approach are barely achieved. Important sidenote, however, is that one could wonder if it is even possible to solve homelessness (Saelinger, 2006) as a whole.

Dutch policy towards homelessness is one of “sticks and carrots”

The anti-homeless laws having a coercive character are increasingly implemented outside the United States as well, albeit in different ways (Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008; Aalbers, 2011; Herring et al., 2020). However, there exists a distinction of forms of revanchism between the United States and that of European countries. Uitermark and Duyvendak (2008) describe that European municipalities, especially those in the Netherlands, can rely to a greater degree on the national government for economic provision of local expenditures. This administrative system has never been deployed in American municipalities. Therefore, related policies on the western side of the Atlantic Ocean would be rather ‘heavy-handed’. In the meantime, they are aimed towards ‘zero-tolerance’ (Doherty et al., 2008; Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008; Van Eijk, 2010; Aalbers, 2011; Margier, 2023). Although an increasing number of authorities called the heavy-handed revanchist policies inhuman, American cities passed more intense anti-homeless laws than ever before between 2011 and 2014 (Herring & Yarbrough, 2015). Rather, the European version of coping with homelessness is soft and less punitive as Aalbers (2011) writes.

The European agenda to address homelessness, however, is increasingly directing towards implementing the more heavy-handed legislation as well since the beginning of this century. This is at least the case in The Netherlands (Doherty et al., 2008; Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008; Hermans, 2012), which will be elaborated later in this chapter. The reason behind this change of course is the diminishing amount of money resources available for public funds in the country (Van Leerdam, 2013), due to the 2008’s banking crisis (De Graaf et al., 2011). Consequently, homeless people in European cities are increasingly facing a ‘meaner’ attitude from the local government next to the original softer policies. The quote below from De Graaf (et al., 2011) affirms that Dutch policy exists of such mixture of policies as two main purposes are described:

One of the most fascinating elements in the Dutch debate on the homeless policy is the consensus on its points of departure: to combat homelessness by providing help and housing, and to combat public nuisance by either driving the homeless from the public space or by implementing stricter police regulation. (p. 12)

The quote above proves Hermans' (2012, p. 116) point that the Dutch approach to combat homelessness is one of "sticks and carrots". In the first place, Hermans (2012, p. 116) says that Dutch homelessness policy is aimed at making use of "a client-centred approach to ameliorate the living and housing situations of homeless people". This connects to the first part of De Graaf's (et al., 2011) quote. The last part of the Graaf's (et al., 2011) quote, however, mentions that homeless people are forced to move out of public spaces. Customer's fear to interact with homeless people fuels this spatial cleansing of those looking visibly poor.

Next to the somewhat harder policies, linked with a more social justice approach, there exist softer, more compassionate, policies towards homeless people in the Netherlands, as affirmed by Uitermark and Duyvendak (2008). As such, a programme related to the consequences of homeless people's activities has been carried out in the Netherlands. In an academic article, Marlatt (1996) describes how busses drove around to provide clean needles for heroin addicts during the 80s and 90s. Furthermore, Grund, Kaplan and Adriaans (1991) write that, in contrast with neighbouring countries, owning injection equipment, such as needles, has never been prohibited in the Netherlands. These are examples of policies related to harm reduction. Marlatt (1996, p. 779) describes this harm reduction as "a public health alternative to the moral/criminal and disease models of drug use and addiction [that] recognizes abstinence as an ideal outcome but accepts alternatives that reduce harm". The main goal is "to reduce the harmful consequences of addictive behaviour for both drug consumers and society" (*idem*, p. 779). Finally, he describes the Netherlands as one of the frontrunners when it comes to harm reduction policies.

Semi-open spaces

Homeless people that do not accept being driven out of public spaces (De Graaf et al., 2011) can decide to enter so-called 'semi-open spaces' or 'quasi-public spaces'. The academic literature refers to such spaces as being "generally private although freely open to the public" (Button, 2003, p. 227). Inherent to the notion of privatization is that the owner can decide who is excluded and who is not. Therefore, Button (2003) emphasizes the presence of security in such environments.

Tyndall (2010) confirms that shopping malls are privatized spaces and adds that they exude an open-for-all character. As more public spaces evolve into such hybrid spaces, shopping malls nowadays have taken over the function of former open town squares (Voyce, 2003; Staetheli & Mitchell, 2006). Important difference here is the given priority of profit over creating a gathering place. Instead, Toolis and Hammack (2015, p. 379) write that "privatization of public space functions to reproduce class inequality by restricting access to resources and restricting interactions between diverse groups of people". So, despite containing an open-to-everyone character, homeless people risk being removed or fined when entering such commercialized spaces. According to Glyman and Rankin (2016) most homeless people are not financially sustained to pay such fines. Customers and visitors, afraid to interact with them showing no consumerist values, escape into such secured spaces. Consequently then, tourists and other visitors are led to believe that the urgent problem of homelessness does not exist. This may have further negative consequences for homeless people as their social status lowers (Amster, 2003; Doherty et al., 2008; Bongers, 2023). Finally, privatized or not, a couple studies described how homeless people in some cases succeed visiting the places they are undesired, despite measures taken. These strategies contain negotiating with security guards or adopting the expected behavioural conduct of such semi-open spaces (see for example Casey, Goudie & Reeve, 2008; Doherty et al., 2008).

De Graaf (et al., 2011), at his turn, states the tactic of privatizing public spaces is as well implemented in the four biggest cities of the Netherlands, under which Utrecht falls. However, the Dutch government is yet not very willing to fully hand over public spaces to the private sector. Rather, local authorities decide to let

private parties join in maintaining spaces together (Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013). One advantage for governments is that maintaining spaces then is much cheaper. Additionally, former open spaces would develop into better looking ones, albeit semi-privatized. The Dutch situation is an exception to the rule in most Western European countries, as currently in for example Great Britain an increasing number of private parties is fully responsible over former public spaces (Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013). The Netherlands having a history of being a welfare state is, again, observed to be the reason behind this difference with surrounding countries. For this reason, "completely privately owned or very exclusionary public spaces are very hard to find in the Netherlands" (Langstraat & Van Melik, 2013, p. 447). As such, homeless people are not completely dependent only on private parties since local authorities still have a say in who is allowed to enter and who is not.

Regulating the mall

So again, "*practically* anyone is invited and allowed to enter" shopping malls (Chiodelli & Moroni, 2015, p. 39). The word 'practically' is emphasized because people not conducting to the social codes of the mall, for example by challenging consumption, can be removed. As such, Voyce (2003, p. 252) refers to shopping malls as "enclaves" where "shoppers own the mall". This article emphasizes this 'owning' the mall not meaning owning in terms of ownership of lands or buildings per se. Rather, it is about owning a proper behaviour: the consumerist one. In other words, visitors of shopping malls are expected to possess "the ability to buy consumer goods" (Voyce, 2006, p. 282). This highlights the idea that shopping malls are indeed consumption spaces as Voyce (2006) explains. Both Lomell (2004) and Alhadar and McCahill (2011) state that, in western societies, CCTV cameras contribute to the evolvement of public spaces into sites of mass consumption. But where inclusion takes place, there automatically is exclusion. Homeless people, for instance, are one of the groups undesired by most shopping malls (Voyce, 2006; Chiodelli & Moroni, 2015), since they are not conforming these consumerist values and 'threat' the welcomed community. Alhadar and McCahill (2011, p. 319) describe a trend of shopping malls located in western countries "disproportionately target[ing] those who dressed (...) scruffily", while Voyce (2006) reckons that deviant behaviours or practices are limited because of several (control) measures taken.

Shopping “malls thus are represented as safe and secure places for consumption and the formation of particular lifestyles” (Voyce, 2003, p. 256, 2006; Staeheli & Mitchell, 2006). At least safe for middle class and elite shoppers: those looking visibly poor risk being kicked out. Shopping malls can do so, because they are equipped with CCTV cameras and security guards that help in regulating their visitors (Doherty et al., 2008). Since they can be better regulated than fully open spaces, shopping malls are increasingly built (Smets & Watt, 2013; Sahito et al., 2020).

The measures implemented can vary through a broad range of efforts. McCahill (2002) for example describes how not being allowed to sit down is included in most shopping malls’ house rules since this would disrupt the commercial image these secured spaces pursue. These kind of measures contribute to what is often referred to as the ‘commercialization’ of ‘purification’ of the city (Lomell, 2004). At the same time, however, this would lead to an inevitable diminishment in social variety or difference. Building shopping malls in places outside city centres poorly accessible by public transit seems to be another tactic to discourage certain segments of society to visit American shopping malls (Staetheli & Mitchell, 2006). In the past some scholars have, therefore, criticized these environments not only for working undemocratic but also containing an exclusive character (Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Salazar, 2019). As an example, Lomell (2004, p. 347) says that CCTV cameras possess the “potential of becoming a tool of injustice”. Then, Salazar (2019, p. 192) calls shopping centres “arenas where class conflicts are maintained”.

Erosion of the public sphere?

Other scholars, however, argue that shopping malls do not contribute to the erosion of the public sphere per se, or at least less than is claimed by some scholars. As an example, they mention that shopping malls in European cities are rather located in urban centres. Consequently European “shopping malls are frequented by a very diverse population in terms of race, origin, and affluence” (Chiodelli & Moroni, 2015, p. 39-40). Also, according to for example Tyndall (2010) the degree in which electronic security controls the publicness of shopping malls is not as big as many think. He continues by stating that coercion is of less importance than is often claimed. Instead, Tyndall (2010, p. 125) elaborates that

“the layout and design of the space itself encourage some forms of publicness whilst discouraging others.” Finally, he states that publicness is a construct not being static but rather dynamic as it possibly changes constantly due to different visitors being present at one moment from another. This statement is in line with what Mitchell (1997) stated earlier.

Furthermore, Tyndall (2010, p. 131) finds the earlier interpretation of the shopping mall only being focused on the higher segments of society oversimplified. He does not believe in shopping malls being “site[s] in which (...) security personnel, security technology and the public architecture of the mall, all designed to enforce an ethic of consumer capitalism”. Rather, feelings of security would be fulfilled by positionality. So, this suggests that safety feelings vary from one to another depending on their personal situation. In line with Tyndall’s statement, Paddison and Sharp (2007) indicate that the design of the space has impacts on who is included and excluded. To what extent control (successfully) regulate the openness of shopping malls remains to be unanswered. However, it is evident that certain activities are deployed to meet the desired goals of such ordered environments.

Synthesis

Cities look for tourists and tourists look for cities. Ideally, ‘safe’ cities where tourists do not have to interact with people that do not meet their consumerist values. The thought that the marginalized ones would have ‘stolen’ the city by making its streets ‘dirty’ stands central in Smith’s concept of the revanchist city. Policymakers, focused on the idea of their city being an enterprise, act upon such ideas: particular activities are increasingly criminalized in public space, while in the meantime public space is increasingly made exclusive by the usage of hostile architecture. The result is a world where socioeconomic inequalities increasingly sharpen: a majority of the homeless people feel the harsh consequences of these anti-homeless laws. Further, the laws involved have as a main goal to get homeless people in contact with services and legal shelters. Consequently, homeless people would disappear of the streets is the thought. These goals, connected to the social justice approach, however, proved hardly ever to be achieved in reality according to others.

These days, feared of having interactions with homeless people that live on the

streets, tourists flee into 'protected' shopping malls. CCTV cameras and security guards help these semi-open spaces maintaining their environment aimed at consuming and profit. In this image homeless people do not belong in such malls and risk being excluded. Since municipalities built more and more shopping malls, the habitat of those who lost their homes, public spaces, is further decreasing. In exchange semi-open spaces that in the overall do not welcome homeless people describe the street scene. As became clear during this chapter, survival for those who lost their homes is made harder.

Dutch policies also make use of laws that make survival for homeless people more difficult. Along the previous anti-homeless laws, however, different policies that rather directly assist homeless people exist as well. These more compassionate laws have been the guideline to combat homelessness in The Netherlands during the 90s. Lately, however, the Dutch policies are again moving towards the laws aimed to exclude homeless people from the streets.

Hoog Catharijne's situation

This research is aimed at investigating how homeless people in Utrecht experience the contemporary situation at the shopping mall of Hoog Catharijne as the shopping mall has a specific history where homeless people play an important role in. Before the methods are elaborated, this chapter will explain the relationship between these two worlds that nowadays mainly live separately, both literally, and figuratively. This, however, was not always the case. So, during this chapter insights will be provided about the history of Hoog Catharijne itself. In doing so, it answers the first sub question:

- *To what extent did, because of the sanitization of the space in and around the contemporary shopping mall Hoog Catharijne, a process of criminalization of homelessness materialize?*

A promising start

After its grand opening on September 24th, 1973, by princess Beatrix, queen of the Netherlands at that time, Hoog Catharijne was known for being a modern shopping mall (Verlaan, 2012; Van den Berg, 2018; Bongers, 2023). At the time, Dutch urban policies were focused on developing the larger cities of the country towards the economic centres (Aalbers, 2011). Simultaneously, some representatives of the municipality of Utrecht carried out the desire to make the city get rid of its "stuffy, dignified, small-town mentality" as Verlaan (2012, p. 186) describes. He continues by stating that two potential conditions were offered to make the realisation of Hoog Catharijne a successful operation. Firstly, the relatively centrally location of the city in the country is mentioned and secondly, related to this first advantage, the biggest train station of the Netherlands is situated in Utrecht. Profit motives private actors inspired actors to involve themselves into the realisation of the shopping mall Hoog Catharijne (Németh & Schmidt, 2011; Verlaan, 2012; Oudenampsen & Mellink, 2019). Further, as is in line with Aalbers' (2011) earlier statement that bigger cities should function as economic centres, the project of building the shopping mall was an excuse to destroy the working-class neighbourhood, named *Stationswijk*, previously located

at the current location of Hoog Catharijne (Verlaan, 2012, Verlaan, 2019; Bongers, 2023). Finally, as mentioned by Hommels (2000, p. 653), Hoog Catharijne formed the covered connection between the train station and city centre, so that “train passengers would become potential customers”. With the start of the economic transformation of the Dutch economy towards a consumer society apparently nothing stood in the way of both Utrecht and Hoog Catharijne to become the ‘shopping heart’ of the Netherlands as both Folkers (1995) and Verlaan (2012) write.

1970s: rocky start for Hoog Catharijne

Despite all these promising starting points the shopping mall did not have an easy start. As praised as the idea of building a shopping mall was by both politicians and the citizens of Utrecht, the cheer soon replaced by resistance and rejection (Hommels, 2000; Verlaan, 2012; Foley, Rushforth, Kalinowski & Bennett, 2020; Bongers, 2023). Bongers (2023, p. 1) for instance states that “their presence [drugs] became widespread shortly after the mall’s opening in 1973.” Hommels (2000) adds by saying that the presence of homeless people and addicts, mainly people from the old *Stationswijk*, created disturbances between them and other visitors and shoppers of Hoog Catharijne. Hoog Catharijne’s zeitgeist of the 1970s was not to try to help homeless people with their addictions. Instead, according to Bongers (2023), focus was laid on diminishing the effects of the drugs on the shopping experience of Hoog Catharijne. He adds that during the seventies the earlier mentioned ‘homeless people’s activities’ were hindered and criminalized in Hoog Catharijne, which sometimes led to arrests. These regulations were mainly aimed at sleeping and using drugs and then specifically heroin. In September 1976, newspapers messaged about the first death caused by using heroin. Since options for homeless people to legally stay were relatively far away from Hoog Catharijne, many homeless people decided to sleep in the shopping mall (Bongers, 2023).

In the same year as the issue of the death of the heroin user in the shopping mall, the Dutch Opium Act was introduced (Marlatt, 1996). This act was inspired by the notion that the Dutch drug policy should be consistent “with the extent of the risks involved in drug use” (Marlatt, 1996, p. 784). Consequently, a distinction between soft drugs and hard drugs, including heroin and cocaine, was made. In this way,

the first steps towards taking distance from the 'War on Drugs' thought were set. Until the end of the seventies, one could state that while hard policies made it more difficult for them to stay, Hoog Catharijne housed a lot of marginalized people. At the same time, however, the first packages of softer policies started to materialize.

1980s: from stigma to solution

During the eighties the shopping mall's profits were declining (Hommels, 2000). This was mainly caused by the negative image that was related to the many homeless people who decided to illegally stay and live inside the shopping mall (Hommels, 2000; Haydary, 2018). The example of the visitors of Hoog Catharijne connecting its first letters with 'Heroin' and 'Coke' shown in the introduction (Heijmans, 1994) beautifully affirms this statement. As such, in 1982, a pension fund made plans to give rebirth to Hoog Catharijne and bought the shopping mall.

When it was discovered that HIV/AIDS could be transferred by both blood and sex, another potential danger for the image of Hoog Catharijne was shed light on as the media used this to further nourish the already negative shopping mall's picture. Most of the drug addicts in Hoog Catharijne were heroin users and with dirty needles HIV/AIDS could be easily transmitted as was the thought (Bongers, 2023). This stimulated a movement towards policies related to harm reduction instead of pursuing a drug-free society (Marlatt, 1996; Bongers, 2023). According to Marlatt (1996), the Netherlands were one of the countries being a frontrunner when it came to implementing harm reduction policies. When explaining the introduction of these softer policies by Marlatt (1996), he describes how busses drove around to provide addicts clean needles. Further, Grund (et al., 1991) writes that, in contrast with neighbouring countries, owning injection equipment, such as needles, has never been prohibited in the Netherlands. Bongers (2023), at his turn, writes that during the existence of Hoog Catharijne several of such interventions to mitigate the effects of drugs abuse took place as well.

Marlatt (1996) and Bongers (2023) write that since the 1980s and 1990s the people using heroin were mainly those being marginalized by society. The municipality of Utrecht watched the situation in the capital city copying "policies fitting with the ideal of harm reduction" (Bongers, 2023, p. 20). As such, from the

year 1987, Utrecht had its own bus providing clean needles, passing by Hoog Catharijne as well. Regardless of being highly appreciated by drugs users and the municipality of Utrecht, the high costs and the fact that the bus had only one function, made it impossible for the bus to run any longer (Bongers, 2023).

1990s: order vs. harm reduction

After a collaboration of “the police, the municipal health services and the Salvation Army”, a walk-in centre named *Inloopcentrum Hoog Catharijne*, opened its doors in Hoog Catharijne in 1991 (Reformatorisch Dagblad, 1992; Trouw, 1992; Bongers, 2023, p. 21). In addition to collecting dirty needles and providing new ones, another function of the walk-in centre was preventing the spread of diseases and providing regular health care to homeless people (Reformatorisch Dagblad, 1992). The walk-in centre finally provided the accommodation close to Hoog Catharijne many previously surviving in the shopping mall wished for. At the same time, it was considered a great success as the group of homeless people that would previously cause nuisances in the shopping centre were now outside of it (Reformatorisch Dagblad, 1992; Bongers, 2023, p. 21).

It is important to notice that the police still acted when the nuisances by homeless people in the shopping mall became too loud during the 1980s and 1990s, as the example of fifty arrests in 1989 shows (Trouw, 1992; Bongers, 2023). Rather than harm reduction being the main concern of policies enacted, it was order that still swept the sceptre inside the shopping mall Hoog Catharijne (Bongers, 2023). Further, Bongers (2023, p. 24) concludes that “although harm reduction was increasingly visible as an alternative to (only) order, its impact in practice remained weak”. The situation of Hoog Catharijne during this period confirms Aalbers’ (2011, p. 1699) statement that “hard revanchist policies targeting homeless people may exist alongside soft caring policies”. Hennigan and Speer (2019) come up with similar findings. In this case the walk-in centre, where help was provided to drugs addicts who had nowhere else to go, is an example of a soft caring and harm reduction policy, while the chase by police officers for homeless people sleeping or using drugs in Hoog Catharijne falls into hard revanchist policies.

The walk-in centre was only available during daytime, which meant that homeless people around Hoog Catharijne still had to find shelter in the night (Bongers,

2023). Bongers (2023) writes that, partly because several illegal homeless shelter accommodations in both Amsterdam and Rotterdam closed, approximately 1,200 homeless people found shelter in the so-called 'Junkentunnel' that ran under Hoog Catharijne (Reinking, Van Ameijden, Van Bergen & Wolf, 2010; Bongers, 2023). In this supply tunnel, that enjoyed national fame for its "degrading conditions", using crack was a daily routine, causing aggressive situations (Reinking et al., 2021, p. 6; Ronde, 2021). Although being out of direct sight, shopkeepers complained about the unsafe situation in the supply tunnel and begged the municipality to act (Bongers, 2023). According to Hans Spekman, an alderman strongly committed to close the tunnel, the situation was the worst of that in the Netherlands (Steinberger, 2017; Bongers, 2023). Even though the municipality did not address the situation immediately, in 1999 the first clearance occurred, while two years later in 2001 the tunnel definitely closed (Steinberger, 2017; Bongers, 2023).

2000s: hard and social

Bongers (2023) states that it was during this period that the thought of harm reduction reigned supreme in Hoog Catharijne. Furthermore, in 2000 both user rooms and hostels were opened by the municipality for the former 'residents' of the Junkentunnel and other homeless people in Utrecht (Reinking et al., 2010; Bongers, 2023). In these user rooms people could legally use drugs, without risking being arrested. Selling and dealing drugs, however, was still prohibited (Reinking et al., 2010; Bongers, 2023). This last rule was, however, not taken in consideration by everyone, "leading to many fines and arrests", showing that order again intensified (Bongers, 2023, p. 30). Not only (former) drug addicts and homeless people were satisfied with the new situation of the hostels, residents in the neighbouring areas, were too (Reinking et al., 2010; Bongers, 2023). In this way, the hostels met the Marlatt's (1996, p. 779) requirement of harm reduction "to reduce the harmful consequences of addictive behaviour for both drug consumers and for the society in which they live". Reinking (et al., 2010) and Cruts, Van Laar and Buster (2013) both conclude, in their evaluation after being open for a decade, that also the hostels were a success. Being able to use hard drugs in their own rooms, without being arrested, was a ground-breaking harm reductive manifestation in the Netherlands (Reinking et al., 2010). At the same time, it should be mentioned that Reinking (et al., 2010, p. 6) state that also "strict

enforcement of public order and safety was pursued. The Utrecht approach became known as hard and social". So, from beginning until the first decade of the century a mixture of hard and soft policies was still used to control the situation.

Current situation: shifting priorities

Bongers (2023) concludes his academic article by writing that the current situation of the shopping mall of Hoog Catharijne slowly moves away from harm reduction again. Reinking (et al., 2010, p. 14) acknowledge this statement by describing in their final recommendations that there is a "shift in expectations" for the future of the hostels. This shift implies that, instead of attempting to reduce the harmful consequences of using drugs, the hostels now are more focused on solving the problem of homelessness and addiction itself (Martall, 1996; Reinking et al., 2010). This was the common notion during the 70s as well, as stated earlier this chapter. Another recommendation by Reinking (et al., 2010) is that health services in the hostels should be easily accessible. Furthermore, Bongers (2023, p. 32) state that budgets cuts on public services by the contemporary neoliberal government "has had major impact, especially on the care side of harm reduction."

Finally, the shopping mall of Hoog Catharijne itself changed as well in such way that it increasingly serves its main target audience: customers. In the first place, by removing all the niches in which homeless people hung in the past (Swieringa, 2022; Bongers, 2023). By doing so, it became more difficult for those marginalized to hide in the shopping mall and feel welcomed (Swieringa, 2022). Besides, the house rules confirm that the shopping mall is not eager to see history repeated as the first rule forbids begging. Furthermore, using and dealing drugs is prohibited as well. Last but not least, "hanging around, or sitting in lifts, stairwells, escalators on balustrades or against shop fronts" is included in the house rules of Hoog Catharijne as well (Hoog Catharijne, n.d.). As Alhadar and McCahill (2011) put it, using the shopping mall as a 'doss house' is hindered as this interrupts the commercial image. Thus, order remains the leading frame from the opening in 2017 of the 'new' Hoog Catharijne (Reinking et al., 2010; Bongers, 2023).

Hoog Catharijne nowadays exists of 107,000 m², about 1,150,000 square feet of consumption space and is located next to the central train station of Utrecht. The according to Juhari, Ali and Khair's (2012) typology of shopping centres, super-

regional shopping mall is, as it seems, entering a new phase in which marginalized groups of society are increasingly undesired.

This research investigates, next to the ways how the process of criminalization of homelessness affects homeless people's life, how these people experience the shopping mall of Hoog Catharijne today after the most recent renovation. The next chapter describes what research methods will be used to answer these questions.

Methodology

As discussed in the theoretical framework, the reducing number of real open spaces in Dutch society may have severe consequences for homeless people. The previous chapter, in turn, described the link between the process of criminalization of homelessness and the shopping mall of Hoog Catharijne. Thereby the first sub question of this research was investigated. The next three sub questions will be answered through an acquisition of data by the research itself:

- *How do homeless people experience today's situation of the shopping mall Hoog Catharijne after its latest transformation back in 2017?*
- *How does the renovated space of Hoog Catharijne restrict homeless people from entering, using, or inhabiting Hoog Catharijne and its immediate surroundings?*
- *To what extent are homeless people denied or actually removed from Hoog Catharijne?*

Previous research methods

This research's objective is providing insights into homeless people's perceptions towards the recent sanitizing of Hoog Catharijne by investigating to what extent these individuals are subjected to policing, surveillance, and exclusion. Secondly, this investigation wants to call attention and make people aware for the consequences of excluding homeless people from specific spaces in Utrecht. In the past, similar research has been conducted qualitatively. Thörn (2011) for instance analysed the consequences of the soft exclusion policies of public spaces in Gothenburg by executing in-depth interviews. In another research, Casey (et al., 2008) also used of this research method to investigate how homeless women in the United Kingdom cope with increasingly not being welcome to quasi-public spaces anymore. As academics emphasize qualitative research methods contributing to the existing academic knowledge when people's experiences and perceptions are to be investigated (Moen & Middelthon, 2015; Hammarberg, Kirkman & De Lacey, 2016) this investigation, will make use of both in-depth interviews supported by photo elicitation and observations.

Photo elicitation interviews

The last three sub questions are partly answered through the use of in-depth interviews. Showkat and Parveen (2017, p. 2) affirm that in-depth interviews contribute to finding out about “opinions, experiences, values, and various other aspects” of the respondents. When combined with photo elicitation, however, the interviews will become more insightful as “emotional connections to memories” will be prompted according to Petersen and Martin (2021, p. 38) that otherwise may never be evoked (Copes, Tchoula, Brookman & Ragland, 2018). Using these research methods together is recommended when the participants, such as homeless people, are considered vulnerable (Cox & Benson, 2017; Pyyry, Hilander & Tani, 2021). This is because photo elicitation the participant is allowed more space for own input during the interview.

Instead of a fixed sequence of questions, this research utilized a list of topics when interviewing. This generated a semi-structured character for the in-depth interviews, then minimizing the chance for a rigid interrogation. An additional advantage was that the interviewer was able to adjust the direction during the interview itself (McIntosh & Morse, 2015; Showkat & Parveen, 2017). However, paying attention that the in-depth interviews did not deviate too much from the topic and research questions (Adams & Cox, 2008), while also considering that the vulnerable participants was given enough input during the interviews was of interest. In reality, this meant that in some interviews the order of the photographs was adjusted. The topic list can be read in appendix I on page 72.

Theories behind the photo’s

The photo elicitation was researcher-driven meaning that the researcher captured the visual material. Theories were taken as a starting point for all pictures. The first pictures show multiple settings where visitors of Hoog Catharijne are visible. These people were allowed to enter the mall since they were expected to comply to the social codes of the secured semi-open environment (Voyce, 2003, 2006; Staetheli & Mitchell, 2006). It was interesting to execute these photographs during the interviews because it allowed the research to gain information about the participants’ thoughts whether they conduct according to these social codes or not. Further, it assists participants explaining how they experience the shopping mall after its latest transformation. Later in the interview, three pictures connected to

surveillance of Hoog Catharijne were shown. Do the participants, in contrast to other non-homeless visitors (Mehta, 2014), feel less welcomed due to for example CCTV cameras? Pictures of such security measurements in Hoog Catharijne can help participants in explaining what feelings these evoke. Therefore, they help answering the third and fourth sub question. Related to these sub questions are the photographs of several forms of hostile architecture implemented in and around the shopping mall. These photographs will help elaborate whether these kinds of measurements indeed reduced the execution of certain undesired activities or not (Hennigan & Speer, 2019) and as well what effects these measurements have on the feeling of welcomeness for homeless people. Finally, the house rules were shown in order to find out about the participants' experiences connected to being denied access or being removed out of Hoog Catharijne (Amster, 2003). House rules are the legal basis on which security is able to deny access or remove people from certain places.

All visual material was shot by the researcher on Wednesday February 21st, 2024. This was during the spring break. As such, the photographs may give impression that it is busier than it usually is on Wednesdays. These photographs are shown in appendix II starting on page 75.

Observations

The answering of the last sub question will be supported by doing observations as well of the area in and around the shopping mall. This research method helped to find out about the subtle physical architecture and other means placed that helps the ordered environment in staying a commercial spot. Here, the effects of certain physical adjustments present in the field were recorded through a variety of tools. During the observations itself pictures were taken of all aspects considered affecting marginalized groups' lives in a negative manner, albeit directly or indirectly. Furthermore, field notes supported the pictures that were taken. To provide the most complete picture possible, it was decided to observe the field on four different moments: Wednesday 21st February, 2024 (capturing photographs, no specific focus on what happened in the field) from 16:00-18:00, Monday (May 13th, 2024) 12:00 until 14:00 when the shopping mall just opened, Thursday (May 16th, 2024) 18:00 until 20:00 when it was shopping night and the shopping mall closed, Saturday (May 25th, 2024) 12:00 until 15:00 since this is considered being

the busiest moment of the week for the shopping mall. The data gathered from these observations will subsequently be connected with both the in-depth interviews and the theoretical framework.

This research chose for the non-participant observation. In this form of observing the researcher observes the field without being actively involved in it or disclosing its identity as a researcher. Leaving the “natural setting” undisturbed is an advantage of the non-participant observation as argued by some scholars (Parke & Griffiths, 2008, p. 4; Benton et al., 2023). Finally, Ciesielska, Boström and Öhlander (2018, p. 40) recommend researchers investigating shopping malls to take such non-participant observer role when in the field.

Validity, reliability, and suitability

First of all, Torre and Murphy (2015, p. 15) describe that interviews supported by photo elicitation ‘increases validity and reliability because data obtained from photographs can be triangulated with data collected in interviews or through observation’. For this study, this means that the researcher can form a complete and more accurate picture of the research object Hoog Catharijne. Furthermore, as the place was observed at four different time slots, the reliability of the data out of the observations was enlarged, while at the same time the observations could be compared with each other.

Several potential issues concerning validity and reliability, however, may arise when conducting the two previous elaborated research methods. First of all, the image material used for the in-depth interviews was captured by the researcher himself. According to Zhang and Hennebry-Leung (2023, p. 7) the researcher then should have ‘rich understanding of the research phenomenon and context’, otherwise issues concerning validity and reliability may arise. To tackle this problem, theoretical frameworks formed bases for all photographs. Also, Parke and Griffiths (2008) warn that when the studied population does not participate in capturing the photographs, researchers may overlook elements, experiences, or limitations that are relevant to that population. Since the researcher is not part of Utrecht’s homeless community, a lack of understanding of the specific limitations that these people encounter in their everyday interactions with the space of Hoog Catharijne might have happened as well. By observing the shopping mall after the

interviews an attempt to reduce this risk was taken as then the experiences of the participants interviewed could be considered during the observations. This leads to a greater reliability of the observations itself.

Secondly, another potential limitation is considered as this study is conducted by only one researcher. In such cases, Caldwell and Atwal (2005) warn, specifically during non-participant observing, for the possibility of selective subjectivity as no other researcher can analyse the data. There are, however, multiple ways that help to partly compensate this shortcoming. They, for example, advise to adopt video or photo cameras to capture interactions taking place in the field or setting (Caldwell & Atwal, 2005; Benton et al., 2023). As such, photo cameras were used during the observations, enhancing both validity and reliability of the observations. In doing so, the researcher could always make a claim to the digital material. This contributed to the objectivity of this research when the data was analysed. Secondly, field notes were used as well during the observations, again, helping to increase the level of both objectivity and reliability (Caldwell & Atwal, 2005; Benton et al., 2023).

NVIVO

The in-depth interviews and observations were analysed in different ways since both are different research methods. When analysing data out of qualitative research methods, Eppich, Gormley and Teunissen (2019) recommend making use of software programs. NVIVO was chosen in assisting during the analysis of the data out of the in-depth interviews. First, all the interviews were transcribed, so that all the data was available. Then, the transcripts were openly coded as then the researcher can decide what is considered valuable data. To make analysing this data possible, subsequently these codes were thematically sorted. In this way, the content out of the in-depth interviews could be better interpreted and identified in line with the research questions (Clarke, Braun & Hayfield, 2015). This process of coding is regarded not to be a "linear, step-by-step procedure" but rather "an iterative and reflexive process" (Fereday & Muier-Cochrane, 2006, p. 84; Williams & Moser, 2019).

Participants

For this study ten homeless participants have been interviewed. Two of them were female, while the other eight identified as being male. This ratio corresponds to the national one as eighty percent of the homeless community is male (CBS, 2024). The only condition to which the participant had to meet was that he or she was at least homeless for a year. In this way, participants were expected to have more experiences with the shopping mall and carried a homeless identity with them. The ages of the participants ranged from 42 to 61. Except for one participant, having a Moroccan nationality, all of the homeless people interviewed were born in The Netherlands. Eight of the ten participants indicated being born in the province of Utrecht. All interviews were conducted in Dutch.

There were multiple manners in which the potential participants could be contacted. Since it was considered being quite embarrassing for people to intervene when people are gathering plastic bottles out of garbage bins in Hoog Catharijne, it was decided not to do so. Moreover, these people do not have to be homeless per se. Therefore, it was decided to interview people who live at a homeless shelter instead. In this way, the two previous problems were tackled. Furthermore, the researcher of this study works at a homeless shelter. In doing so, the potential participants felt more comfortable helping with the study. This was indicated by the final participants themselves during the interviews as well. Lastly, since the potential participants were known for the researcher, this helped in better choosing the final participants.

Working with the participants, however, also brings extra responsibilities. In the first place, there might be an imbalance of power during the interviews. To tackle this possible problem as much as possible, it was decided not to conduct any of the interviews during working days, while also conducting them outside of the shelter itself. Instead, the interviews were all held in Tivoli Vredenburg, a concert hall with an open-for-all-character just next to Hoog Catharijne. An additional advantage of conducting the interviews here, was that the participants had a view over the shopping centre during the interview itself. It was hoped that this helped by better memorizing past experiences. Since conducting walk-along interviews was not possible inside Hoog Catharijne (see next section), this was seen as a good alternative location for conducting the interviews.

Further, contacting the homeless participants was a cautious process in which (potential) participants were protected as much as possible. During the process of gathering participants, it was recognized that the several appointments for an interview were cancelled due to several circumstances. Besides, the homeless community found it difficult to cancel interviews themselves when not feeling comfortable being interviewed anymore. Therefore, potential participants were asked if they were willing to contribute to the investigation with a maximum of three times. This process of asking a potential participant three times, not leading to an interviews occurred once in the process of gathering participants.

Positionality and ethics statements

In the first place, ethically speaking, this investigation considers homeless people living around and in Hoog Catharijne being a sensitive group. Therefore, this research actually might have harmful impacts for them. The possibility, for example, exists that after reading this research policy makers will have insights in the vulnerabilities of their security systems. Therefore, this research did not include any detailed information of how homeless people illegally enter Hoog Catharijne. With the implementation of this measure, this research attempts to protect the homeless community. Also, different measures were adopted when conducting interviews to ensure the participants' privacy. All these efforts were considered in an informed consent form that, together with the participants, was examined before the interviews started. An example was the explicit consent asked for audio recording the interviews. This investigation did not consider making video recordings having extended benefits. Therefore, it only made use of audio recordings during the interviews. Secondly, pseudonyms were used during this investigation to guarantee the interviewee's privacy. Thirdly, the study itself was explained, as well as the usage of images during the interviews. It was important to discuss this last measurement so the participant knew what could be expected (Torre & Murphy, 2015). By communicating these measures with all participants, this research is transparent. Lastly, Copes' (et al., 2018) recommendation to give participants the ability to pause the interview at any time was implemented as photo elicitation can trigger some heavily emotional reactions. The whole checklist is added in appendix I on page 72.

Holmes (2020) makes a meaningful statement that was kept in mind during the execution of this research. He demonstrates that researchers' observations are "colo[u]red by an individual's values and belief" (Holmes, 2020, p. 2; Marvasti, 2013). Certain aspects considered not being important, namely, are excluded by the researcher. In this way, the researcher determines what is (relevant) data and what is not. Realizing this, this research recognizes that investigators will always be situated in their study. Especially during the photo elicitation and observations this might had negative outcomes. Here, the researcher's non-homeless identity could for example lead to the ignorance of certain elements during the observations considered important for the homeless community. Especially, since hostile architecture is often implemented in such way that it is unnoticeable for the general public not being targeted (Wyatt, 2022; Rosenberger, 2023) this limitation lurks. In order to address this potential limitation an examination into the academic literature was conducted. Further, the implementation of field notes and the usage of digital material helped in reducing this potential risk.

At the same time, it was acknowledged that a share of homeless people could not be reached in this investigation since the researcher is a Dutch non-homeless man only speaking English as a second language. Therefore, it was impossible to include the experiences of the homeless people living in Utrecht that do not speak these two languages, while recently the number of homeless people originated from Eastern European counties increases in Utrecht (RTV Utrecht, 2023b). Due to this constraint, it is possible that these homeless communities experience the (semi-) open spaces differently than the homeless communities that were interviewed.

In addition, the production of the photo's was an ethically just process since the visual material in this study was not captured by the participants themselves. In this way, the marginalized interviewees did not have to enter the shopping mall which possibly could have caused some uncomfortable situations. The decision, instead, was to let the researcher make all the photos. Unfortunately, since the homeless participants are potentially refused entrance, it was not possible doing walk-along interviews in the shopping mall itself. Therefore, it was decided to interview the participants while having a view over Hoog Catharijne, partly solving this earlier limitation. At the same time, to guarantee visitors of Hoog Catharijne's

privacy, only pictures where their faces were blurred or unrecognizable were shown (Pyyry et al., 2021).

Finally, Benton (et al., 2023) highlights the responsibility of the researcher to exploit the data in an appropriate way when observing. According to this last research, this depends on the exact setting where the research is to be conducted. Firstly, when the shopping mall's house rules were read, it was stated that it is prohibited making pictures or videos that will be used for commercial end purposes (Hoog Catharijne, n.d.). Nothing, however, was expressed that forbid the usage of cameras for research purposes. Again, customers were blurred and so made unrecognizable on all pictures utilized. Lastly, when someone's behaviour was described, no detailed physical characteristics of that person were illustrated.

Results

As those unhoused own their own specific agenda and therefore make unique decisions based on their situation, they experience Hoog Catharijne in a certain way. The next chapter will elaborate these experiences.

Connecting to and using the mall

During the interviews the homeless participants described how they experienced the shopping mall Hoog Catharijne after its transformation in 2017, vividly by means of the photographs offered. In the beginning of the interviews, all participants were asked to what extent they visited the shopping mall on a monthly basis. It appeared that the answers ranged from 'daily' to 'as little as possible'. Besides, the purposes of visiting Hoog Catharijne differed as well. Three participants reported mainly visiting the shopping centre for its main purpose: shopping. Heidi (50) a homeless ex-alcoholic woman with the prospect of owning a studio in the near future, is one of those participants. Further, she explained experiencing the mall as a pleasant environment:

"I feel very welcome, as a feeling. I also feel seen as a person who comes to shop there. Because I'm a woman and have children and I'm a human being, like a lot of people. I'm shopping or walking around to go to my place where I live. I don't feel unsafe at all."

Heidi, 50 years old

Later, however, Heidi elaborated that she sees that not everyone is able to purchase the items offered by the mall. She is not the only one with this insight. Laura, the other woman interviewed, admits that she 'does not have the money for it'. Laura (51) lives under economic guardianship and collects empty bottles and cans for extra money. Due to economic shortages, also Martijn (62) does not shop in Hoog Catharijne. He is a homeless man having no job due to mental issues. Instead, the mall functions as a meeting place for him, while at the same time he likes to look at other visitors. Those other middle-class visitors, or shoppers as Martijn calls them, were something he mentioned multiple times as the photographs were showed. When shown photograph II (see page 75), he said the following:

“Something that comes to your mind now that you are looking longer at the photograph?”

“No, when I see these people walking around, I always must think about the division of society. I know that there are beggars nearby Hoog Catharijne. And then these shoppers walk by and are asked if they have anything. And they say, ‘No, I have nothing.’ But they do have three hands full of bags and clothes. That the hypocrite of the answers of the people. So yeah, that's what I see.”

Martijn, 53 years old

The quote here is in line with Brands, Schwanen and Van Aalst's (2015) idea of the evolution of today's cities towards sites of consumption and furthermore confirms MacLeod's (2002) statement that such tactics aimed at higher income groups possess the possibility of sharpening socioeconomic inequalities. Later in the interview, Martijn says that he believes that the 'homeless people represent a threat' for the commercial image that the shopping mall wants to embody so as to stay attractive for shoppers. The commercial interest of Hoog Catharijne is also strongly experienced by other participants. This focus triggers both positive and negative feelings by the participants interviewed. Sander (55) a homeless man also having no job due to mental issues, indicated that negative feelings were evoked due to the commercial vibe of the mall. When photograph II was shown, he first pointed to the fact that Hoog Catharijne 'is built to make money.' Right after this statement, he adds this is the cause for Sander 'missing the connection with Hoog Catharijne.' As the interview progressed, he discourages other homeless people to come and sit there for this reason. The other participants are more neutral in their expressions and take it for granted that Hoog Catharijne is focused on attracting those spending money. In order to achieve this, the shopping mall must create a safe environment for those visitors (Voyce, 2003; 2006). A majority of the participants interviewed think Hoog Catharijne succeeded in this. Massud (61) is one of them. Furthermore, Massud has a job and is the only participant not being born in The Netherlands. He was one of the three participants using the mall for shopping. He, in contrast to Sander, is very positive about Hoog Catharijne as he argues that he enjoys the shopping centre and feels '100%' safe in it. Other participants agree with Massud and indicate that they experience no unsafe feelings when visiting the shopping mall. The commercial aim of Hoog Catharijne makes Massud think that homeless should not visit Hoog Catharijne, but instead should go to 'a different place.' Immediately after this statement, Massud said the

shopping mall is meant 'to be enjoyed'. Since Massud is on track owning his own studio in the near future, it is very likely that he has a bit more money to spend than the average homeless person. So, possibly, he looks at Hoog Catharijne from a shoppers perspective instead of a homeless one. If Sander's statement is compared with that of Massud they actually have the same thoughts: both recommend homeless people to avoid Hoog Catharijne. Important sidenote here is that the reasoning behind the statement is from completely different perspectives.

At the same time, that commercial culture of the environment provides several (economic) opportunities for the homeless participants. Bryan (42), the youngest participant of all, says that he asks the shopping public for a coin 'to buy a croissant'. During the interviews, it became evident that the gathering of cans and bottles¹ is another example of the livelihood opportunities Hoog Catharijne supplies. Three participants, including the earlier mentioned Martijn and Laura, state that they use the shopping mall for such purposes. Piet (54) is the other one. He has lived in and around the Hoog Catharijne four months before staying in shelter. He explained how he was dependent on the number of visitors during his time living there:

"The weekends were gold for me. Because they are three times as busy as it was during the weekdays. Monday is a terrible day. I was glad if I had ten euros on Monday afternoon. Because I'm not the only one who walks around. There are maybe 20 more walking around [gathering cans and bottles out of garbage bins]."

Piet, 54 years old

This is consistent with the observations conducted in Hoog Catharijne, where several people were spotted searching inside garbage bins. Later in this chapter the reaction of the mall towards this trend will be further discussed.

During the interviews, another couple favourable circumstances the shopping centre provided were described. As discussed earlier, begging happened, albeit only by Bryan. While not buying clothes or any other products per se, most of the

¹ Since July 1st, 2021, customers pay a mandatory deposit of €0,15 on small bottles in The Netherlands. Almost two years later, on April 1st, 2023, also cans contained such deposit (€ 0,25).

participants used the shopping centre as a shelter against, for example, the rain. Kees (59), a former journalist who became homeless because of a divorce, thinks that 'if you are homeless [in the city of Utrecht], then Hoog Catharijne is the only alternative (...) where you can hide all day.' Skolnik (2019) and Rosen (2023) remind that the homeless population of society mainly engage in homeless activities like rough sleeping since they have no private space to do so. Then, the activities, such as sleeping in public, become so-called homeless activities. This statement emerged during six other interviews. It was mentioned by some other participants, namely, that they were forced to sleep inside Hoog Catharijne at least one time during the night hours since they lacked other space to do so. Later in this chapter it will be elaborated how these moments were experienced. There were also illegal practices occurring inside Hoog Catharijne, such as stealing. Besides, one participant, whose name is not mentioned so that their privacy is safeguarded, shared that they engage in stealing inside Hoog Catharijne because they lack the financial means to shop there. All these experiences together show that the participants have a specific relation with Hoog Catharijne: sometimes they lack a connection, other times Hoog Catharijne becomes their 'home' or 'territory'.

Hostile design

Hoog Catharijne, however, installed several means and measures that prevent homeless people from entering the place. As stated earlier, hostile architecture is used increasingly these days to discourage certain activities or groups of people (Rosenberger, 2023). As discussed earlier in the methodology chapter, a visit to the shopping mall was carried out to find and photograph such hostile measures. The examples evoked several emotions to the homeless participants. Some examples proved to be more obvious than others, as they were less explicit. The notion behind the tube around a pillar captured on photograph VII (see page 78) was for instance only recognized by Jacob:

"I don't think the design of the pillar is that bad. I'm just wondering what that bar is. I think it's an anti-sit. And that's what I'm thinking about right now. But it's just an anti-sit. You can't just sit here against the pillar. Wow!"

"What is the pillar doing to you now? If you still like it, that's okay."

"I still like it as an artist. But this is in the spirit of Hoog Catharijne. I didn't see it."

Jacob, 43 years old

As he later explained, 'the spirit of Hoog Catharijne' for him means:

"Because of this place [Hoog Catharijne] being a transit. Hoog Catharijne only consists of profit hunting. And you get profit by pumping as many people as possible through it. And you can make people the most people passing by not letting them stop."

"People have to be there only to shop, not to loiter."

"Yes, that is the main feeling. What I just said, when I walked in with my dog, I immediately felt, when I walked in Hoog Catharijne, that I was entering a shop. You immediately have the feeling that you have to stick to a certain kind of label and look a certain way. Or you have to have a goal to spend money on that."

Jacob, 43 years old

This quote highlights, again, the commercial environment that the shopping centre consists of. The quote shows that Jacob thinks Hoog Catharijne using specific designs that discourages certain activities. The mall benefits from the highest possible foot traffic according to Jacob and sitting on the floor does not fit this notion. Therefore, a tube was attached to the pillar to send this message to all visitors.

One example of hostile design was recognized by almost every participant. This was photograph VI (see page 78). It shows a bench that is designed in such way that sleeping is made impossible. Martijn is confident that 'they did it on purpose.' Again, a specific notion is sent towards the visitors of Hoog Catharijne, namely that lying down, or sleeping are not allowed or okay. Another example recognized by the majority of the interviewees was the garbage bin showed on photograph VIII (see page 79). Since Piet, Martijn and Laura gather cans and bottles, they reacted negatively towards the photograph and said that they cannot do so anymore because of the structure of such bins. In this way, they indicate that their economic opportunities reduce.

All previous examples fitting the hostile agenda consist of actual objects being present in the area in and around the shopping mall. De Fine Licht (2017) and Rosenberger (2023), however, write that also the absence of certain objects fit the hostile agenda, especially when these connect to activities unable to be performed at home since a private space to do so lacks (Skolnik, 2019). A couple

of examples of things missing were cited during the interview. Again, Jacob was the only one mentioning missing any benches outside the shopping mall after looking at photograph X and XI (see page 80). This fits in his 'spirit of Hoog Catharijne' wherein the aim is 'not letting them [visitors] stop.' Kees, in turn, thought that the sanitary facilities offered by Hoog Catharijne are limited. He adds that one could only go to the toilet after ordering a cup of coffee, implying that one should go to one of the cafés before visiting the toilet for free. It became clear that there are two public toilets available. However, before entering, a fee of € 1 is asked. In addition, these two places are controlled by gates or an employee. Besides, Kees gave some other suggestions how the shopping mall could be made more 'homeless-friendly'. He proposed that Hoog Catharijne could be equipped with better Wi-Fi, and free tap water. Finally, he also brings up that, in his opinion, more phone- or laptop-charging stations could be installed.

Surveillance

Previously, small subtle designs were described. The next interview excerpts show more ways in which security guards are mentioned, while it became also clear that the building itself is designed in such way that the commercial focus of Hoog Catharijne is protected. As discussed in the introduction chapter, CCTV cameras is one the measures taken that helps in protecting the conduct of consuming. As such, it contributed to the shopping centre's transformation (Van der Kleij et al., 2014; DUIC, 2020; Bongers, 2023). Sander claims that, besides the anti-sleep bench more of such examples can be recognized:

"Oh yes, certainly. It [Hoog Catharijne] is designed to keep everything in sight as much as possible. Very few hidden corridors and such. Yes, indeed. So that the shopping mall remains an oiled machine. So, a bench meant not to lay down on. And there are no benches out of sight, right? You can't be out of sight anywhere. You are always in sight."

Sander, 55 years old

More participants mention this specific measure taken. Where people used to hang and sleep into the many corners and niches of the old shopping mall of, the new architectural design, in contrast, serves Jacob's 'spirit of Hoog Catharijne'. In the past, several redesigns, such the creation of open areas, were implemented as

visitors felt unsafe because of the people living there (Heijmans, 1994). As photograph I and II show (see page 75), after its renovation in 2017, the shopping mall includes corridors which are long and straight. They contain no obstacles that obstruct the view. Jacob recognizes this and adds:

“No, all corners have been removed. There's nothing you can hide behind. There is no place. And this is a perfect example of no place. No place for people who are not there to spend money. I'm not there to spend money. I buy a pair of socks once a year and that's it.”

Jacob, 43 years old

Here, MacLeod's (2002, p. 1697) statement of 'those not being able to properly adjust to market conditions' being restricted comes back. Further, Jacob's statement above contains some negative connotation. This redesigning of the shopping mall, however, does not evoke negative feelings to everyone. Massud, in line with Bongers' (2023) argument, thinks that the long corridors provide benefits for the mall and its visitors in terms of safety as 'the security immediately knows who the offender is.' According to him, the new design brings overview. This overview in the past, however, was absent due to the many corners and niches. Due to this, people were better able to hide or sleep, which did not fit in the commercial emphasis of the place. The last part of the shopping centre is being rebuild right now. It is the only part, which was not renovated in 2017, the Godebaldkwartier (see figure A on page 82). Here, obstacles hindering the view are clearly present. The new design for this part of Hoog Catharijne will probably be in line with that of the other parts of Hoog Catharijne where lack of clarity has given way to long corridors.

According to Rosenberger (2020), surveillance systems too have the potential to contribute to hostile agendas. He, for example, describes how CCTV cameras sometimes are deployed to "monitor those who appear not to belong in the surveilled space" (*idem*, p. 142). As stated earlier, he adds that signs announcing surveillance is present, helps in maintaining a certain behaviour of conduct. During the observations, such signs were found (see photograph V and IX on page 77 and 79). Laura's reaction by saying that she 'does not care about the cameras', however, indicates that Rosenberger's (2020) claim does not hold for every visitor.

Bryan says the same and adds he does not change his behaviour because of any surveillance. At the same time, he states that he understands the presence of the security, even if it could reduce his livelihood activities and so his economic opportunities. All other participants agree with the presence of surveillance, as they argue that it contributes to the safety of visitors. Some participants, at least those using Hoog Catharijne to shop, admit that this works for them as well. Once again, the shopping centre wants to create such safe environment, as then desired visitors will come (Voyce, 2003; 2006). These visitors, however, do not wish to interact with those from lower income groups because this would create unsafe and uncomfortable feelings. Since the shopping mall realizes this, and considers the commercial input being endangered then, according to Martijn, Hoog Catharijne restricts entrance for those 'who look really dirty like a vagrant'. Although being homeless himself, Martijn understands the reasoning behind this measure since Hoog Catharijne is a consumption space. Rosenberger's (2020) and Rosen's (2023) earlier statements of CCTV cameras having the ability of assisting hostile agendas comes back. Martijn also understands the presence of such surveillance cameras and guards as well. He elaborates that because of the CCTV cameras he was approached by security guards who saw him sleeping:

"Big Brother is watching you. And because of that you can't just sleep in corners of Hoog Catharijne. They have a screen here, they're in the [control] room, and then they see someone lying there and say, 'There he's. We'll go there.'"

"Have you ever seen that yourself?"

"Yes, I've noticed so far that I've never seen anyone and so I went sitting there and suddenly they [security guards] were standing next to me. And then I say, 'Oh, you've seen them on camera.' And they confirmed."

Martijn, 53 years old

The quote above affirms Paddison and Sharp's (2007) statement of surveillance methods producing spaces. The impacts of CCTV cameras, however, were considered very low during all interviews as this example was the only mentioned in which someone was addressed by security guards. According to Laura 'they are sleeping in their control room.' Another example that was mentioned by multiple participants, however, was that of fences installed so that the shopping mall can be better controlled during night-times (see figure B on page 83). In this way, the

mall tries to reduce the number of people using Hoog Catharijne as a place to stay during the night. Also, Piet says that due to surveillance his activities in Hoog Catharijne were hindered. He tells about his experiences of collecting cans and bottles:

“They [security guards] have all been after me. Because of me picking the cans. You can do it outside, but not inside Hoog Catharijne. But in the end, I managed to do it so well that I was always in the right place, and I responded properly. And they [security guards] said ‘As long as we don't see it, it's not a problem. But we may not see it [searching garbage bins], because if you do it a second time then you will be removed.’”

Piet, 54 years old

Laura was also restricted in doing so:

“They told me, ‘You can't collect cans’. I said, ‘Well, let me see that [house rule]’ because I did not agree. And they wouldn't show it. So, I said, ‘Fine, but then I'm not going away.’ And suddenly there were six men in front of me. And they wouldn't show it. It was ridiculous.”

Laura, 50 years old

A possible reason behind this restriction of collecting cans and bottles might be that visitors of Hoog Catharijne experience this sight as uncomfortable. Then it forms a threat for the revenues of the shopping mall. The activity of gathering objects for deposit is not included in the house rules of Hoog Catharijne per se. However, gathering cans can be subsumed under the first rule that disallows “to cause nuisance in any form to other visitors”. Photograph XII (see page 81) shows these house rules that should help in maintaining the place safe. Again, all participants declare not having any issues with these house rules and understand the existence of them. The house rules considered most ‘disturbing’ was the one indicating that no dogs are allowed. Those house rules saying that begging and hanging around were not extensively highlighted by any participant. McCahill (2002) states that specific house rules can be included that attempt to protect the commercial structure of an area. As an example, he mentions not being allowed to sit down. Hoog Catharijne also included this specific house rule. As stated,

begging is prohibited according to this list of house rules too. The participants, however, say not having big issues with these two house rules.

Despite being restricted by the security guards and CCTV cameras, Piet, Martijn and Laura say that they also have positive experiences with the security. Piet says that he knew all security guards and so experienced situations in which the security guards took a blind eye. The guards, for example, once told him:

“He said, ‘You must go outside, but if you just walk around here, we’re leaving in a minute. We’ll be back in half an hour. Then you try again, and you don’t have it cold outside’ (...). And then you can just sit there again. And if you see them again, you go out again. You walk around and you come back.’ That’s kind of like advice. While they are not allowed to do so because. Instead, they must repel you.”

Piet, 54 years old

Here, Piet admits that the security guards should expel him as a homeless person. Instead of removing him, the security gave advised him on how he can stay longer in the shopping mall where he is not allowed since they know him. Other participants, such as Martijn, state that they were also allowed to undertake activities that are in violation with the shopping centre’s rules ‘as long as he behaved normally.’ These findings comply with Tyndall’s (2010, p. 131) statement that shopping malls are not per se “site[s] in which (...) security personnel, security technology and the public architecture of the mall, all designed to enforce an ethic of consumer capitalism”. In other words, Tyndall believes that shopping centres indeed do focus on those living with higher standards but also make space for others. Furthermore, control exercised by CCTV cameras is often less strong as is thought (Tyndall, 2010). This last finding came back during the interviews as no participant would change their behaviour for these surveillance systems. Again, most admit that they are used to CCTV cameras these days and so do not care about them anymore. However, here one would suggest that, despite all security measures taken, Hoog Catharijne, being a securitised environment, would not contribute to the erosion of the public sphere, or at least less than is claimed by some scholars (see for example Lomell, 2004; Smets & Watt, 2013; Sahito et al., 2020).

To conclude, that measures have been taken that have potentially negative effects for homeless people is certain. This, however, does not have to mean that all such measures were implemented to target specifically homeless people. The garbage bin outside, which prevent the gathering of both cans and bottles, can also be designed to prevent animals from picking food out of it or keeping it dry when it rains (Rosenberger, 2023). Furthermore, the silent message of the expected conducts, is sent towards all visitors of Hoog Catharijne, not only homeless people per se. The message of the bench with pieces attached to it preventing sleeping on is also directed to the higher income classes. But homeless people are one of the most affected groups due to their lack of private space (Skolnik, 2019; Rosen, 2023).

Removal

Whether intentionally aimed to those being homeless or not, the hostile design had consequences for the participants when it came to their feeling of welcomeness in Hoog Catharijne. Earlier, Martijn shared that those looking scruffy are removed from the place. He himself, experienced such thing:

"It's very busy there [Hoog Catharijne] (...) at certain times. Those are the times that I am not there. Then I am not allowed."

"What do you mean exactly?"

"When you look like a homeless, you are often asked by the security, 'What you are doing here?' And I have exposed being a homeless some time, and they came to me and sent me away."

Martijn, 53 years old

Martijn also gives an example of such occurrence:

"Well, I sat in a corner with my laptop, and a security guard came by for the first time. He was gone for half an hour. Then he came back and then they asked me, 'Are you still here?' I said, 'I know I'm not allowed to sit here, but let me sit for a while.' They then said, 'An hour, and then you'll go on.'"

Martijn, 53 years old

In this example, security guards actively anticipate when someone looking different than the desired shoppers is observed. This statement is in line with

Alhadar and McCahill's (2011, p. 319) study which discovered a trend of shopping malls located in western countries 'disproportionately targeting those who dressed (...) scruffily'. Aad (58), the third participant using Hoog Catharijne only to shop, states he observed such occurrence, but proceeds by saying that he understands this since the security includes a certain humanity in their assessment whether one should be removed or not. Therefore, he says standing neutral on whether he feels welcomed or not. For Aad, the quality of the security staff plays an important factor in his feeling of welcomeness. The notion of customers feeling welcome because of security against homeless people feeling monitored then comes back. The effects of security for the feeling of welcomeness for the shopping mall's visitors comes back during Bryan's interview. He, namely, mentions that he 'knows we [homeless people] are being watched. 24 hours day.' Nevertheless, Bryan decides to visit Hoog Catharijne:

"How much do you feel welcome in the shopping mall?"

"I'm not welcome in the shopping mall. But I welcome myself. I just don't accept someone else saying to me 'You're not allowed to come here.' Who are you to tell me I'm not allowed to come here? We're equal. So, I come wherever I want. But I know they don't want me here because I usually have [homeless] guys with me. And those guys, they're difficult."

Bryan, 42 years old

So here, the mall does not welcome those being homeless. This does not mean, however, that the participants stop visiting the place, which is in line with Toolis and Hammack (2015). Since she 'must survive', Laura says she enters the shopping centre within an hour after being removed. Later, she explains that there is always one specific guard who removes her when she sees Laura. It becomes evident that searching the bins for cans was the cause. This example describes how Hoog Catharijne wants to stay attractive. Martijn also (re-)enters Hoog Catharijne whatever instructions the security guards give. But on some occasions, such as the earlier example of sitting with his laptop, the security guards proved being open for discussion. During such conversations, Martijn responded on the security guards' emotion or guilt. Then they, for example, allowed more time for staying in the mall. Besides when Piet was sent away after being seen collecting cans, he was asked to leave the place in a 'very polite' manner. As stated earlier, some participants received advice from the security. Later, Piet explains why he

was happy with people being removed when picking cans or searching garbage bins. Then, namely, his chances increased as the number of people collecting for deposit decreased. Given these examples, order remains the leading frame of current Hoog Catharijne as Reinking (et al., 2010) and Bongers (2023) state as well.

So, people challenging consumption or interrupting the commercial image, can indeed be removed (Chiodelli & Moroni, 2015) from Hoog Catharijne. Alhadar and McCahill's (2011, p. 322) example of the shopping mall hindering activities that make it a "doss house" connects to this. Some already mentioned measurements, such as some preventive house rules, fits in this storyline. It is precisely the aim for consumers and consumption that gives Sander an unwelcome feeling and makes him miss the connection with the mall. Therefore, as in line with earlier work of Németh and Schmidt (2011) and Salazar (2019) Hoog Catharijne has an exclusive character. This aim for consumers emerged during the examining of the place as well, as several people, some of them having shopping bags with them, were observed resting against the walls and sitting on the floors. Two security guards came by but did not intervene in this situation, while the house rules say it is not allowed. Several participants, however, indicated that they were addressed in such situations. During another observation, a person, having a dog with him, was not approached by guards as well. These two examples could indicate that security is stricter towards those looking scruffy than those who do not.

Jacob, shares in Sander's opinion, by saying that Hoog Catharijne is 'a nice place for people who like shopping'. He himself feels obliged 'to conduct to a kind of label'. Here, this label could be referred to as the earlier mentioned 'spirit of Hoog Catharijne' in which there is no place for holding up. Because of possible interactions with security guards, for example when hanging against a wall, Jacob avoids Hoog Catharijne. In the past, Jacob has been removed from the place for smoking a cigarette at the square located next to the shopping centre:

"When I started smoking, I started to walk away. At some point there were 5 people on my pants, 2 on my arms. I was still walking, but not that fast. And at some point, one of them tackled me. The guys are just doing their job, you must think about that. I'm not going to beat around me, but I didn't understand what was

happening. There were six of them in a suitcase. I had no idea what was happening to me.”

Jacob, 43 years old

The security, in contrast to Sander and Jacob, evokes a feeling of welcomeness to Heidi and Massud. They indicate feeling accepted as both see themselves as customers. Probably this means they do not participate in homeless activities per se. Last named both say they were never approached by security guards in the shopping mall. Martijn, nuances his earlier statement of being sent away as he says:

“But it's not like they [security guards] are checking it all day. It's not like they're keeping a watch on the vagrants. That's not the case either. But if you're unlucky, you can be removed.”

Martijn, 53 years old

Discussion

With the recent shopping mall's renovation, Hoog Catharijne's focus for upper class visitors has even expanded (Bongers, 2023). Following Amster's (2003, p. 201) argument that homeless people, these days, are increasingly driven out of inner cities, one would suspect homeless people having a hard, or maybe even 'impossible', time in and around the Hoog Catharijne as well. A few comments, however, must be made here because reality turned out to differ slightly. First of all, the hostile design implemented is not per se focused on those being homeless only. It is, in fact, directed to all visiting the shopping centre. Homeless people, in contrast to those owning a private space (Skolnik, 2019), are confronted with the negative consequences. Besides, the shopping centre's security guards were on some occasions willing to compromise and showed humanity (Casey et al., 2008). Further, during the research, it became clear that certain tactics, such as playing into emotion of the security guards, also helped ensuring access to the many economic opportunities Hoog Catharijne offers. Here, homeless people prove to be self-reliant and so the "death of public space" Mitchell (2003, p. 8) talks about seems a bit exaggerated in Hoog Catharijne's case. Nevertheless, order remains the leading frame of the today's consumption space.

Social and theoretical implications

The above results have several implications. First of all, processes related to criminalization of homelessness potentially lowers homeless people's social status (Amster, 2003; Doherty et al., 2008; Bongers, 2023). Here, the knife cuts both ways as those being undesired increasingly feel unwelcome. At the same time, a process arises in which upper class visitors are misled with the idea that the homeless problem does not exist or, even worse for the unhoused, see them as being out of place. This first implication has severe effects for society as the number of homeless people is still growing explosively according to the latest figures (CBS, 2024), while, at least for Utrecht, the number of shelter accommodations diminishes (RTV Utrecht, 2023b). This also makes homeless people even more reliant on public spaces, possibly generating more negative interactions with middle class visitors.

Secondly, and connecting to the first implication, homeless people are increasingly sent away from certain spaces aimed at moneyed consumers. Then, those considered vulnerable have no other option than going to places out of the sight. This creates considerable dangerous situations since in such places there is a lack of social control and safety. As homeless people are increasingly portrayed as culprits or 'dirty', instead of victims (Smith, 1996) they face dangerous settings. This notion causes the survival for homeless people simply made harder. Furthermore, those sleeping on the streets risk being fined now. Finally, the increasing regulation of space, fitting the hostile agenda, contributes to this.

This research also contains theoretical implications. At first, it involved homeless people themselves and so succeeded in directly contributing to "[empirically] tracking how homeless people experience and navigate increasingly vigorous quality-of-life policing or evaluating the behavioural impacts of these laws on homeless people" (Robinson, 2019, p. 49). Also, as the marginal users of Hoog Catharijne were overlooked before (Bongers, 2023), this gap is considered and explored. So, in several ways, current theoretical knowledge is advanced and expanded as these two calls in the existing literature are implemented.

Reflection: limitations and future research

Despite contributing in both social and theoretical way, this study also has its limitations. Before elaborating these limitations, the strengths of the used research methods are considered. First of all, the triangulation of using photo elicitation interviews combined with observations enlarged both the validity and reliability of this research (Torre & Murphy, 2015) and proved to provide useful data. Therefore, the researcher is satisfied with the use and implementation of both research methods. Also, appreciation for the usage of photos during the interviews was showed by the participants.

Sometimes, however, the number of photos used during the interviews was considered too many. Mainly the photographs from the area outside the shopping mall did not contribute as much as hoped. This led to a diminishment of attention by the participants, as well as the gathering of answers already given during the same interview. At the same time, researcher-driven photo elicitation risks the overemphasizing or neglecting of those elements considered significant to the

unhoused participants as the researcher was no part of the homeless community. Instead, participant-driven photo elicitation could have compensated both shortcomings since then elements considered important for the participants would have been discussed. This research method, however, was considered not feasible at first as it was unknown to what extent the homeless community would face an unwelcoming attitude by the shopping centre. Now that the study is conducted, the tentative assumption can be made that this capturing of the image material by the participants themselves might not only have been possible but also useful, at least in the area around the shopping mall. The suitability of recording the digital material inside the shopping centre by the homeless participants themselves, however, is questioned as an unwelcoming attitude was experienced by multiple participants. Besides, incorporating walk-along interviews, again, in the area around Hoog Catharijne, could have enhanced the outcomes of this study. This research method enables the exploration of participants' interpretations of specific contexts while they experience those contexts themselves (Carpiano, 2009). Furthermore, Moran, Gallant, Litwiller, White and Hamilton-Hinch (2022, p. 4) write that walk-along interviews "are enhanced by elicitation afforded by the environment, creating an accessible way to meaningfully involve (...) marginalized group[s]". So, both the implementation of participant-driven photo elicitation and walk-along interviews, at least outside the shopping mall, could have generated more reliable data and are therefore recommended for future research.

Although this research was carried out with utmost care, there is still room for improvement by including a wider public. Due to language barriers, no homeless people not speaking Dutch or English were involved, while the number of homeless people originating from Eastern European counties increases in Utrecht (RTV Utrecht, 2023b). This study considers that involving those members of the homeless community could have yielded interesting outcomes. Scrutinizing whether the language barriers cause difficulties in (verbally) defending themselves is for example a valuable opportunity. Then this could lead to different experiences compared to those this study enlightened. Therefore, this research also calls for research in which this growing group of people is included.

Another limitation this study recognizes has to do with the low number of women being interviewed. Despite, this study had the same ratio man vs. woman as that

of the national Dutch level (CBS, 2024), including more women possibly raised other results. The reason behind this, is that women generally dress better than men do. Consequently then, the main result that those looking scruffy are to be removed, probably changed, or maybe even appeared not to happen at all. Further, Casey (et al., 2008) already described that homeless woman's coping strategies have received little attention in the academic literature so far. Thus, future research should focus on including more women and so deeper investigate how they experience (semi-)public spaces, such as shopping malls.

Finally, the researcher is aware that by not including any employees connected to the shopping mall itself, it possibly tells a unilateral story. By including for example security guards this limitation can be tackled. Then the other side of the story could be showed. Now the question whether all measurements implemented by the commercialized environment negatively impacting the unhoused or those from lower income groups is left in the middle. As a last recommendation for future research therefore, this study wishes for investigations in which both sides are viewed.

Conclusion

This study analysed the effects of the recent sanitization of the area in and around Utrecht's shopping mall Hoog Catharijne on the lives of homeless people using it. Increasingly these days, public spaces are transformed into commercialized landscapes where consumption and comfort are praised (Mitchell, 1997; Rose, 2017). The homeless participants contributing to this study recognized this development also in the case of Hoog Catharijne and indicated that recently, in and around the shopping mall, several instances of increased surveillance and hostile design were identified. During the study the following research question was explored:

- *To what extent did the process of sanitization in and around the shopping mall of Hoog Catharijne cause a process of criminalization of homelessness in the area and in what ways do homeless people experience this possible criminalization?*

This study reveals that homeless people are restricted and discouraged in entering the place (Amster, 2003). However, Mitchell's (1997, p. 302) and Rosenberger's (2023) findings that "survival itself is criminalized" is doubted for Hoog Catharijne. Therefore, a process of criminalization of homelessness, as defined by Lemings (2019, p. 302) is not recognized in and around the shopping area of Hoog Catharijne as no evidence was found of homeless people being sanctioned for simply being in the place. Rather, homeless people were being addressed or hindered in engaging in activities not fitting in the shopping area's vision.

During the research, it emerged that people looking poor or 'unhealthy' were treated differently than visitors presenting as middle-class. This treatment led them to feeling unwelcome in the shopping mall and entering was discouraged by, among other, surveillance systems such as cameras and security guards, or by hostile architecture interventions including anti-sit devices and anti-homeless benches. By removing, or at least restricting, those "not being able to properly adjust to market conditions" these devices represent an attempt at reducing the number of homeless people coming in (see MacLeod 2002, p. 1696-1697) and diminishing homeless people's feeling of welcomeness in the space of the mall (see

Hennigan and Speer 2019; Rosenberger, 2020). Furthermore, as McCahill (2002) confirms, the house rules protect the commercial structure of the shopping centre and in doing so have the potential to negatively target those being unhoused.

Ultimately, Hoog Catharijne is like a house with a doormat that says 'Welcome', but only if you are there to shop. Otherwise, it is like more like your eccentric aunt's living room where sitting on the fancy couch is strictly forbidden.

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Appendix I: Topic list interviews

Checklist:

- Explain the study itself.
- Explain that all questions are related to Hoog Catharijne after its transformation.
- Explain usage of photos during the interview.
- Explain that participant can pause the interview whenever they want to.
- Ask consent for audio recording the interview.
- Tell pseudonyms will be used to guarantee participant's anonymity.
- Tell no information will be shared relating to illegally entering Hoog Catharijne.
- There exist no such thing as wrong answers.
- Any questions?

Main question:

- *To what extent did the process of sanitization in and around the shopping mall of Hoog Catharijne cause a process of criminalization of homelessness in the area and in what ways do homeless people experience this possible criminalization?*

Sub question 2

Related photographs: I, II, III

- *How do homeless people experience today's situation of the shopping mall Hoog Catharijne after its latest transformation back in 2017?*

Topics and definition	Possible questions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Consumption space <i>Places specially built or redeveloped for people who visit to buy and consume within these locations the fun goods and services for sale (Mullins, Natalier, Smith & Smeaton, 1999, p. 44).</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → <u>Photo's</u>: What do you see? → What feelings does these photographs evoke to you? → What are you thinking of? → How would you feel if you were in this situation? Why? → Is there something you would like to add? → Aware of the recent transformation? What do you think? How is this transformation experienced? → How many times a month do you visit? What are doing there then? Do you use Hoog Catharijne only for consuming? → What do you feel when you are there?

	→ Shopping mall perceived as positive or negative? Why? How?
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<u>Sub question 3:</u> Related photographs: IV, V, VI, VII, IIX, IX, X, XI, XII - <i>How does the renovated space in and around Hoog Catharijne restrict homeless people from entering, using, or inhabiting Hoog Catharijne and its immediate surroundings?</i>	
Topics and definition	Possible questions
- Filtering by surveillance	→ <u>Photo's</u> : What do you see? → What feelings does these photographs evoke to you? → What are you thinking of? → Is there something you would like to add? → Cameras? Security? How experienced? → Feeling safer because of surveillance or not? Explain. → Ever felt kept an eye on during visit? Why? How experienced? → Other behaviour due to surveillance? Movements changed? Examples? → Are there other means unwelcoming them? What?
- Hostile architecture <i>Various structures that are attached to or installed in spaces of public use in order to render them unusable in certain ways or by certain groups (Petty, 2016, p. 68).</i>	→ <u>Photo's</u> : What do you see? → What feelings does these photographs evoke to you? → What are you thinking of? → Do you know other examples? How experienced? → More of them placed after recent transformation? → Prevented doing certain activities due to objects? Explain. → Behaviour changed due to such structures? Examples? Explain. → How do you experience? Explain.

Sub question 4

Related photograph: XIII

- *To what extent are homeless people denied or actually removed from Hoog Catharijne?*

Topics and definition

Possible questions

- **Spatial cleansing**
[A process] whereby unwanted populations are removed, by the force of law and money, from particular locations and situations (Amster, 2003, p. 199).

- Photo: What do you see?
- What feelings does this photograph evoke to you?
- What are you thinking of?
- Is there something you would like to add?

- **Cultural cleansing**
[A process whereby] economic political, and legal authorities work to recapture and redesign the public spaces of the city [...] to control public identity and public perception as well, to remove from new spaces of consumption and development images of alternative identity (Amster, 2003, p. 199).

- Did you know there were house rules?
- What does stand out? What do you think of these rules? Explain.
- Do these house rules change your vision on Hoog Catharijne?
- What is the purpose of these rules according to you? Explain.
- Are these rules affecting you? Explain.
- Does the process of cleansing happen according to participants? Explain.
- Ever removed or refused entrance? Explain.
- Again, other behaviours not to stand out? Explain.

Appendix II: Photographs used for interviews²



Photograph I: A shopping passage in Hoog Catharijne (own data).



Photograph II: Another shopping passage in Hoog Catharijne (own data).

² During the interviews, the order of photographs showed sometimes changed.



Photograph III: The part of Hoog Catharijne where people can rest and eat (own data).



Photograph IV: Surveillance camera above the entrance inside Hoog Catharijne (own data).



Photograph V: Sign making people aware of the attendance of surveillance inside Hoog Catharijne (own data).



Photograph VI: Bench inside Hoog Catharijne preventing people to lay down on it (own data).



Photograph VII: Steel tube around a column that discourages people from sitting against it (own data).



Photograph VIII: Trash can just outside Hoog Catharijne that prevents people from picking stuff out it (own data).



Photograph IX: Sign making visitors aware of the attendance of surveillance outside Hoog Catharijne (own data).









Photograph X: The Vredenburg square just outside Hoog Catharijne where benches are absent (own data).



Photograph XI: The Bollendak square just outside Hoog Catharijne where benches are absent (own data).



OM UW VERBLIJF ZO AANGENAAM MOGELIJK TE MAKEN, HEBBEN WIJ EEN AANTAL REGELS. HET IS NIET TOEGESTAAN:

-  • (GELUIDS)OVERLAST OF HINDER TE VEROOZAKEN, SAMEN TE SCHOLEN OF TE BEDELEN.
- TE ROKEN.
-  • ALCOHOLISCHE DRANKEN OF DRUGS TE GEBRUIKEN EN/OF TE VERHANDELEN.
-  • ROND TE HANGEN, OF TE ZITTEN IN LIFTEN, TRAPPENHUIZEN, ROLTRAPPEN, OP BALUSTRADES OF TEGEN WINKELPUIEN.
- TE (BROM)FIETSEN OF BROMFIETSEN MEE TE NEMEN.
-  • TE ROLSCHAATSEN, SKATEN, SKEELEREN OF GEBRUIK TE MAKEN VAN SEGWAYS, HOOVERBOARDS E.D.
- DE AANWEZIGHEID VAN HONDEN, M.U.V. HULPEN EN BLINDENGELEIDEHONDEN.
-  • ELKE ACTIVITEIT DIE KAN LEIDEN TOT SCHADE EN/OF GEVAAR VOOR PERSONEN OF GOEDEREN.
-  • ZONDER VERGUNNING OF TOESTEMMING VAN HET MANAGEMENT TE: ENQUÊTEREN, COLLECTEREN EN STRAATVERKOPEN, DRUKWERK TE PLAKKEN OF UIT TE DELEN, MUZIEK TEN GEHORE TE BRENGEN, BEELDOPNAMEN VOOR COMMERCIELE DOELEINDEN TE MAKEN.
- OM GEPREPAREERDE TASSEN EN/OF TASSEN BEDOELD OM DIEFSTAL MEE TE PLEGEN BIJ U TE HEBBEN.

Camera's zijn voor uw en onze veiligheid aan wezig.

In dit winkelcentrum geldt de Algemene Plaatselijke Verordening (APV) en het Burgerlijk Wetboek (BW). Handhaving volgens deze APV en BW is van toepassing. Indien de verblijfsregels worden overtreden zal door de politie, toezichthouders of beveiligingsdienst worden opgetreden. Een proces verbaal behoort dan tot de mogelijkheden.

Aanwijzingen van management en/of beveiliging dienen te allen tijde worden opgevolgd.

*De beveiliging van dit centrum kunt u bereiken via het telefoonnummer: 030 243 71 28
Het management van dit centrum kunt u bereiken via het telefoonnummer: 030 234 64 61*

Meer informatie vindt u op hoogcatharijne.nl

Photograph XII: Sign with house rules of Hoog Catharijne right next to the entrance (own data).

Appendix III: Extra photographs captured during observations

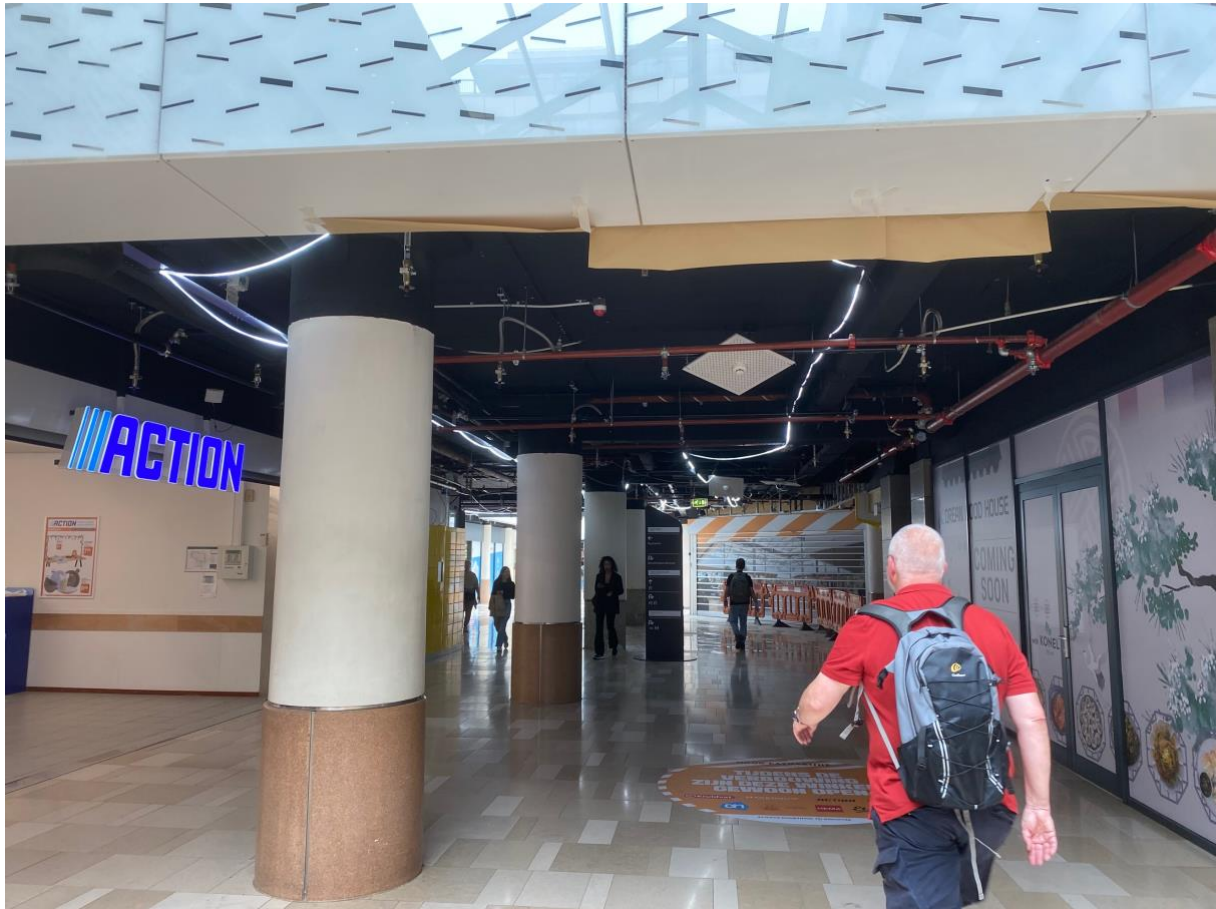


Figure A: The 'older' area in Hoog Catharijne called 'Godebaldkwartier'. It is the last part being renovated and obstacles are still present (own data).

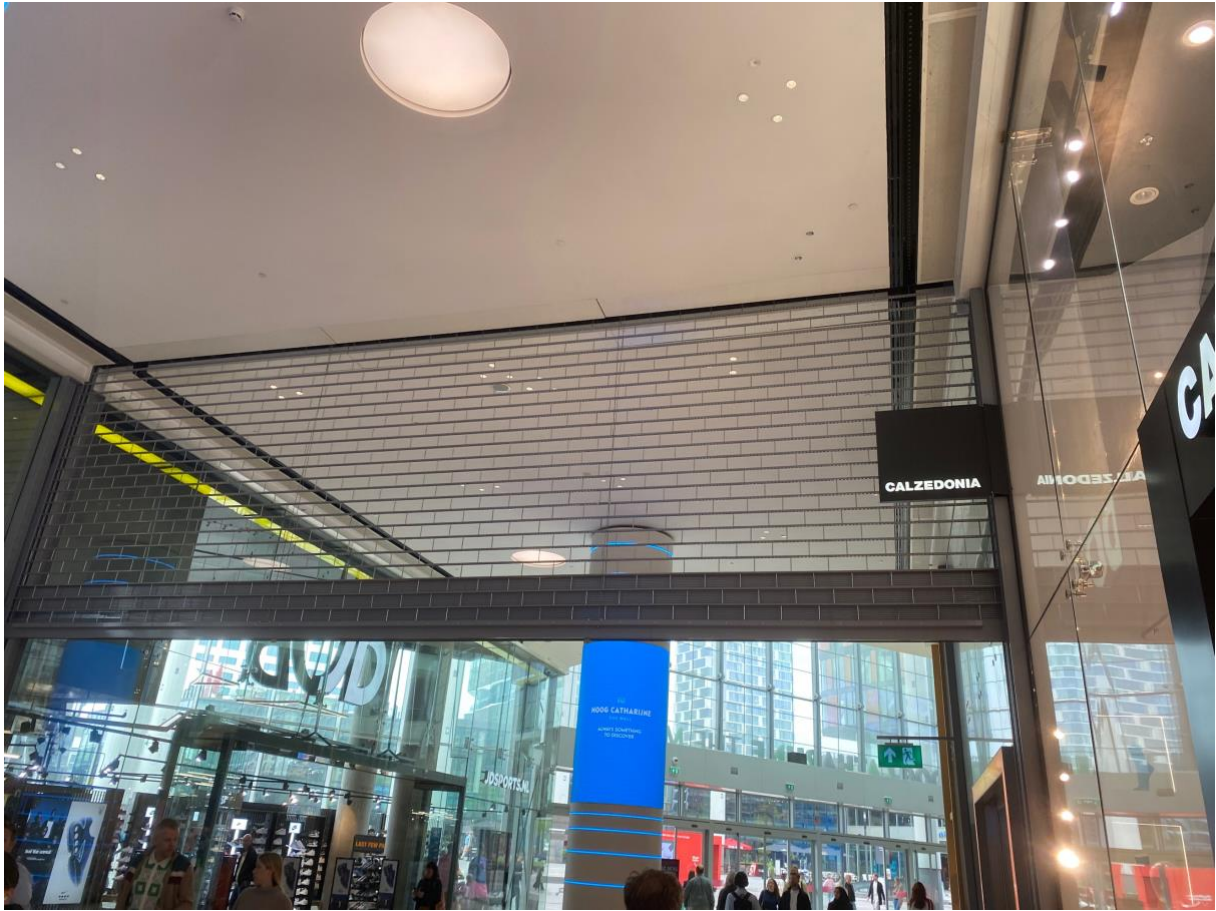


Figure B: Fence inside Hoog Catharijne that can be set down when the shopping mall is closed to prevent people from staying in it (own data).