



WAYFINDING IN THE EVER-CHANGING SHOPPING MALL

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ABSTRACT

Good wayfinding practice has been concluded to have positive effects on a shopping mall's marketing. In between the research done on wayfinding, on both the urban scale of the city (Lynch, 1960) and the human scale of signage (Gibson, 2009), sits a lesser researched scale regarding this subject; the 'building scale'. Spatial interventions in the architecture of a mall could influence wayfinding capacities of its visitors. This research aims to add knowledge on the impact of interventions on this intermediate scale, as well as on decision making processes in interventions and redesign of malls. The main research question is therefore:

How do interventions in the spatial composition influence the way visitors navigate a Dutch post-war shopping mall?

This research uses a framework of literature on wayfinding and architectural interventions, and a case study being the Lijnbaan in Rotterdam. Interventions in this case were categorized, and interviews were conducted on site with the malls' visitors, with the intent to study what opinions people held on these changes and why. It can be concluded that the visitors of this mall generally prefer openness and better visual access, to a more dense or cluttered environment. It can therefore be stated that this openness people prefer relates to a space's legibility, with more openness and visual access improving it. Thus, it can be concluded that architectural interventions that, according to the Lijnbaan's visitors, improve the openness and therefore legibility of a space, will improve the visitors' wayfinding abilities and experiences.



Figure 1: Lijnbaan 1950's (Gemeente Rotterdam, n.d.)

INTRODUCTION

The German bombardment of Rotterdam in the spring of 1940 destroyed a large part of the historic center, which resulted in a near clean slate, from which the city could designate a plan for rebuilding. It is this from this clean slate that the concept of shopping center De Lijnbaan was conceived in the early 1950's, which has grown to be an architectural symbol of the rebuilding era after World War II, and an archetype of the post-war modern mall.

In the years following its construction, the Lijnbaan has been extended, has had its appearance altered, and has seen its shops change constantly. Most of the changes in the architectural appearance have been made with the best intentions for the Lijnbaan's value. To quote Mei Architects on their recent intervention to the canopies, for example:

“...the original quality and 1950s appearance were restored to approximately 800 linear metres of Lijnbaan's facades. With this, De Lijnbaan has been restored to its former glory...” (Mei Architects and Planners, 2022)

But when all these changes in the architecture and program of the Lijnbaan are compared to the original vision of Van den Broek and Bakema, of architectural unity in diversity, and a shopping area with unique, local stores (Arsen, 2013), these changes can have influenced the way people experience the Lijnbaan. And as a lifelong inhabitant of Rotterdam myself, I already knew that not everyone in my social circle held positive views on the Lijnbaan.

Therefore, the goal of this research is to gain a better understanding of the influence architectural interventions can have on the spatial experience of shopping mall visitors. The research will utilize existing literature on the concept of wayfinding, to better understand the visitors' experience. Within the context of the shopping mall, good wayfinding practice, or a pleasant spatial organization through which visitors can navigate, has a positive effect on the mall's marketing, as opposed to disorientating and confusing wayfinding with the intent to keep visitors inside the mall (Arthur & Passini, 1992).

On this subject, the work of Kevin Lynch (1960), for example, addresses people's wayfinding capabilities on the urban scale. Other research relates wayfinding to the effects of signage and advertisements on these capabilities, on the 'human' scale (Gibson, 2009). The mall typology, however, and especially the Lijnbaan, sits between these two scales, integrating aspects of both. This research therefore focuses on this lesser studied intermediate 'building' scale in relation to the other two scales (figure 2), and how spatial interventions, regarding architectural volumes and voids, can influence the malls' visitors in their opinions.



Figure 2: The intermediate 'building' scale (Gibson, 2009, Lynch, 1960)

Apart from adding knowledge on this intermediate scale within the topic of wayfinding, the results of this research will also inform decision making processes in interventions and redesign of malls.

The main research question is therefore as follows:

How do interventions in the spatial composition influence the way visitors navigate a Dutch post-war shopping mall?

To answer this question, the research is structured as follows:

1. **Theoretical framework:** Wayfinding within the context of the shopping mall: setting up a framework to support the rest of the research.
2. **Methodology:** Spatial interventions that can influence the way people navigate a space, in theory and in the Lijnbaan: a set of intervention types consulted from literature, in which the actual interventions of the Lijnbaan are categorized.
3. **Results:** The specific interventions and Lijnbaan's visitors experience: interviews with people on the Lijnbaan to gather their opinions on these interventions.
4. **Discussion:** A discussion on the research's consulted literature, its results, and limitations.
5. **Conclusions to the research.**

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Kevin Lynch's *Image of the City* (1960) is often cited when 'wayfinding' is mentioned, having coined the term. Although he never explicitly gave a definition of the term, it can be summarized that wayfinding, according to Lynch, is the use of environmental cues to navigate a space. The most crucial factor to this is the legibility, or clarity, of a space, which contributes to the ease at which parts can be recognized and organized in a pattern, benefitting a person's wayfinding ability (Lynch, 1960). In addition to this, later research also included architectural coherence as a factor to improve a person's wayfinding capacities (Kaplan, 1975).

This is the basis on which, decades later, research on wayfinding was based, one of these being *Wayfinding: People, Signs, and Architecture*, by Arthur and Passini (1992). They expand upon the concept of wayfinding through, among other aspects, architectural elements. They noted that wayfinding is not just achieved through graphical design alone, but also through architecture itself, pleading for more care for wayfinding in the design process. On the topic of legibility, they state that there are four factors affecting people's perception of a space, which are the form, visibility and access, the use, and the symbolic significance. This research will work within the framework of the first two factors, form and visibility, being most related to specific architectural elements and changes therein. Lastly, they mention the differences between wayfinding in different organizational forms of spaces (figure 3). Most relevant to the Lijnbaan are three of these categories: linear circulation, symmetry, and an organized path. In all three of these categories, they underline the importance of cognitive anchor points, which are elements in the architecture which help people understand the space better (Arthur & Passini, 1992).



Figure 3: The 'ordered path' configuration, relevant to the Lijnbaan's linear form (Arthur & Passini, 1993)

But as mentioned in the introduction, little research on the specific application of this topic through empirical research on user experience can be found. Moreover, these theories do not include the influence of architectural interventions. That is where this research will fit in, as will be explained further in the following chapters.

2. METHODOLOGY

The methods used in this research can be divided into three parts. Firstly, the categorization of the intervention types in general, as well as in the Lijnbaan is explained. Secondly, interviews with the Lijnbaan’s visitors are conducted as a means to collect their opinions on these interventions. Thirdly, the analysis method is explained.

2.1 INTERVENTIONS AND CATEGORIZATION

To draw conclusions from the effects of interventions on visitors, the interventions were mapped and categorized. First, the online city archive of Rotterdam was consulted (Gemeente Rotterdam, n.d.) for photographs of the Lijnbaan. For the consistency of this research, all but one of the photos selected from the archive (see chapter 3.2) are of the Lijnbaan in its original state. New photos were then taken on the same location, which made it possible to make a comparative analysis of the interventions in the spatial composition. The Lijnbaan’s interventions that are addressed later in this research are the ones that were mentioned most often.

Since the research is looking specifically for effects of architectural changes on the ‘building-scale’, categories were defined according to literature that deals with this scale. The basis for this categorization is derived from a selection of three interventions according to *Re-Arch: Nieuwe Ontwerpen Voor Oude Gebouwen* (Provoost, 1995). This list of three is complemented with one more intervention type as defined from *Reduce, Reuse, Recycle* (Petzet & Heilmeyer, 2012), being *subtraction*. These are as follows:

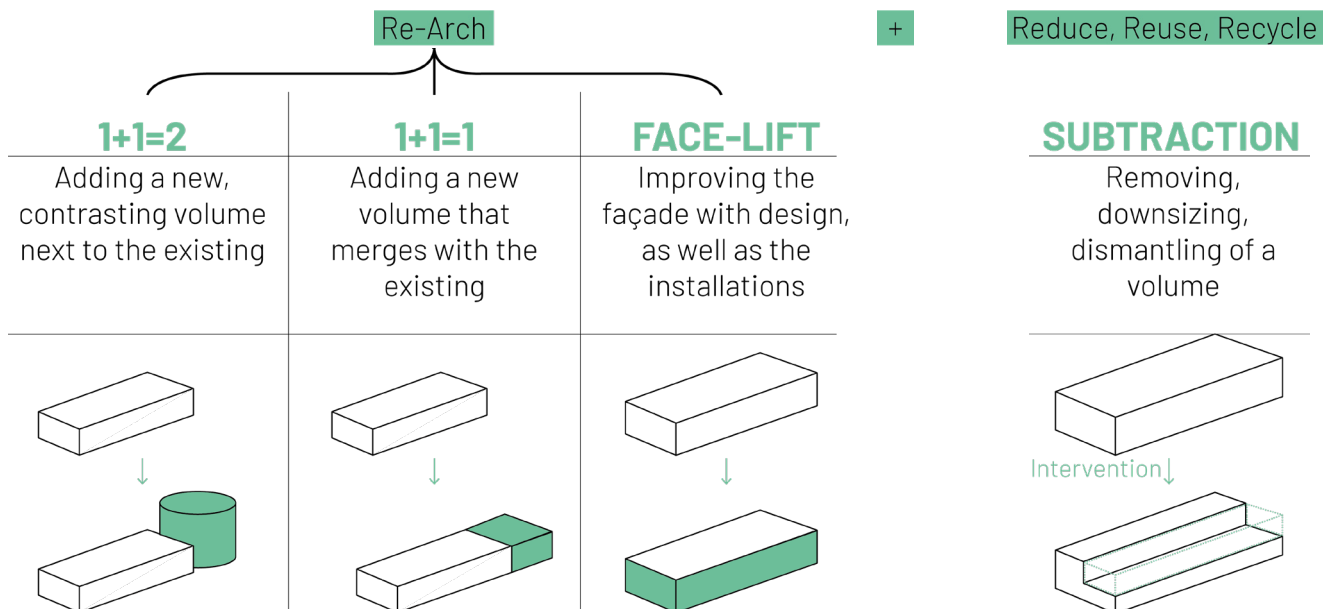


Figure 4: The intervention categories as derived from the literature

This fourth type was added since the research to the Lijnbaan specifically showed that there were a significant number of interventions which could be categorized as subtraction (as will be described in chapter 3). This way, the four categories cover a broad range of intervention types, all on the scale of the building.

2.2 INTERVIEWS

Interviews were conducted with visitors of the Lijnbaan on three separate occasions: Friday 02-12-2022, Monday 05-12-2022 and Thursday 16-12-2022, all in the early afternoon. The interviews were semi-structured (Knott, Rao, Summers, & Teeger, 2022), with prepared questions, on which the people could freely answer. At times, follow-up questions would help to better understand the reasoning behind people’s opinions.

The people were first shown an image of an older situation, the image being one of the Lijnbaan’s initial situation of the 1950’s and 1960’s. This means the research only covers the architectural interventions that can be seen when comparing the current situation to the original one, due to time constraints. The images were shown in close proximity to that location, and visitors were then asked the following questions:

1. Are you aware of the architectural changes that have happened here?
2. What is your opinion on these architectural changes?

The first question addresses whether the people are aware of the intervention. Prior knowledge can affect opinions people hold on this topic, since recognition has shown to be a factor influencing wayfinding capabilities (Passini, 1984). People could also attribute a nostalgic value to an old photo, which might impact their outlook on the architecture.

Secondly, by asking the visitors on their opinion on the changes in architecture in such an open way, the visitors could themselves decide what they wanted to talk about, or what they noticed the most. These results were then used to firstly decide which specific interventions to use for the research results, since some of them were never mentioned, and secondly to be able to decide what topics people would find most important, or noticeable, when looking at architectural interventions.

2.3 ANALYSIS

The combined data of the interventions that have happened on the Lijnbaan as categorized by the intervention types and mentioned most often by the people, and the interview results, are represented in pie charts for each location as well as the entire Lijnbaan.

These charts are based on whether the people held either positive or negative opinions on the current situation as compared to the past one. Next to the pie charts of these results is a small list of the reasons people gave as to why they liked or disliked it. All the individual interview answers themselves are listed in the appendix.

3. RESULTS

3.1 OLD HOSPITAL SQUARE

Starting in the southern area of the Lijnbaan, in the square that once belonged to the old hospital. In this square, three specific interventions were mentioned often: the removal of the skybridge (figure 5), the changes in the façades of the Forum complex (figure 6) and the spatial organization of the square (figure 7).



Figure 5: The removal of the skybridge :
SUBTRACTION

Figure 6: The changed Forum-façades : FACE-LIFT



Figure 7: The changes in the squares' spatial organization : 1+1=1

The first two are categorized as such, simply because there is a subtraction of a volume and a change of the façade, respectively. The changes in the square's organization are categorized as 1+1=1, since the new planter of the tree and the greenery itself is more of an extension to the original situation in which they existed as well, as opposed to an entirely new addition.

As shown in the interview results (figure 8 & 9), a small majority of people held positive opinions on the current situation's appearance, as opposed to the original situation. The biggest contributor to this result is the removal of the skybridge, which most people saw as an intervention through which the square was now more open, and spacious. Greenery was also mentioned regularly, but the results show a less significant divide in opinions there. Some people also made comments on other factors, like the high-rise buildings in the background, or the type of shops that are present, which will be seen in the other locations as well.

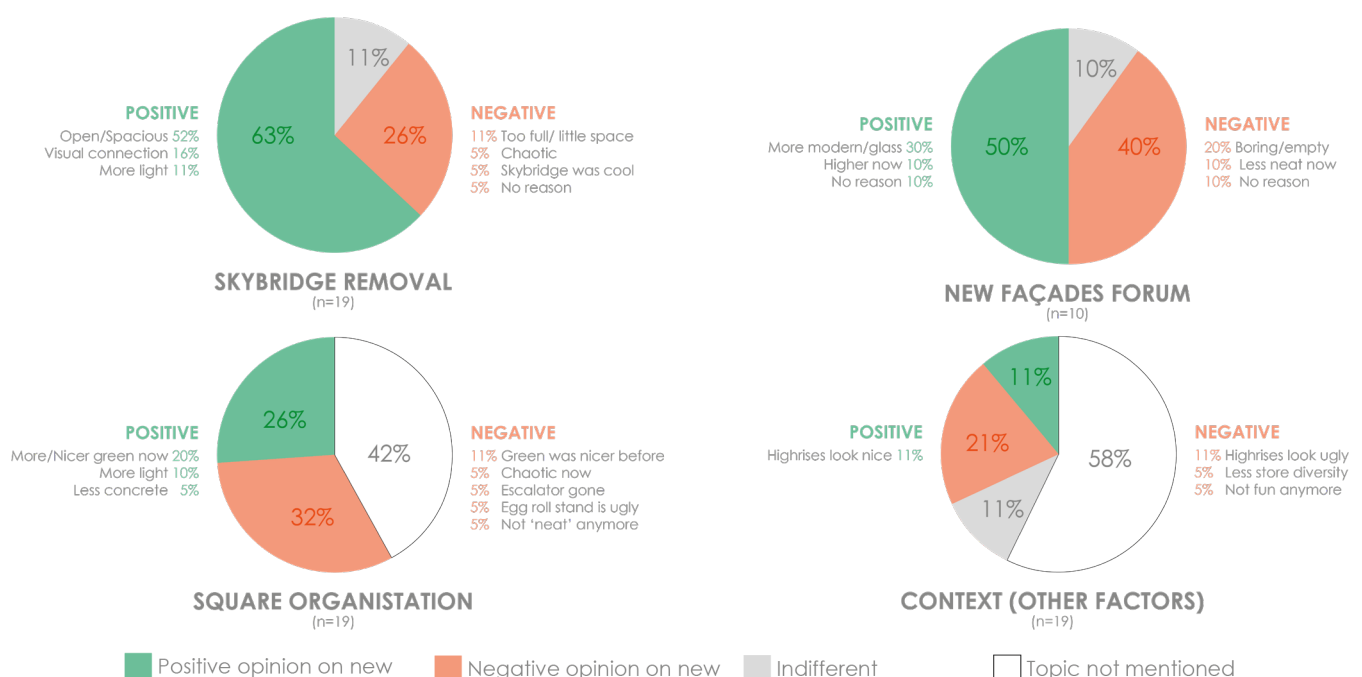
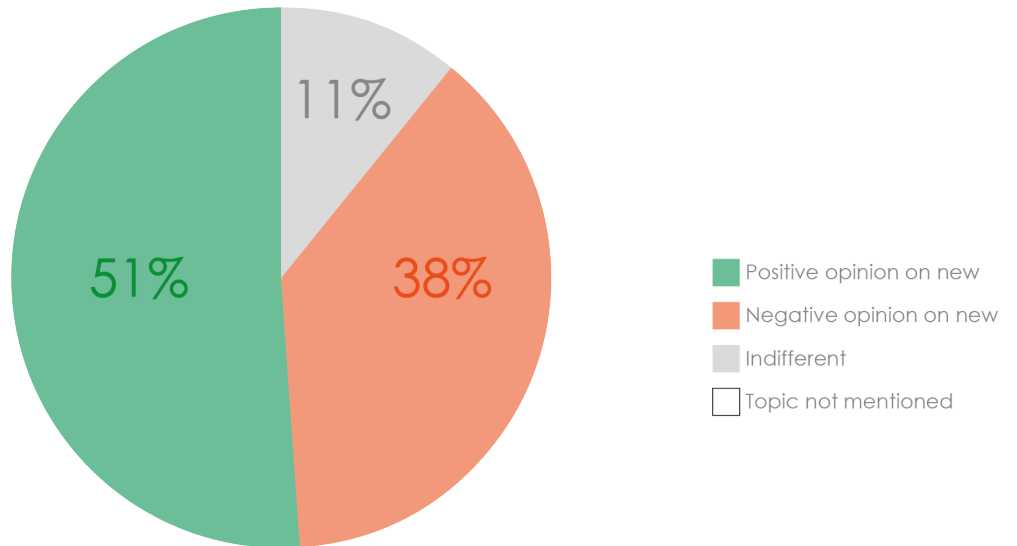


Figure 8: Interview results of the old hospital square interventions



OLD HOSPITAL SQUARE

(n=19, 37 comments)

Figure 9: Interview results of the total old hospital square

3.2 ORIGINAL LIJNBAAN

Next is the north to south oriented part of the original Lijnbaan from the 1950's. In this area, the five interventions most relevant to the people were the removal of the kiosks (figure 10), the greater amount of greenery (figure 11), the addition of new food kiosks (figure 12), the addition of large benches (figure 13) and the change of canopies (figure 14).

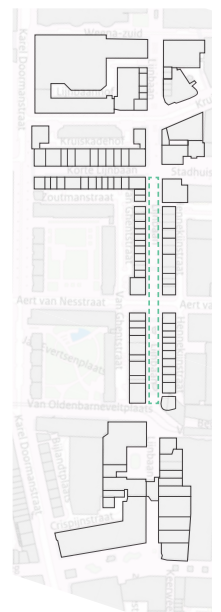


Figure 10: The removal of the kiosks :
SUBTRACTION

Figure 11: The added greenery : 1+1=1

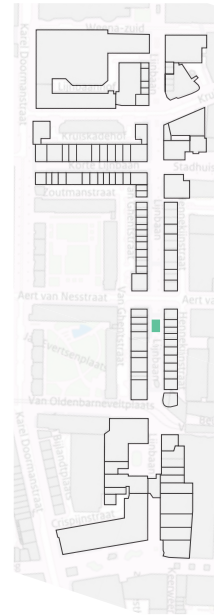


Figure 12: The addition of the food kiosks : 1+1=2

Figure 13: The addition of the benches : 1+1=2

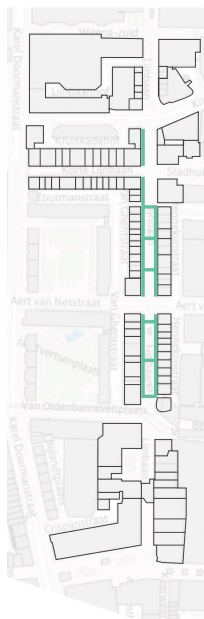


Figure 14: The changed canopies : FACE-LIFT

Like the hospital square, the subtraction of the kiosks and the addition of more greenery are categorized as such. Both the new kiosks and large benches are categorized as 1+1=2, since they do not appear similar to anything in the previous situation. The changed canopies are categorized as a face-lift, since the intervention did not change the volume of them.

In this part of the Lijnbaan, people were less positive on the current situation compared to the first location (figure 15). This was mostly because of the spatial organization of the square, as mentioned by 94% of the visitors. They described the previous situation as more open, or spacious, as compared to the current one. This was mentioned often in tandem with the addition of the new kiosks, which, according to the visitors, contributed to that problem. The greenery and canopies were mentioned less often, and people were quite evenly divided on that topic. Again, people also noted other factors, most notably the less cozy atmosphere now as opposed to before.

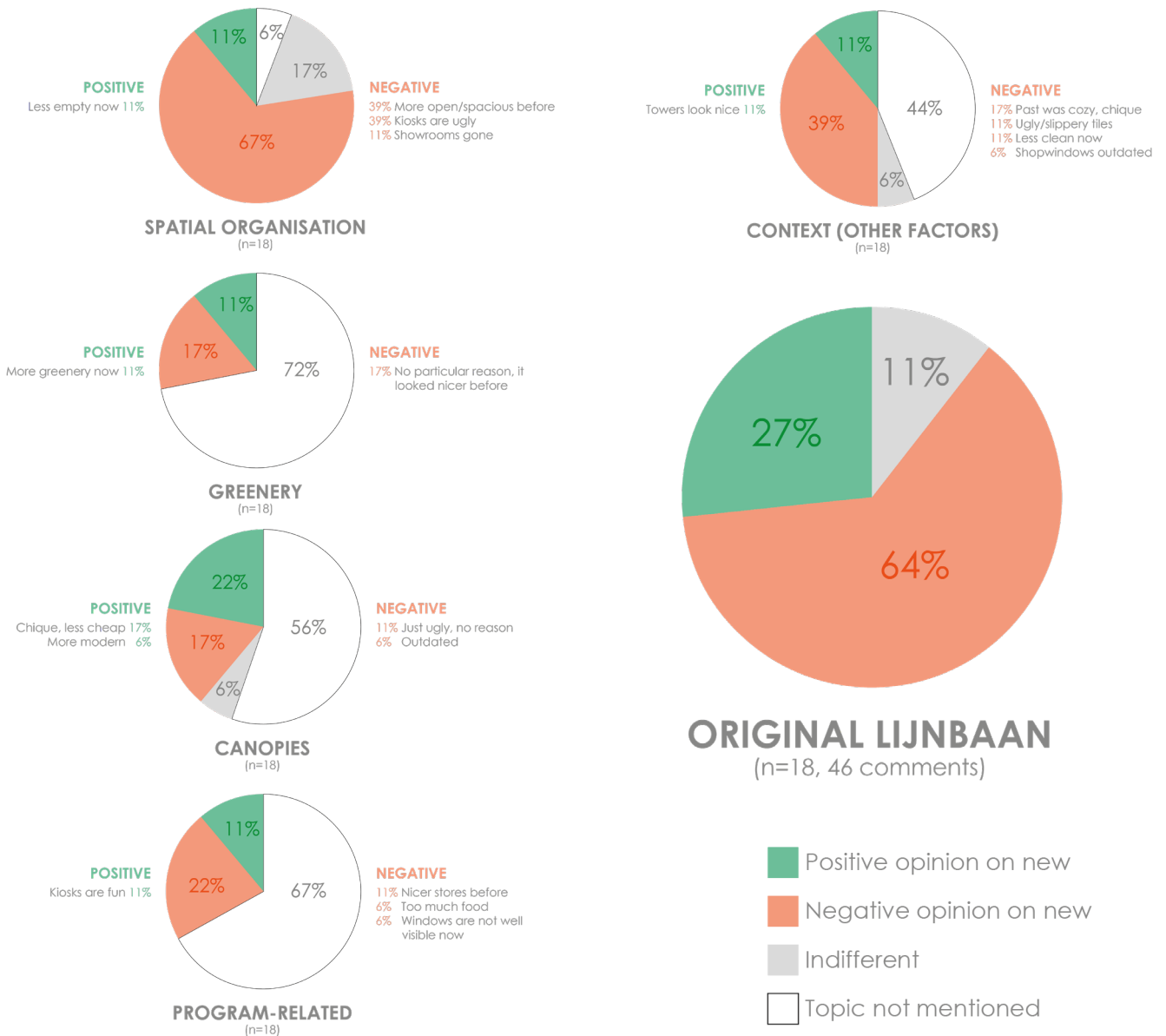


Figure 15: Interview results of the original Lijnbaan, per intervention and total

3.3 KORTE LIJNBAAN

Two more interventions that are not present on the north to south oriented part of the Lijnbaan, but that were noted by people on the Korte Lijnbaan, are the downsizing of the flowerbeds (figure 16) and the removal of the canopy across the street (figure 17).



Figure 16: The downsizing of the flowerbeds to smaller pots : **SUBTRACTION**



Figure 17: The removal of the canopy : **SUBTRACTION**

The intervention in greenery is defined as subtraction, since it deals with a downsize, which is in accordance with the definition of subtraction as mentioned in the methodology. The removal of the canopy is categorized as subtraction, since it deals with the removal of a volume.

People held similarly negative opinions on the Korte Lijnbaan comparable to the Lijnbaan (figure 18). The reasons for this were less straightforward and more divided, however. Most mentioned was the greenery of the past, which people found to be more attractive. More people had negative opinions on the spatial organization of the street than positive. The former group used the removal of the canopy and 'openness' as an argument for their negative opinion, while the latter group used that same 'openness,' or spaciousness, as an argument for the opposite conclusion.

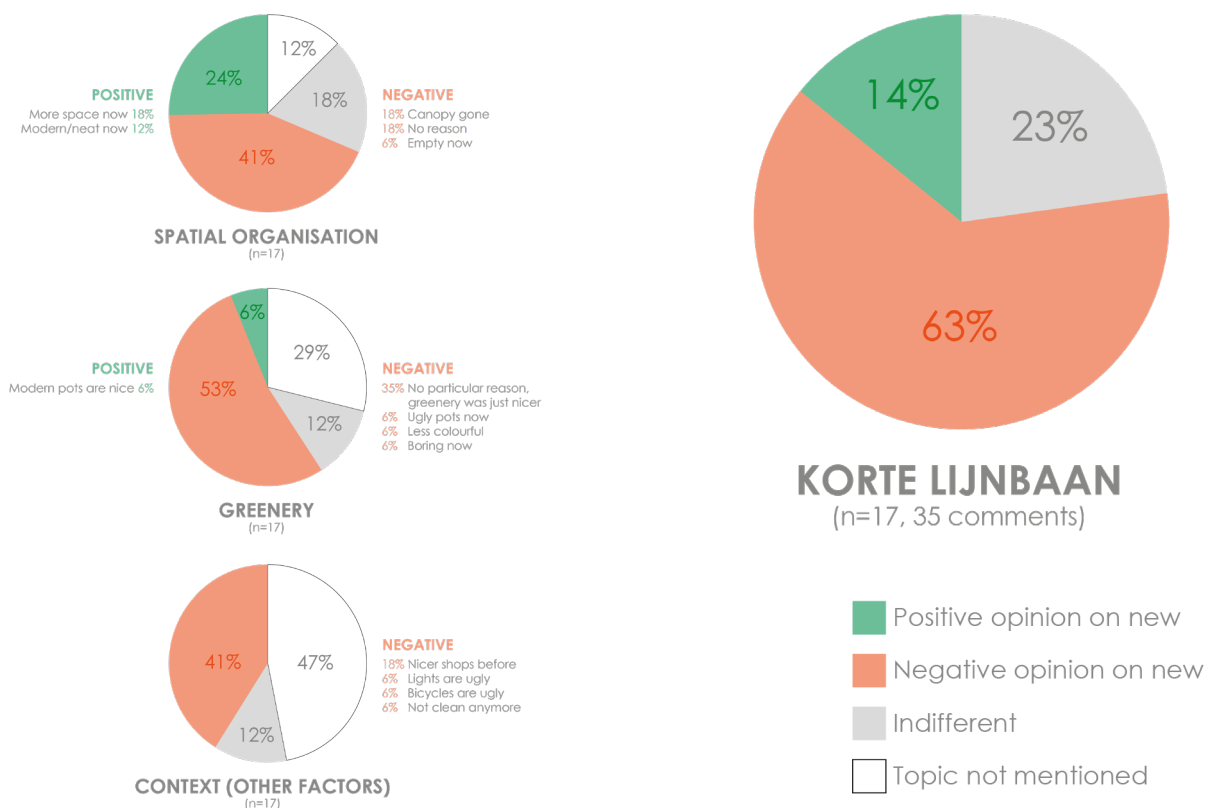


Figure 18: Interview results of the Korte Lijnbaan, per intervention and total

3.4 KRUISKADE CROSSING

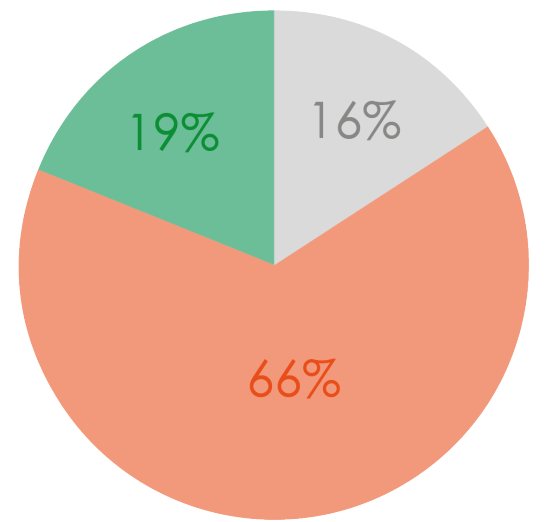
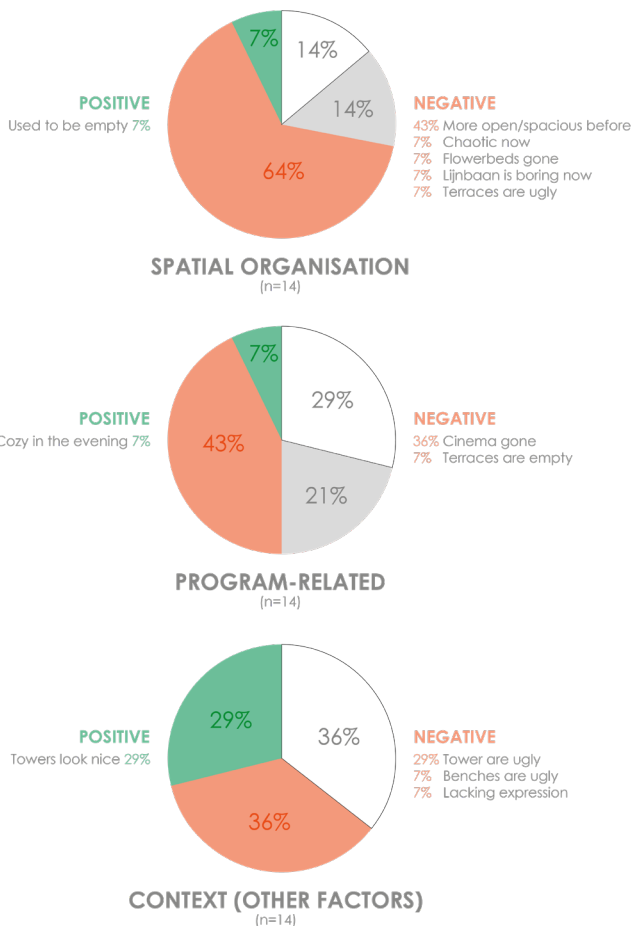
Lastly, there is the area around the crossing with the Lijnbaan and the Kruisgade. There is only one specific intervention that was mentioned often: the addition of a lot more street furniture.

It is categorized as such, because the current situation has volumes present, like the additional greenery and benches, which were not present in the original situation.

Again, around two thirds of the people held negative opinions on the current situation (figure 20). Like previous locations, the spaciousness of the past was the main argument for this, as well as the removal of the cinema. Interestingly though, the towers in the background were mentioned the most, by 58% of the people. But they were split evenly on whether it contributed positively or negatively to the current appearance.



Figure 19: The addition of street furniture : 1+1=2



LIJNBAAN-KRUISKADE (n=14, 32 comments)

- Positive opinion on new
- Negative opinion on new
- Indifferent
- Topic not mentioned

Figure 20: Interview results of the Kruiskad-Lijnbaan crossing, per intervention and total

3.5 TOTAL LIJNBAAN RESULTS

Figure 21 shows the summarized results of the individual locations, as well as an overview of the results for the entire Lijnbaan, which adds all the results of these locations together. More than half of the people interviewed held the opinion that the intervention, and thus the current situation, compares negatively to the old situation. About a third of the people thought the opposite, and 15% were indifferent.

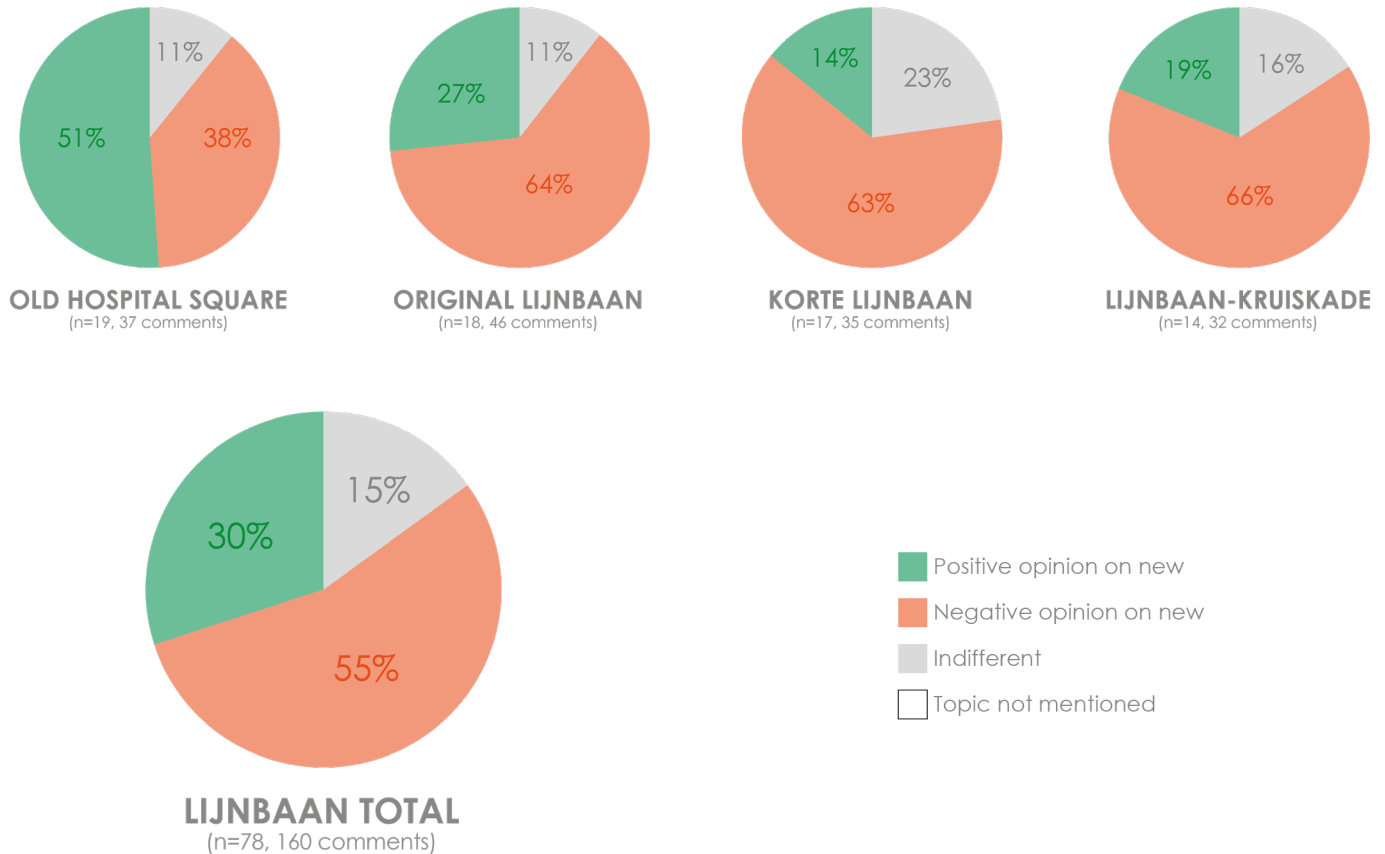


Figure 21: Interview results of the entire Lijnbaan

To analyze the main reasons for this divide a list is made of the four most mentioned reasons for the visitors' opinions being either positive or negative, drawn from the individual location results. For the people that held positive opinions on the current situation, these are as follows:

1. **21%** The current situation is more 'open' or 'spacious'.
2. **12%** The current situation has nicer, or makes better use of greenery.
3. **12%** The current situation's façades or canopies are more attractive.
4. **10%** The current situation is improved by the high-rise buildings in the background.

For the people that held negative opinions on the current situation, or that liked the old situation more, the following four reasons were mentioned most often:

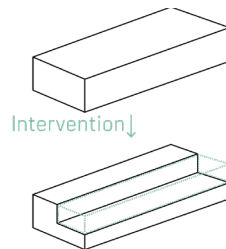
1. **37%** The current situation is less open/spacious, or the past situation was more spacious.
2. **26%** The past atmosphere, or types of shops, were better than now.
3. **19%** The past situation had nicer, or made better use of greenery.
4. **10%** The past situations' façades or canopies were more attractive.

These lists summarize what people noticed most often, or what they found most important to their opinions. Interestingly, the same aspects of the architecture, like spaciousness and greenery, were mentioned often by both people who liked the new situation more, as well as people who did not.

To summarize the results according to the intervention types:

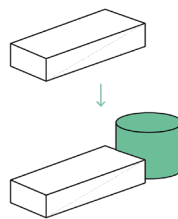
- **Subtraction:** The subtraction of a building (volume) was often perceived more positively, contrasting to the more negative opinions people held when there was a subtraction of greenery

SUBTRACTION



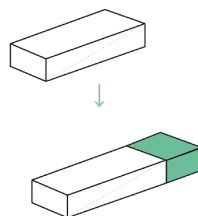
- **1+1=2:** The addition of a contrasting volume was perceived mostly negatively, due to it being seen as a factor for chaos, cluttering and a closed off feeling.

1+1=2



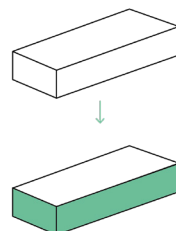
- **1+1=1:** This topic was not mentioned often, which in hindsight makes sense, since this intervention type is supposed to merge with the existing. People usually started to notice, only when for example the greenery, was removed.

1+1=1



- **Face-lift:** Again, this topic was mentioned less than the first two. When mentioned, the responses were divided almost evenly between positive and negative.

FACE-LIFT



3.6 AWARENESS

As stated in chapter 2.2, awareness or familiarity of a spatial environment can affect a persons' wayfinding capabilities, and possibly his or her opinion on architectural interventions as well. However, the results of the interviews show little correlation between awareness of an intervention, and a tendency to either like or dislike it compared to the previous situation. The results for the entire Lijnbaan together shows a similar split between positive and negative opinions, with a difference that becomes negligible due to the number of interviewees.

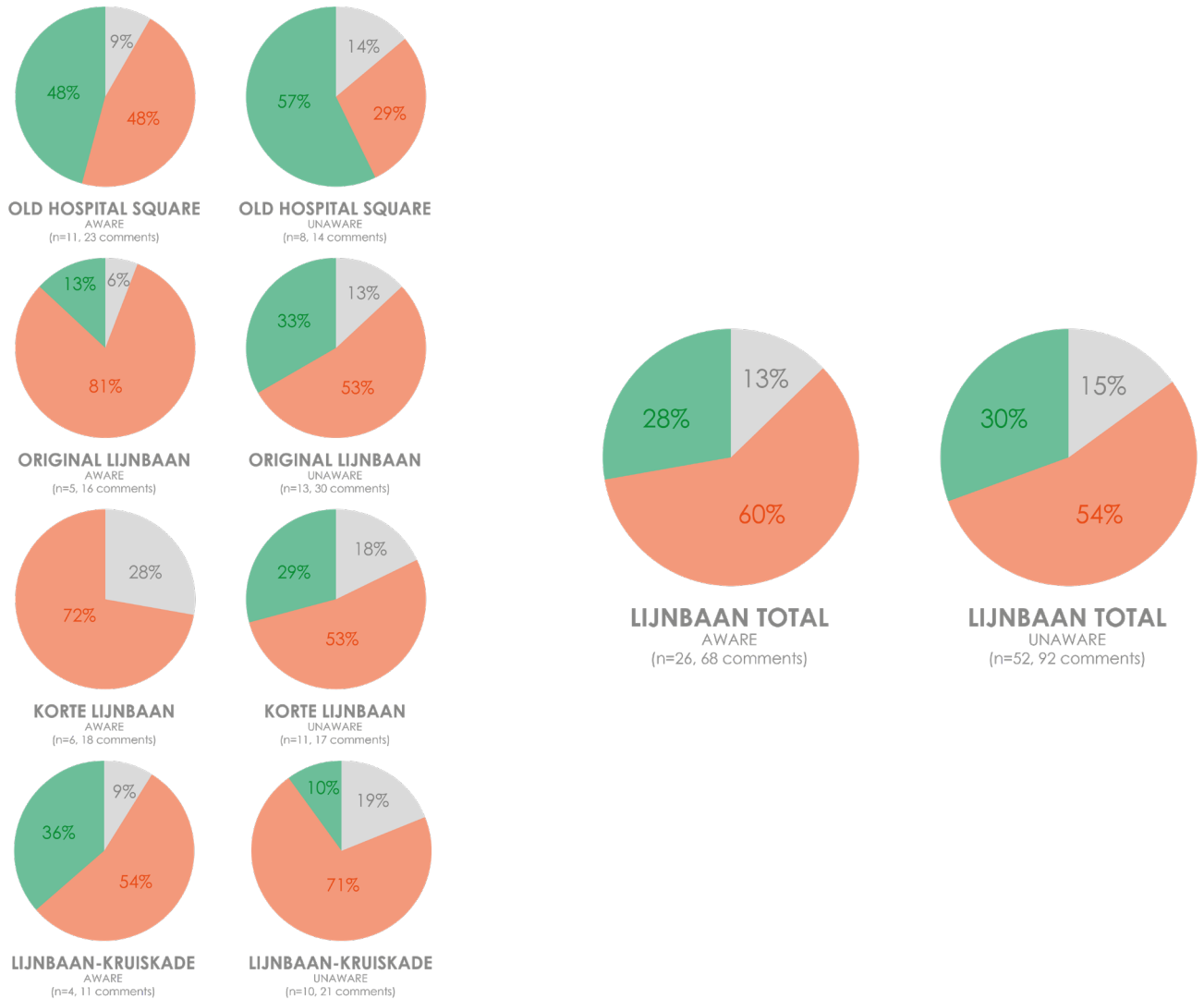


Figure 22: Interview results of the entire Lijnbaan: aware and unaware

4. DISCUSSION

This research must be regarded as a pilot project, exploring the impact architectural interventions on a building scale can have on people's opinions and perceptions of a space. The number of people interviewed, being 78, is a small sample of the population. More research needs to be done in order to enrich the data and draw more firm conclusions about the influence of architectural interventions on visitor experience.

Secondly, there were topics lesser mentioned than others, for example high-rise buildings in the background, or the materialization of the street, which did have influence on at least some of the visitors' opinions. Although the interviewees were asked to state what they noticed most themselves, it could always be possible that some of these factors subconsciously influenced other people's opinions as well, possibly without them being aware of it. This counts as well for the program of the site, being a shopping mall, which could influence the

way people view a space. Though the Lijnbaan is an archetypal post-war mall, results could vary from other locations due to these contextual factors. Again, more research on more case studies would need to be done on this topic for more reliable research results.

Words like 'open' and 'spacious', as well as the opposites 'cluttered' and 'full' were used regularly by people to describe both their positive and negative opinions. More often than not, however, this is where reasoning for their argumentation stopped, since many people could not fully elaborate as to why they thought the space was 'more open' or not. This leaves room for interpretation when drawing conclusions on the matter.

Thirdly, some of the sources consulted on which assumptions on the topic of wayfinding were made (Arthur & Passini, 1992; Passini, 1984), are multiple decades old. Though these sources might still be relevant, the concept of wayfinding has likely been influenced by the advance of digital maps on mobile phones, and other recent developments. More research into contemporary sources could therefore improve the validity of the research results in today's society.

Lastly there is the topic of awareness in wayfinding. The interviewees were all asked whether they were aware of the changes that had happened in the architecture of the Lijnbaan. Within this question is already a limitation, since there is a difference between being aware of a change having happened, and actually having seen the past situation compared to the current one. For example, it is possible that younger people are aware of the interventions, but have never seen the original situation, and that older people are unaware of those same changes, even though they lived during the original situation, and vice versa. More research would need to be done to get a better understanding of the influence of awareness on this topic.

5. CONCLUSION

The subtraction of a building's volume was often perceived positively, while the subtraction of greenery was not. This too was the case for the intervention type $1+1=2$, as contrasting additions were perceived negatively most of the time. Non-contrasting additions, categorized as $1+1=1$, were mentioned less often altogether, since the visitors mostly focused on the former two intervention types. The Face-lift category was also mentioned less, and the people that did comment were almost evenly divided between positive and negative opinions.

The most mentioned reason for the current situation being either more or less favorable to the original situation is due to the 'openness' or 'spaciousness' of the contemporary Lijnbaan, or lack thereof. About two thirds of both positive and negative comments were categorized as such, meaning this was the most relevant topic to mention according to the people.

It can be concluded that the visitors of this mall generally prefer this openness and better visual access, to a more dense or cluttered environment. When translating this to the research on wayfinding, it can be stated that this openness people prefer relates to a space's legibility (Arthur & Passini, 1992), with more openness and visual access improving the legibility of the locations. Thus, it can be concluded that architectural interventions that, according to the Lijnbaan's visitors, improve the openness and therefore legibility of a space, will improve the visitors' wayfinding abilities and experiences. With more research on and better understanding of this subject, future redesign decisions in shopping mall interventions can be supported with this knowledge, improving the overall experience of its visitors.

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APPENDIX A - All interview results

The following matrices show all the interview results of each individual location. Each row is one visitors response to the questions as stated in chapter 2, briefly summarized and categorized into topics of space, materiality, the program and other factors.

Square	Aware	Space	Material	Program	Other
1	yes	More light now, nicer	More greenery now	Esprit gone (?)	Highrises nice
2	yes	Nicer now, spacious	Lighter		
3	yes	More open now, visual connection	More greenery now		
4	yes	Chaotic now			Highrises disturbing
5	yes	Old nicer, bridge doesnt matter		No store diversity	Used to be gezellig
6	yes	More spacious	Nicer greenery		Both now and then (grauw)
7	no	More spacious	Nicer greenery & light, less concrete	Escalators were nice	More city-like, highrises
8	no	more spacious, visual connection			Ugly highrise, out of place
9	no	skybridge looked cool			
10	no	more open now, street appears to continue			
11	yes	old was better, too full now			
12	yes	more open now			Flowerpots were nicer before
13	no	not a real difference			ugly towers now but also before
14	no	nicer view now, spacious			
15	no	more light now			used to be more neat
16	yes	used to be more spacious	green was nicer before		
17	no	nicer now, more open			
18	yes	Skybridge gone is good, open			
19	yes	Skybridge gone doesn't matter		Loempia stand ugly	

Figure A1: Interview results of old hospital square

Façades Foru					
Visitor	Aware	Space	Material	Program	Other
	1 no		New facade nicer		
	2 yes		New facade nicer, more modern		
	3 yes		new façade nicer, higher		
	4 yes		façade boring now		
	5 no		façade was nicer before		
	6 no		No big difference		
	7 yes		Façade more empty now		
	8 no		façade nicer, modern		
	9 yes		Façade used to be nicer, neat		
	10 no		More glass now, nice		

Figure A2: Interview results of old hospital square: façade Forum complex

Lijnbaan						
Visitor	Aware	Space	Material		Program	Other
1	no	more spacious before, like a shopping street			windows of shops better visible	Terraces were cozy before
2	yes	kiosks ugly, chaotic now	greenery was nicer	canopies modern		street tiling ugly, slippery
3	no	used to be spacious, now cramped	greenery was nicer			used to be gezellig
4	yes	chaotic, show rooms (cinderella) were nice	wooden canopies are nice now, chic		Cinderella was nice, shops were nicer	used to be chic, cleaner
5	yes	kiosks ugly, used to be more open	canopies were nice, now outdated			shopwindows outdated
6	no	no big difference but kiosks ugly	wooden canopies are nicer, chic			towers look nice
7	no	ugly kiosk, blocks view	wooden canopies nicer, less cheap		too many food stalls	
8	no	nicer now, less empty	more greenery = more shopping street			
9	no		more flowerbeds are nicer now			
10	no	nicer now, less empty			eating in the middle is fun	
11	no	used to be nicer, more chic, show rooms +	canopies don't matter			
12	no	used to be nice but now it's fine too				looked cleaner before
13	no	used to be more spacious				towers look nice
14	yes	used to be more open, kiosks are ugly				
15	yes	seemed bigger before	Wooden canopies not so nice		stores were nicer before, like Cinderella	Used to be more clean
16	no	not a big difference	kiosks are ugly		but eating at kiosks is nice	
17	no	used to be nicer, more spacious	ugly dark grey street tiling now, canopies			
18	no	not a big difference	kiosks are ugly, green was nicer before			

Figure A3: Interview results of the original Lijnbaan

Korte LB					
Visitor	Aware	Space	Material	Program	Other
1	yes	canopy gone shame (after question)	lighting above street ugly, green was nicer	shops used to be nicer	Ugly bicycles parked
2	yes	used to be nicer, canopy doesn't matter	greenery was nicer, ugly pots now		used to be cleaner
3	yes		greenery used to be nicer	used to be more store diversity	used to be gezellig
4	yes	canopy doesn't matter	Greenery not better per sé, old nothing special		Grey street = ugly (now and then)
5	no	way, canopy looked nice	greenery did look nicer		
6	no	Canopy looked nicer before (!)	Greenery no big difference		
7	no	Used to be nicer but no real difference			
8	no	used to look nicer	Greenery was nice, now boring		
9	no	nicer now, more modern and neat			
10	no	not a big difference	greenery was a bit nicer before		
11	no	more spacious now, greenery was too much			
12	no		Greenery was a lot nicer before		
13	yes	Canopy was nice (!)	Greenery was nicer, colorful	Too much fastfood on KLB	
14	yes	canopy doesn't matter			nice view on City Hall
15	no	now really empty, barren			
16	no	more spacious now, less greenery = good	modern pots		
17	no	used to look nicer	plants were nicer, cozy		

Figure A4: Interview results of the Korte Lijnbaan

Kruiskade					
Visitor	Aware	Space	Material	Program	Other
1	no	doesnt feel like part of lijnbaan		Cinema looks cool	Ugly towers now
2	yes			Cinema gone is a shame	towers look nice
3	yes	Lijnbaan boring	Lacks expression	Cinema is not missed, nothing to do here	Towers nice are weird/ugly
4	no	looked more inviting		cinema looks nice	Ugly towers now
5	no	used to be nicer, more open		next to Pathé. Gym =ugly	
6	no			gezellig in the evening	Towers look nice
7	no	Flowerbeds were nice		cinema would be cool	
8	yes	used to be more open, spacious			Ugly towers
9	yes	used to be empty, now nicer			towers are nice
10	no	used to be more spacious			
11	no	used to be nicer, more spacious		Terraces almost always empty, ugly	
12	no	looks different but not better or worse		Lumière looks cool but doesn't matter	
13	no	now very chaotic, busy			
14	no	more open before		lumière was nice	ugly towers instead of houses

Figure A5: Interview results of the crossing with the Kruiskade