

# The Influence of Entrepreneurs on Brownfield Revitalization Areas

A Case Study of Amersfoort: De Nieuwe Stad & Wagenwerkplaats

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## Abstract

Brownfield revitalization has become an increasingly popular tool to tackle urban expansion over Europe. These areas generally characterise themselves by innovative enterprises in combination with industrial aesthetics. The Netherlands also knows an increase in area-based spatial planning, in which interests of different stakeholders are getting significant attention during the planning process. Whilst factors with regard to the location decisions of entrepreneurs have been treated in the field of economic geography, little research has been done on the role of entrepreneurs in an area-based approach of spatial planning. This paper analyses the interests of entrepreneurs with regard to their location, while exploring the influence they have on the planning process in their area. Since area-based planning is highly dependent on the context, a case study is done comparing two brownfield revitalization areas in Amersfoort: De Nieuwe Stad and the Wagenwerkplaats. The results found that the interests of the entrepreneurs are indeed implemented in the spatial design, but their actual influence has proven to be hard to determine due to a complex set of stakeholders.

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## Introduction

Due to the off-shoring of industrial activities towards lesser developed countries (Aoyama et al., 2011, p. 123), industrial areas over Europe have been losing their industrial activities since the 1960s (Hospers, 2002). At the same time, however, a trend is visible called “brownfield revitalization”, in which these former industrial areas are redeveloped into urban areas with new types of functions (Miazzo, 2009). The European Commission refers to brownfield revitalization as an effective tool for discouraging the expansion of urban areas, a vision that goes hand in hand with corresponding EU-conferences (EC, 2019). Some of these areas mainly emphasize their industrial qualities, as is the case with the tourism industry in the Ruhr area (Copic et al., 2014). Others are rebuilt into an urban area providing a mix of functions that can be classified as “creative cities”, such as the Westergas in Amsterdam and Telliskivi in Tallinn (Miazzo, 2009; Pastak & Kährlik, 2015). These areas offer a combination of attractive industrial environments with a wide supply of cultural amenities (Miazzo, 2009). The innovative nature of these areas suggests an area-specific approach of the underlying planning process, in which the decision-making is relatively decentralised and orientation is focused primarily on the local characteristics and their context. Although decentralisation does not necessarily translate into an increase of participation between stakeholders, a communicative rationale is ideally linked with area-specific planning. In retrospect, Dutch planning orientation has indeed become more focused on the bottom-up approach rather than the top-down perspective which characterized Dutch spatial planning from before the 1970s (De Roo & Voogd, 2019, p. 31-116). Although local participation has become a major point of focus among academics, their focus is primarily aimed towards citizen participation (Bahair & Elliott-White, 2010; Sepe, 2014), and although the interests of involved actors are often included, the term “local participation” is too broad to truly take advantage of the characteristics of entrepreneurs.

Entrepreneurs are often linked with creativity and innovation (Aoyama et al., 2011) and they are responsible for the unique activities that can be found in brownfield revitalization areas such as the earlier mentioned Telliskivi and Westergas. Since it is important for the planner to take the interests of the relevant stakeholders into account (De Roo & Voogd, 2019, p. 101), this thesis aims to seek the influence that the entrepreneurs and their interests have on the planning process of brownfield revitalization. As a result, the main research question follows:

- What influence do entrepreneurs have on the planning processes of brownfield revitalization?

Since planning based on an area-based approach is highly dependent on context, it is most suitable to perform a case study that takes into account the concerning local characteristics. For this reason, this thesis focuses on two urban renewal areas in Amersfoort, a town located in the centre of the Netherlands with an expected population growth of ten percent in the next fifteen years (CBS, 2019). Moreover, the town already had a rapid growth over the last couple of decades, symbolized by new neighbourhoods such as Kattenbroek and Nieuwland that served the principle of Amersfoort as a “growing town” (FleHITE Amersfoort, 2020). The two concerned areas are the Wagenwerkplaats, a former storage place of freight cars, and De

Nieuwe Stad, which used to locate a former Prodent factory, a supplier in toothpaste (De Vries & Kuenen, 2014; Sonnemans et al., 2015). The combination of rapid urban growth and the abandoning of industrial activities makes Amersfoort an interesting case with regard to the problem statement from the European Commission. Furthermore, the urban renewal of both the Wagenwerkplaats and De Nieuwe Stad contain a high degree of settled entrepreneurs.

In order to get an understanding of the influence the entrepreneurs have on the planning process, it is important to get an understanding of the interests of the entrepreneurs, as well as their extent of influence in the decision-making process. Both the interests that were relevant to the spatial planning process and the non-spatial interests have been taken into consideration, since also the non-spatial ones could have a significant influence on the entrepreneurs' satisfaction with the location. This degree of satisfaction could influence their personal need for participation (Glick et al., 1977). Furthermore, the measures used by the spatial planners to realize these interests are a good indication of the influence of the entrepreneurs on the planning process in practice. This results in the following sub-questions:

- What are the interests of the entrepreneurs?
- How much influence do the entrepreneurs have in the decision-making process?
- What measures are taken by the spatial planners to accomplish the interests of the entrepreneurs?

### Reader Guide

This thesis will first discuss the theoretical background behind this thesis, before diving into the methodology. Afterwards, the results are discussed based on conducted interviews and official vision documents of the concerned areas. At the end, the thesis finishes with some concluding remarks.

## Theoretical Framework

The theoretical background of this thesis includes the chosen definition of the entrepreneur and the corresponding characteristics, a summary of their generic interests with regard to their location and the theoretical background about the power relations that are likely to be found in an area-based planning approach.

### Definition and Characteristics of the Entrepreneurship

Among academics, opinions differ how to define the entrepreneurship, which is commonly due to different views with regard to its functioning. Acs and Audretsch (2003), for instance, consider all businesses that are new and dynamic to be the result of entrepreneurship, regardless of their size (as cited in Aoyama et al., 2011). Schumpeter (1936) on the other hand argues that the novelty introduced by the entrepreneur is essential, stating the importance of

innovation, while also believing that small firms are best suited due to their flexibility (as cited in Aoyama et al., 2011). Saravasvathy et al. (2003) build on this idea, adding the notion of recognition and exploitation of opportunities present in the market (as cited in Aoyama et al., 2011). Furthermore, Malecki (1994) also acknowledges the flexibility of small firms, but argues their lack of resources as being a disadvantage.

This thesis does not necessarily seek to implement a specific definition, but relies more on these discussed characteristics: innovation, flexibility and lack of resources. It should be noted however that based on Malecki's and Schumpeter's statements, small firms have been the focus point of this thesis. The European SME (small- and medium sized enterprises) recognizes an enterprise to be small-sized if the number of employees is less than 50 (European Commission). This thesis uses this standard as a target rather than a requirement in creating the research sample.

### Interests of Entrepreneurs

In this section some generic interests of entrepreneurs are discussed based on the literature. These interests are mainly focused on spatial qualities, but as discussed before also include some non-spatial aspects.

Tomasz et al. (2013) point out that both the technical infrastructure and public transport connections are determining factors for the location of an enterprise; aspects that determine the accessibility factor. Aoyama et al. (2011) also acknowledge that accessibility is an important factor regarding the location of firms, since they link the ease of reaching destinations with the ease of reaching an activity. They point out however that the rise of the internet and other forms of telecommunications is indeed influencing the relevance of physical accessibility, since it creates opportunities for certain activities to be accessed without any form of mobility. The relevance of accessibility could therefore vary between entrepreneurs. In case an entrepreneur needs to receive a lot of guests, he/she is likely to have more interest in a greatly accessible location than an entrepreneur highly depending on services by telecommunication (Aoyama et al., 2011).

Another point that Tomasz et al. (2013) pointed out as being a determining factor with regard to the location of an enterprise, was the attractiveness of the location. The motivation behind this interest is likely to be both extrinsic and intrinsic in nature (Sansone & Harackiewicz, 2000, p. 17); extrinsic because location attractiveness drives travellers towards a destination (Cho, 2008), which suggests the benefit of an attractive location for attracting potential customers or guests. Bhansing et al. (2017) argue that an entrepreneurs' motivational state of mind plays a key role in the success of the enterprise, suggesting the intrinsic relevance behind location choice which could be linked to the attractiveness of the environment. Industrial heritage has proven of being capable in creating locations experienced as being attractive, with the industrial heritage tourism in the Ruhr area as a good example (Copic, S. et al., 2014).

The Wagenwerkplaats has the status of being a Rijksmonument (Wagenwerkplaats, 2021). As a consequence, there are regulations attached to the condition of the buildings

(Restauratiefonds). A couple of buildings at De Nieuwe Stad also have a monumental status (Siesta Amersfoort). Besides regulations, entrepreneurs could encounter drawbacks with regard to the condition of their industrial building, as many heritage buildings fail to live up to modern standards (Markova et al., 2017).

Cases of urban renewal as the consequence of brownfield revitalization are often classified under the “creative cities/clusters” phenomenon, such as Westergas in Amsterdam and La Friche in Marseille (Miazzo, 2009; Andres & Grésillon, 2011). Although this concept has proven to be confusing (Comunian, 2011), Hatuka et al.’s (2018) description hits the mark by stating that the economic competitiveness in these areas rely on “*the ability to attract, cultivate and mobilize creative assets*”. This definition emphasizes the economic nature of creative cities, which is characterized by the interactions among the local creative industries. (Comunian, 2011). According to Comunian, the cultural product is often the result of collaboration, suggesting the essential role of interdependence between stakeholders. Thus, it could be in the entrepreneur’s interest to settle in an agglomeration as the creative city to benefit from such forms of interactions.

It could be the case, however, that the settled entrepreneurs at De Nieuwe Stad and the Wagenwerkplaats are not necessarily seeking for interconnectivity, but rather for a more classic form of economic competitiveness. Forms of agglomeration could then still be beneficial, by simply obtaining a favourable market position (Hotelling, 1929) or due to the positive image a location has to offer thanks to the settlement of attractive activities; a phenomenon known as the “Bilbao effect” ((as cited in) Atzema et al., 2014). However, oversaturation could be at risk and agglomeration is for this reason not always beneficial (Vandell & Carter, 1993).

At last, the financial aspect is likely to play an important role, since small firms generally lack a great degree of financial resources (Malecki, 1994). Skica et al. (2013) pointed out the relative importance of local tax incentives in an enterprise’s location. Although incentives are not a necessity by any means, they indicate the relevance of the financial aspect. Brownfields however often turn out to be expensive due to their decayed and polluted state (Rizzo et al., 2015). Since the Netherlands wields “the polluter pays principle”, it is unlikely that remediation costs would affect the urban renewal costs (Rijksoverheid). Moreover, the government is prepared to offer financial support to stimulate remediation (Rijkswaterstaat).

### Area-based Planning Approach

As discussed earlier, entrepreneurs are characterized by their tendency towards innovation and creativity. According to De Roo & Voogd (2019, p. 115-119), an area-based planning approach has a positive influence in encouraging innovation as opposed to a centralised approach of policy making. This mindset is shared by Stacey (1995), who argues that a system needs to be characterised by disorder and irregularity in order to be innovative and creative (as cited in Comunian, 2011). Moreover, Comunian (2011) claims that creative cities are characterized by a complex system of interaction and interconnectivity. In theory, such an area-based planning approach is ideally suitable for complex issues, in which a diverse range of interests are involved and are included in the decision-making. Ideally, this results in

consensus-building, which can be realized by co-operation and negotiation. In theory, entrepreneurs would approximately have the same amount of power as the other involved stakeholders, such as the municipality and the local citizens (De Roo & Voogd, 2019). However, De Roo & Voogd also point out the instability of the policy cycle, suggesting that power relations are not set in stone and can alter by the passage of time. In case of an area-based approach, the governing authorities could claim back some power in case a lack of uniformity practically complicates the planning process.

Conceptual Framework

The following conceptual framework illustrates the logic behind this research and is based on the literature discussed in the theoretical framework. In order to find the influence that entrepreneurs have on the planning process (in this case the Wagenwerkplaats and De Nieuwe Stad), the interests of the entrepreneurs regarding the spatial qualities of their location need to be defined. Literature has been used to get an understanding of the expected generic interests, while the taken interviews have provided a sample of specific interests that are applied for either the Wagenwerkplaats or De Nieuwe Stad. The position of the entrepreneurs in the planning process will then determine to what degree these interests influence the planning process of either the Wagenwerkplaats or De Nieuwe Stad. When decomposing the term “what influence”, the interests of the entrepreneurs form the “what”, while the entrepreneurs’ power forms the “influence”.

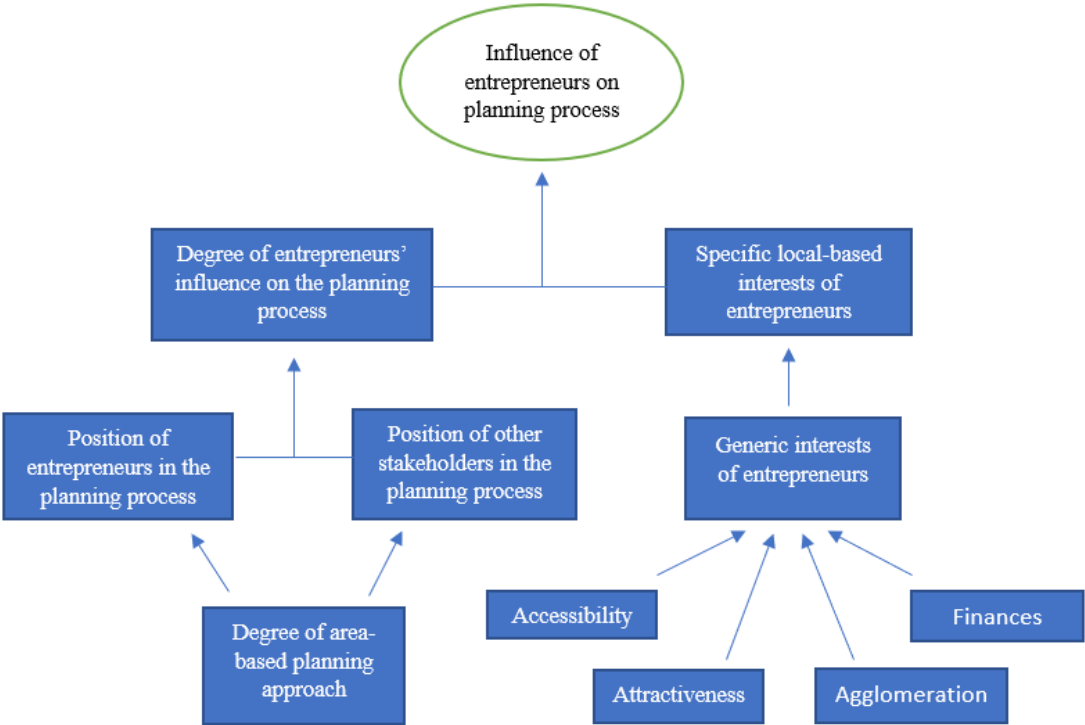


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework illustrating the logic of the thesis.

## Expectations

Since this thesis is built upon assumed conditions with regards to Dutch spatial planning and the interests of entrepreneurs, two explicit expectations are formulated. First of all, the literature covered in the theoretical framework provides substance for expecting a diverse range of generic interests that should be relevant for entrepreneurs. These interests include accessibility, attractiveness of the industrial aesthetics, agglomeration advantages and the financial aspect. This thesis furthermore expects to find more specific interests that are likely dependent on the local characteristics of the concerned areas, including their industrial nature. Secondly, the entrepreneur has a significant influence on the planning process, due to the presence of an area-based planning approach. This area-based planning approach is expected, since this is in line with the trends of contemporary Dutch planning. As a consequence, forms of co-operation or negotiation are expected (De Roo & Voogd, 2019).

## Methodology

### Semi-structured Interviews: A Form of Qualitative Research

Since this research aims to identify the interests of entrepreneurs and their corresponding insights, a form of qualitative research is most fitting. Semi-structured interviews were therefore conducted, in which the entrepreneurs were not only limited to yes/no answers, but could genuinely explain why certain aspects were relevant for their entrepreneurship. This makes the research both deductive and inductive in nature. Deductive because it tests statements about generic interests found in the literature; inductive because it aims to get new insights in the interests of entrepreneurs, specifically in brownfield revitalization areas. Moreover, the entrepreneurs were asked inductively what their position was in the decision-making process at the concerned area. A comparable tactic has been used when interviewing the spatial planners. Not only have they been asked how the areas would be beneficial for entrepreneurs, but also how the entrepreneurs' interests have influenced their planning practices. Further information about the decision-making and planning process has been acquired by the use of secondary data in the form of official vision documents. Eight interviews were held in total: for each area with one spatial planner and with three entrepreneurs. The corresponding interview guides can be found in the Appendix (Dutch language). It should be noted that the abstractness of the questions leads to more honest answers, since more specific questions could steer the respondent too much towards a certain answer. Although the spatial planners have been asked a bit more in detail due to their expertise in the field of spatial planning, the interviews with the entrepreneurs have been piloted as little as possible in order to get a clear understanding of their interests and their view to realize them.



<b>Respondent</b>	<b>Date of Interview</b>
Spatial Planner De Nieuwe Stad	30-03-2021
Spatial Planner IMOSS Wagenwerkplaats	30-03-2021
Entrepreneur Atelier 300c Wagenwerkplaats	23-04-2021
Entrepreneur The Others Wagenwerkplaats	26-04-2021
Entrepreneur Kei Boulderhal Wagenwerkplaats	28-04-2021
Entrepreneur Het Lokaal De Nieuwe Stad	06-05-2021
Entrepreneur Studio Bullseye De Nieuwe Stad	06-05-2021
Entrepreneur Stadsatelier De Nieuwe Stad	11-05-2021

*Figure 2: Table illustrating the timeline in which the interviews were conducted.*

### Realization of the Interviews

Although the interviews could technically be held at location in a corona-proof way, the Covid-19 situation in combination with the long distance between Groningen and Amersfoort made interviews via Zoom a perfect solution, especially due to Zoom's audio-recording capabilities. The interviewees were found via the official websites of the case areas; both the websites include contact information about the spatial planning team and the settled entrepreneurs. The method of making contact varied; some were reached by e-mail, others by phone.

### Reliability

It needs to be considered that due to the feasibility of the research with regard to time, only eight interviews could be held. Per area only three randomly chosen entrepreneurs were interviewed. De Nieuwe Stad however contains over 90 entrepreneurs, while the Wagenwerkplaats locates around 30 entrepreneurs. It should also be noted that the entrepreneurs at the Wagenwerkplaats are generally a bit larger in scale than the ones at De Nieuwe Stad. As a result, this qualitative research only uses a small sample size, which would make statistical research useless by default. The open set-up of the interviews however opens the pathway for new insights, which could set the basis for future research. Moreover, the open set-up provides the answers to contextualize the local characteristics, making it easier to distinguish what factors are place dependent and what factors could be generalized. However, since this case study is substantially dependent on context, generalizations are not easy to make. Nonetheless, the comparative nature of this case study provides the possibility to explore similarities. The sample, including just two brownfield revitalization areas, is yet small, making this research more of a basis for future research.

Both the Wagenwerkplaats and De Nieuwe Stad are still in rapid development. This leaves us with the possibility that interviewees could answer differently about their views with regard to the concerned area as well as their interests regarding a suitable location for their

entrepreneurship (in case of the entrepreneurs) or vision of the area (in case of the spatial planners).

### Ethical Considerations

All the interviewees, including the spatial planners as well as the entrepreneurs, were sent an information sheet beforehand. This information sheet did not only include information about the aim of the research, but also information about their rights. The transcripts of the recordings would be protected by a password on the researcher's personal computer. The interviewees did also get the opportunity to stop the recording of the interview whenever they wanted. Furthermore, the information sheet made clear that the researcher is an independent actor and does not have any interest in the case itself, only in the academic use. Moreover, the researcher would not make any judgements based on answers and would not message any statements to third parties. Along the information sheet an agreement on participation was sent, which the participant could fill in before or after the concerned interview. This agreement asked whether it was allowed to record the interview as well as their preferred type of anonymity.

## Results

### The Interests of the Entrepreneurs

The following results contain the interests of the sampled entrepreneurs with regard to their location and are based on the interviews with the entrepreneurs. The generic interests as discussed in the theoretical framework form the basis and are both deductively and inductively answered, with the inductive answers indicating more specific interests that can be utilized to differentiate brownfield revitalization areas. Furthermore, differences between the two case areas are discussed when applicable.

### Attractiveness

All the respondents from both areas found the attractiveness brought by the industrial aesthetics of the area to be a major selling point. It is striking to notice that each entrepreneur gave a different reason, although being similar in nature. Both Het Lokaal and Kei Boulderhal mentioned that the image or ambiance of the area attracts a certain type of people, with Kei Boulderhal specifically referring to these type of people as people that visit a boulderhal. Both entrepreneurs were moreover well aware about the principle of brownfield revitalization and thought it to be advantageous for their enterprise. The respondent from Studio Bullseye was also pleased with the area's image: "*I feel confident saying to people that I am located at De Nieuwe Stad!*". Atelier 300c interestingly stated that the guests are interested in the historic context of the Wagenwerkplaats and enjoy the area's guided tour during the break. Furthermore, Stadsatelier and The Others mentioned some intrinsic factors with regard to the industrial aesthetics. The Others found that the industrial aesthetics of their building made for

an attractive place to work in. A similar situation applied for Stadsatelier, in which the industrial aesthetics suited their old presses.

Both the areas had enthusiastic responses with regard to their industrial appearance, with two entrepreneurs from the Wagenwerkplaats immediately referring to the industrial qualities when asked why the Wagenwerkplaats was a suiting location for their enterprise. Overall, the entrepreneurs highly value a good looking area, whether it is for extrinsic reasons (attracting guests/customers) or intrinsic reasons (an attractive working place). Both De Nieuwe Stad and the Wagenwerkplaats perform well in this aspect, thanks to their industrial aesthetics.

It is noteworthy that at both the Wagenwerkplaats and De Nieuwe Stad some entrepreneurs encountered the incapability of opening windows due to the industrial heritage, while also not being allowed to install an air conditioning system. Two entrepreneurs, one at each area, also faced forms of leakage, with Studio Bullseye claiming it to be: *“discomforts at most”*.

### Accessibility

Although all entrepreneurs indeed saw the relevance of accessibility, their reliance seems to depend on the nature of their enterprise. Atelier 300c, which offers conference rooms, often has guests who need to bring a lot of materials, such as bags and banners; these guests often travel with the car. Kei Boulderhal, one of the few boulderhals in the Netherlands, also noticed that a lot of guests arrive with the car due to their “function region”: *“There are also people from Leusden and Woudenberg; not all of them will come by train”*. Kei Boulderhal also stated that people will go to their boulderhal regardless of accessibility qualities, due to their monopoly in the region. Moreover, both entrepreneurs feared that their valued parking spots could be harmed in the future due to the new houses that are planned to be built. They highly valued the easy access by public transport, but did not seem to want to rely on it.

In contrast to the industrial aesthetics, the accessibility aspect shows differences between De Nieuwe Stad and the Wagenwerkplaats. As mentioned earlier, this seemingly has to do with the functionality of their enterprise and in this regard the two areas indeed differ slightly.

When discussing the parking spot supply of De Nieuwe Stad, Stadsatelier stated: *“I do not have visitors on a daily basis and the ones who want to buy my tickets usually come by bike; they know me”*. This is a totally different story than the ones of Atelier 300c and Kei Boulderhal. A striking anecdote came from Het Lokaal: *“We used to have an expert in the field of retail. He came to our location and said: “What you are doing is total nonsense, you should just settle next to a main road and you need to have great access to parking spots”. And I say: “But we are different, we try to do it in a different way”.* Thus, the functioning of the enterprise was more relevant than accessibility on a technical level. Het Lokaal was nevertheless at first still sceptical towards the relatively low accessibility of De Nieuwe Stad by car, but has come to appreciate it over time, noticing that the lack of car traffic resulted in a calmer and more lively area.

### Agglomeration

In correspondence with the accessibility aspect, the agglomeration aspect shows differences between the two areas. While all three entrepreneurs at De Nieuwe Stad indicated that the settlement of other entrepreneurs at the area had a positive influence on their enterprise, this enthusiasm was shared to a lesser degree amongst the entrepreneurs at the Wagenwerkplaats.

Both Stadsatelier and Studio Bullseye exchanged orders with other entrepreneurs. In addition, the entrepreneur of Studio Bullseye mentioned an intrinsic motivation in the sense that he enjoys the open structure of the area. The entrepreneur of Het Lokaal on the other hand mentioned that other entrepreneurs at De Nieuwe Stad were customers, while also stating that that this was the result of close relations. With the new housing plans in sight, the new residents were also seen as potential new customers.

Two entrepreneurs at the Wagenwerkplaats were a bit more sceptical towards the realization of agglomeration affects. The Others found that the promise of a “creative hub” has not been realized and indicated that this is due to a lack of creative companies: *“The Clini Clowns are located closely; they are one of our customers, but I do not need a Clini Clown”*. Kei Boulderhal agreed on the importance of a right completion of the available spaces, although he put more emphasis on the area’s capability to attract people. The differences in opinions are likely due to differences in functioning. Het Lokaal offers catering and sells products, while Stadsatelier and Studio Bullseye are creative designers. The Others is also a creative enterprise, while Kei Boulderhal offers a sport activity. These results show a pattern that indicates that creative industries have a high interest with interconnectivity, while more traditional ones aim to enlarge their potential customers/guests.

### The Financial Aspect

All the entrepreneurs stated that the financial aspect was indeed a factor in the decision of settlement in the concerned area, albeit for some entrepreneurs more important than others. Especially the entrepreneurs at the Wagenwerkplaats pointed out the low rent as a determining factor. The entrepreneur of Atelier 300c stated that her low financial resources made the low rent to be an important factor. When De Nieuwe Stad emerged, she considered to move over because of De Nieuwe Stad’s lower rent, but at the end she decided to stay: *“But on the other hand, I had already settled myself at the Wagenwerkplaats. It is a bit more commercial and a bit cleaner than at De Nieuwe Stad”*. Thus, she indicates the image of the Wagenwerkplaats all by all to be more important than a lower rent. Most of the entrepreneurs, from both De Nieuwe Stad and the Wagenwerkplaats, stated that their low rent was directly linked to their early settlement; if they would start renting the same location now, the prices would be way higher.

### The Influence of the Entrepreneurs in the Planning Process

The data collected out of the interviews with both the entrepreneurs and the spatial planners as well as official vision documents indicate the institutional design of the concerned areas and the consequential extent of influence the entrepreneurs have on the planning process.

### De Nieuwe Stad

The main owner of De Nieuwe Stad is Schipper Bosch, a developer and investor in urban renewal projects, which bought the former Prodent factory in 2013. Other stakeholders that own ground in the area are the municipality of Amersfoort, Hogeschool Utrecht and BOEi, an organisation that aims at the preservation of industrial heritage. Together with the spatial

planning organisation ZUS, which functions as the urban curator, they form the director's team (Sonnemans et al., 2015). A project team containing spatial planners is simply referred to as De Nieuwe Stad and works is commissioned by Schipper Bosch. In addition, there is an association called OVADE representing the interests of the entrepreneurs across the river Eem in Amersfoort (Zinnenprikkelend).

De Nieuwe Stad has a noticeable attitude towards its entrepreneurs: it views them as its citizens. As the spatial planner stated: *"Sometimes an entrepreneur reaches forward to us for settling at De Nieuwe Stad and that we specifically develop to achieve his/her wishes. This happened for instance with Twynstra Gudde"*. Although this indicates a degree of influence from the entrepreneurs, it should be acknowledged that the used example contains a moderately sized enterprise, while this thesis focuses primarily on smaller-sized ones. The extent of the entrepreneurs' influence seems to have varied over time. In the starting phase of De Nieuwe Stad pizza-meetings frequently took place in which the entrepreneurs could clearly state that their interests, which indicates a form of co-operation. The spatial planners did have the end-decision, but the entrepreneurs' interests were included. Over time however these meetings stopped taking place. Stadsatelier mentioned: *"Since we have those waiting lists, we do not have those meetings anymore"*. All the three entrepreneurs mentioned that action often needs to be taken from the entrepreneurs themselves, or otherwise things are not getting done or information is not provided. A good example is Stadsatelier's influence on the rent: *"I have got that now negotiated. You need to continuously stay in contact, otherwise the prices will increase massively"*. Both Studio Bullseye and Het Lokaal mentioned that their interests were still taken into account, regardless of the passive communication.

### Wagenwerkplaats

The owner of the Wagenwerkplaats is the NS, which forms the director's team in collaboration with the municipality of Amersfoort and the "Werkgroep Verkenningen", an association of local citizens. The director's team is responsible for both the masterplan, a spatial vision plan produced by urban design team IMOSS and spatial design team H+N+S, and the exploitation of activities. The existence of the urban renewal area is the result of an initiative by the local citizens of the bordering neighbourhood Soesterkwartier, who succeeded in creating support to preserve the industrial buildings (De Vries & Kuenen, 2014). In addition, there is the "gebruikersvereniging (translated: users association)", which is involved in the planning process and represents the interests of the area's users, including the entrepreneurs.

The spatial planner of IMOSS mentioned that the entrepreneurs are getting involved over the whole process and that they have conversations with the user association. He said: *"On many points we of course listen to them. But although their interests are included, they are not decisive"*. Furthermore he states that the end decision is up to the NS, while the municipality on the other hand is more involved with the participation process.

The entrepreneur of Kei Boulderhal mentioned that he is on the board of the user association. He states that there are meetings that involve various associations (like the monument committee and one that focuses on the greenery) in addition to local residents. These interests are featured, but their influence is questionable: *"At the end, the question remains: how much*

*of that will actually be realized?*”. The entrepreneur of the Others also doubted the influence of the entrepreneurs on the planning process: *“I am settled here now for seven years and in these seven years I have not noticed any changes”*, which lead him to withdraw himself from the participation. The user association on the other hand was more responsible on the maintenance of the area, such as the public greenery and the organization of festivals. This corresponds with the statements of Atelier 300c, who indicated the influence the entrepreneurs had on aspects like underground containers and security cameras.

## Measures Taken by the Spatial Planners to Accomplish the Entrepreneurs’ Interests

The following results contain the measures the spatial planners utilized that affect the entrepreneurs’ interests. These measures indicate the influence the entrepreneurs have on the planning process in practice. The results are taken from the interviews with the spatial planners and the areas’ official vision documents.

### Attractiveness

When the spatial planners were asked why their concerned area was attractive for entrepreneurs to settle, they immediately referred to the historic image the area has to offer. When designing renewal practices, both areas handle policies that preserve the industrial aesthetics as much as possible. At De Nieuwe Stad, constructions contain carefully chosen materials and primary shapes and colours that suit the industrial character (Sonnemans et al., 2015). Moreover, industrial relics are preserved as much as possible in the reconstruction. A similar policy applies for the Wagenwerkplaats, which Masterplan includes the use of bricks, glass and steel, with a restraint in colours and shapes (IMOSS, 2019). As mentioned in the results of the entrepreneurs’ interests, the spatial consequences of preserving the industrial image can be restrictive for the entrepreneurs. The spatial planner of De Nieuwe Stad stated that the placement of air conditioning at rooftops is disturbing for the sight. The spatial planner of IMOSS moreover indicated that the decisions made by the monument committee highly influence the reconstruction of buildings.

### Accessibility

Both spatial plans invest a major focus on the parking supply. It is noteworthy that both plans handle a flexible attitude towards realizing the parking demand. De Nieuwe Stad for instance plans on building a parking garage that is easy to expand (Sonnemans et al., 2015). The spatial planner of IMOSS emphasized on how to deal with peak hours. He added that when an event entrepreneur states that he demands 500 parking spots, the planning team responses: *“You need 500 parking spots? Then we are going to fit that in our plans”*.

## Agglomeration

The interplay between the functions has been the major focus point for both of the spatial plans. As the spatial planner of De Nieuwe Stad mentioned: *“We pay specific attention to this. At the moment that we have an empty building and we are looking for a new tenant, we look at: 1. Does this enterprise represent a function that is still missing? 2. How do we envision this addition in an area that aims for cooperation between the entrepreneurs?”*. The spatial planner of IMOSS stated that the NS handled a strict policy in which the settling entrepreneurs needed to be from the creative sector. In addition, he also stated that the diversity of functions result in a dynamic area, which explains the presence of non-creative companies. Both plans also include the building of houses. While Het Lokaal was pleased with this addition in case of De Nieuwe Stad, Kei Boulderhal at the Wagenwerkplaats feared this would result in less available parking spots, while it on the other hands expects that the new residents feel addressed by the ambiance of the Wagenwerkplaats and consequently fit in its target group.

## Concluding remarks

The aim of this thesis is to seek the influence that the interests of the entrepreneurs have on the planning process of brownfield revitalization areas. Although it is impossible to include all the relevant interest as well as to detect their exact influence, this thesis makes itself useful by giving the focus on the entrepreneur’s perspective on spatial qualities and combining this with contemporary participation theories.

First of all, this thesis makes a substantiated argument in favour of the statements made in the used literature with regard to the interests of entrepreneurs. All of them were at least partly shared among the entrepreneurs. One that stood out however was the agglomeration aspect, which desired character seems to be dependent on the type of enterprise. While creative industries were highly interested in interconnectivity, more traditional enterprises had more desire for potential customers/guests. The first is in line with Comunian’s (2011) statement that the cultural product is often the result of collaboration, suggesting creative city mechanics to be beneficial for creative entrepreneurs, while the latter corresponds with Hotelling’s (1929) theory about market positions. The interaction between functions is an important aspect for the spatial planners, which is reflected in their strict policies. Furthermore, the industrial image of the brownfield revitalization areas were highly appreciated by all the entrepreneurs, suggesting the potential attractive power of such areas. The low rent was also a major advantage for simply all the entrepreneurs. At last, the desire for parking spots remains, and spatial planners combine this interest with long-term thinking by adopting flexible methods. It is striking to notice that the measures of the spatial planners corresponds with the entrepreneurs’ interests. It is hard to tell however whether all these interests were recognized or simply shared. The first would indicate the entrepreneurs’ influence, but the latter could also be possible, since interests could simply be shared among different types of stakeholders.

This question shines through when answering the second expectation. An area-based approach is evident, due to the use of area-specific vision documents in both areas. While De

Nieuwe Stad mainly houses entrepreneurs, the Wagenwerkplaats has many stakeholders involved during the participation process, including local citizens. This makes the situation more complex and the influence of the entrepreneurs less obvious. Although it was expected that the entrepreneurs would have a significant influence on the planning process due to the expected area-based planning approach, this vision should be updated. Although the level of participation indeed indicates a significant local influence, this goes for all the stakeholders as a whole, not necessarily for the entrepreneurs, let alone individual ones.

It also needs to be noted that the degree of participation fluctuated throughout the years. This corresponds with De Roo & Voogd's (2019) theory about the instability of the policy cycle and is probably caused by the search for uniformity due to the growth of the areas.

While the paper is aiming to make conclusions around the concept of brownfield revitalization, it turns out that it is difficult to link these characteristics with the rest of the research. A lot of conclusions could also be applied to simply urban renewal. Further research could compare brownfield revitalization with other forms of urban renewal, or use the same format for other urban renewal types; this would help differentiating brownfield revitalization from other types of urban renewal. Furthermore, this research conducted the interviews with the spatial planners before the ones with the entrepreneurs. If further research uses the same format, it is recommended to do the interviews with the entrepreneurs first. This way it is easier to find how the entrepreneurs' interests were included in the planning process. At last, this thesis is more suitable as a basis for further research, since the sample size is small and the results are context dependent; generalizations are therefore hard to make.



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## Appendix 1

Interview with spatial planner (this one uses De Nieuwe Stad, but the term Wagenwerkplaats suffices as well).

Aan het begin van het interview:

- De geïnterviewde bedanken voor het klaarmaken van haar tijd.
- Het doel van het onderzoek uitleggen.
- Over mezelf als student uitleggen.
- De structuur van het interview uitleggen.
- Er zijn geen goede of foute antwoorden.
- De verwachte lengte is een halfuurtje.
- Informeren over privacy.
- Vragen of het goed is dat dit interview opgenomen wordt.
- Vragen of er nog vragen zijn.

Hoofdvraag: “Wat is kort gezegd de ambitie van de Nieuwe Stad?”

Hoofdvraag: “Op wat voor manier werken de gevestigde ondernemers bij aan het realiseren van deze ambitie?”

Hoofdvraag: “In hoeverre zijn de ondernemers in de besluitvorming betrokken geweest?”

Hoofdvraag: “Om wat voor redenen denkt u dat de huidige Nieuwe Stad een geschikte en aantrekkelijke locatie is voor de gevestigde ondernemingen?”

Deelvragen (op het moment dat deze aspecten niet ter aanbod komen):

- Aantrekkelijkheid van de locatie.
- Bereikbaarheid/toegankelijkheid.
- Bilbao effect (MBO en Fluor).
- “Knowledge Environment”/Agglomeratie voordelen.
- Competitie (of agglomeratie) t.o.v. de oude binnenstad en de Wagenwerkplaats.

Hoofdvraag: “Wat voor maatregelen zijn er nodig geweest om de Nieuwe Stad zoals die nu is te realiseren?”

Deelvragen (op het moment dat deze aspecten niet ter aanbod komen):

- Behoud industriële uiterlijk.
- Parkeergelegenheid.

- Gebouw regelementen.

Hoofdvraag: “In hoeverre hebben de gevestigde ondernemingen invloed gehad tot de realisatie van deze maatregelen?”

Deelvraag:

- Welke factoren waren uiteindelijk doorslaggevend in de besluitvorming?

Aan het einde:

- Vragen of de geïnterviewde nog wat wil toevoegen.
- Bedanken voor het interview.
- Vragen of ze nog interesse heeft in de resultaten van de scriptie.
- Een prettige dag wensen.

## Appendix 2

Interview Guide Entrepreneurs (this one uses De Nieuwe Stad, but the term Wagenwerkplaats suffices as well).

Aan het begin van het interview:

- De geïnterviewde bedanken voor het klaarmaken van zijn/haar tijd.
- Het doel van het onderzoek uitleggen.
- Over mezelf als student uitleggen.
- De structuur van het interview uitleggen.
- Er zijn geen goede of foute antwoorden.
- De verwachte lengte is een halfuurtje.
- Informeren over privacy.
- Vragen of het goed is dat dit interview opgenomen wordt.
- Vragen of er nog vragen zijn.
- Vragen of de geïnterviewde zelf nog een introductie kunt geven.

Hoofdvragen:

- Kunt u me kort uitleggen wat de ambitie/visie is van uw onderneming en hoe de onderneming tot stand is gekomen?
- Waarom is De Nieuwe Stad een geschikte locatie voor uw onderneming?
- Hoe beïnvloedt het industriële karakter van De Nieuwe Stad het functioneren van uw onderneming?
  - Attractiviteit.
  - Belemmeringen vanwege industrieel erfgoed gebouwen.
- Voldoet De Nieuwe Stad aan uw belangen omtrent de bereikbaarheid van uw onderneming?
  - Parkeergelegenheid + Openbaar vervoer.
- Is De Nieuwe Stad vanuit een financieel aspect een aantrekkelijke locatie?
- Heeft de vestiging van de andere ondernemingen in De Nieuwe Stad invloed op het functioneren van uw onderneming?
  - Competitie.
  - Mekaar versterken.
- In hoeverre is uw onderneming betrokken bij de besluitvorming van De Nieuwe Stad?
  - Komen de belangen van uw onderneming hier ook gunstig uit?

Aan het einde:

- Vragen of de geïnterviewde nog wat wil toevoegen.
- Bedanken voor het interview.
- Vragen of hij/zij nog interesse heeft in de resultaten van de scriptie.
- Een prettige dag wensen.