Standing at the feet of giants

Location choices of entrepreneurs in informal workplaces

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Master Thesis Spatial Planning
Nijmegen School of Management
Radboud University
December 2017

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Colophon

Description	Master Thesis Spatial Planning
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Date	December 2017
Status	Definitive
Mentors	J. Nijman (Municipality of Zaanstad) P. Beckers (Radboud University Nijmegen)
Keywords	Location choices, informal work locations, entrepreneurs, Zaanstad
Image cover	Own material – *The fabric of Tate & Lyle towers above dwellings and a to be redeveloped building along the river in Koog aan de Zaan.*

Preface

When explaining the topic of my research the first reaction usually was 'Oh, so you are writing about people working in cafés and bars et cetera?'. Unfortunately the answer to this question was negative as it might have been an ideal environment for ethnographic research. Instead, most of this research has taken place behind a computer screen, with only a cup of coffee at arm's length, at the city hall. Not that I needed it of course, the coffee, as you will soon find out that it is a very interesting subject. In fact, one fellow researcher (slightly more experienced) confided to me that this topic was his hobby. I still prefer football.

On a more serious note, I would like to thank Jan and Elise for the opportunity to join the economic department of Zaanstad for a couple of months. The data and contacts I could collect here were essential for the research. Besides, it was nice to have pleasant company during the process. Specifically I give many thanks to Renée, who has spent hours helping me to create and send the survey. The response was already after one hour above our expectations, for which I am very grateful. All entrepreneurs, all interviewees who had to cope with my sometimes clumsy interview style: Thanks a lot! I hope I have done justice to your input. Furthermore, I should thank Pascal for the suggestions he made during the process. Your insights definitely helped me to steer the research in a more satisfying direction. How satisfying it actually has become is now up to you, reader.

Enjoy!

Peter Bakker,
Heerhugowaard, December 2017

Summary

For long, policymakers focused on the formal business estates. These were perceived the settlement places of the engines of the local economy. However, some sand has come into these motors as the employment continues to decrease. Company closures or relocations and decay are the visible effects. At the same time, the employment outside these estates is increasing considerably. The term 'informal location' is therefore more and more used, without a clear understanding of all of its facets. The aim of this explorative thesis was therefore to gain insight into the nature of entrepreneurial activity, specifically focusing on location factors. This is researched in light of the municipal goal of mixed-use development in Zaanstad, traditionally a municipality in which living and working are spatially combined.

In order to meet the research aim a survey design was created. Three methods were used: desk research to find the characteristics of (businesses on) informal locations, structured interviews for the location factors of entrepreneurs and focused interviews for backgrounds, depth and policies.

It was soon found out that 'the' informal location does not exist. Therefore, three scales were distinguished: the level of the unit (entrepreneur at home), shared business premise and the centers/'city streets'/other. A comparison was furthermore made to potential new informal locations: the business estates within the city. It was found that the municipal aim of mixed-use does not always steer on the location factors. Several reasons were found:

- The location factors are less relevant in relation to mixed-use. The decision to work at home seems subordinate to the decision to start freelancing. The grain of mixed-use therefore seems to be more influenced by for instance the education level. Hence, even though not explicitly mentioned in the municipal policies, a finer grain is likely to be obtained as a new mix of housing will be built – the higher educated are, as Risselada and Folmer mentioned, indeed more likely to start a business. Besides, the number of freelancers in general is likely to increase.
- The location factors are relevant, but hard to achieve given the market situation. The entrepreneurs in shared business premises explicitly mention advantages of being located within a residential area. Nevertheless, developers and municipality together seem to focus merely on the new Hembrugterrein.
- The location factors are relevant, but mixed-use is not really the municipal aim. The positive entrepreneurs believe that it will strengthen accessibility and visibility, that it could be a solution to vacancy and that it is part of the Zaanse identity. The market situation can however also be conducive in obtaining the goal. In the retail areas the concentration of shops is likely to increase due to vacancy, in the streets towards these areas though a fine grain could be obtained due to loosened regulation on other types of business activities.
- For the future informal locations it is furthermore clear that the addition of housing is the main issue, which is not always in line with the existing business activities.

The entrepreneur has a positive attitude to mixed-use in general, based on other advantages than the municipal housing aim (vibrancy, less transaction costs). As Sennett & Hemel argue: They have a natural preference for mixed-use. The structural institutional factors created by the government (policies relevant to the mixed-use aim) and market are usually preventing a finer grain of mixed-use with more economic activity on the informal location however.

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1. Introduction

"IS IT NOT TIME?" – W.T. Stead

1.1 Introduction

Ever since James Thomson's famous poem about the Victorian 'city of dreadful night', the uncontrollably large, chaotic and unlivable industrial city of the 19th century, developers have shifted between the mixing of functions and strict separation (Thomson, 1880).

Naturally, it was recognized quickly that the establishment of polluting factories among the new working class neighbourhoods was not beneficial for the well-being of the citizens (Schoemaker, 2008). The emission and noise of the machinery easily penetrated into the small, dark and badly maintained tenements. It was publicly questioned how dangerous the city was for ones health (Hall, 2014). Despite these sad living conditions, the city continued to grow. Reason enough for a small avant-garde of philantropists, journalists and medics to successfully address the problems (Ekkers & Helderman, 2010). 'The bitter cry' (as published in London by Stead and Mearns) was heard, initially by the predecessors of the current housing associations and later on by the city builders as well (Hall, 2014). Via neatly drawn concepts such as Howard's Garden Cities and Burnham's City Beautiful, space was given a function that would diminish negative externalities. Instead, social and economic order, segregation, would be enhanced. In the sixties, with the Swiss architect Le Corbusier as their figurehead, this other extreme reached its highpoint as functionalists strictly seperated working from living and traffic, cars from cyclists and pedestrians (Van der Cammen *et al.* 2012; Le Corbusier, 1967). The city as a rationally designed machine proved to be ineffective as well though. Jane Jacobs (1961) therefore advocated an organically grown city which would then become lively and safe. Eyes need a reason to look onto the streets, provided by mixture: attracting visitors, inhabitants, workers who share the public space on different times of the day and week. Yet, the *groeikernen* of the early 70s and the VINEX areas some decades later do not particularly reflect this new focus on mix (Nabielek, Kronberger-Nabielek & Hamers, 2013).

The Return of Mixed-use

Nowadays however, mixed use has returned again in the studybooks of urban planners and consequently also in their policy documents. Out of the loathed city of the 19th century, the element of 'controlled chaos' has grown.

An important and relatively new trend which explains this phenomenon for the most part is the settlement of entrepreneurs on informal work locations (Provincie Flevoland, 2015). More companies are established outside the existing business and office estates and the central shopping areas. Partially this concept is already well-known. Centuries ago families started their shops at home, selling the goods they produced. Out of practical reasons, to reduce the costs, the own house was given an extra commercial function. Freelancers (*ZZP'ers*) have therefore long been part of the urban landscape.

Apart from these lonely adventurers however there is also an increasing group of already established entrepreneurs who seem to deliberately choose to ignore the carefully drafted municipal zones. They prefer to work in a residential area, but not in or next to their own home. They clearly contribute to the mix of functions in the neighbourhoods and are recognized by provinces and municipalities, who are willing to facilitate (some of) them. Although this trend has been recognized in the region for about a decade already, the concept of informal work places is since then still hidden at the back. However, the informal work location thus has a firm influence on the urban configuration and is essential in the upcoming municipal policy aim of stimulating working and living (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2015a).

So the question that should be asked first is what the informal location actually consists of. It is thought that a main part of the answer lies in the persons who are settled there: The entrepreneurs themselves. After all, they are responsible for a certain spatial economic configuration. Their main motives in terms of location choices should and will therefore be researched.

1.2 The Research

In other words, the aim of this research is to gain insight in determining factors in the location choices of business owners, especially focused on reasons to establish one in informal work places. These factors can be compared to the municipal aim in order to find out how they relate. For this research the case of Zaanstad is chosen. This municipality also specifically wants to stimulate working and living as they feel it is part of their identity (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2009a). As the oldest industrial area of Europe, historical and new forms of mixture are combined with the segregation of functions. This will allow us to draw multiple interesting comparisons. Besides, the municipality acknowledges the lack of specific policies to guide or steer. In the Metropolitan Region of Amsterdam this topic has for long largely been neglected in discussions and papers, which urged them to do more research themselves. This study is the logical result. The aim is expressed in the following main research question:

*How do the **factors** on which **entrepreneurs** in Zaanstad base their decision to locate their **businesses** in **informal work places** match with the municipal aim of **mixed-use development**?*

(Location) factor: Reasons for the entrepreneur to choose for a certain location. It is important to notice that the behaviour, the choice, has already been performed. The mentioned factors are therefore not perceived important, but actually were.

Entrepreneur: The person who is (co-) responsible for the important business-related decisions, such as where to locate. This will often be the owner.

Business: In this report, offices, industries and companies all fall within the range of the term 'business'. A distinction could have been made according to the possible inconveniences (noise, smell) they might generate. Not all businesses are allowed by law to settle on informal work places, although this strongly depends on the definition of the latter.

Informal work place: A location for businesses which can be classified as category 1, 2 or 3.1 under the environmental laws of the VNG (Provincie Flevoland, 2015: 9; Brunner & Bruinsma, 2009). Examples are shops, offices, relatively small companies, banks, leisure-related activities (bars, cinemas). Roughly the first three are the main functions on informal work places, together with living.

These places differ from the formal work places, which are different in size (at least 1 hectare), monofunctional and which can additionally consist of category 3.2, 4 and 5 farming businesses, industries (cocoa, paper, chemical products), transport and recreation (stadiums, zoos, kart tracks). Out of practical reasons however the formal locations in this study are all business estates and the centres of Zaandam and Koog aan de Zaan. The rest is regarded informal.

Mixed-use development: A combination of functions in terms of land-use. According to Hoppenbrouwer & Louw (2005) housing, employment, recreation and transport can be regarded the main functions. More specific divisions are also possible, which could refer to specific economic sectors. In principle the focus is on the combination of living and working.

The sub questions are:

1. What are the (geographical) characteristics of both formal and informal work locations in Zaanstad?
2. Which classical and institutional factors were important for the entrepreneurs in choosing an informal work location?
3. How do these factors relate to (entrepreneurs on) formal locations (estates within the city)?

4. How do the municipal policies (and their implementation) relevant for mixed-use relate to the location factors?

Although not mentioned in the sub questions itself, it is of course important to make comparisons between the main types of businesses, the specific circumstances and definitely the decisions as such.

1.3 Social Relevance

As the number of businesses on informal work locations rises there are not only consequences for the neighbourhood residents, but also for the traditional formal locations. These might experience a decrease in demand for properties due to moves to informal locations. The former statement is just an assumption. It is true that the formal locations are often already in decline, at least due to proven external factors as the financial crisis, oversupply and a decreasing labour force.

The vacancy of shops in the Dutch inner cities, including some cores in Zaanstad, is considered a significant problem (10% in Zaanstreek-Waterland; De Kort & Wursten, 2016). According to statistics of Locatus, published by the PBL and CLO (2016), 16% of the retail real estate in the 17 biggest urban cores was vacant (including popular cities as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague). The limit of almost 20% was reached by the group of cities below the top, with a maximum of 400 shops clustered. The peripheral so-called *GDV's*, consisting of a variety of shops on at least 1500 square meters, are suffering the most in this respect (Raatgever, 2014).

Unfortunately not only the retail sector experiences decline. Almost one-fifth of the properties on industrial and business estates is not being actively used (Van der Krabben, Pen & De Feijter, 2015). A considerable amount of this consists of offices. According to the CLO (2016) 17% of the office space in total remained empty (6% is considered 'normal'). In Zaanstad there is an expected gap of 30 thousand square meters (at least according to De Kort & Wursten, 2016). Mainly the extended vacancies (vacant for at least 4 years) are problematic. The consequences for the business estates are that they are rapidly 'aging' (Van der Krabben, Pen & De Feijter, 2015): they get a somewhat desolate image with non-appealing open spaces, unsatisfactory traffic solutions et cetera. Interesting is that positive economic effects of restructuring have not been found at all by the authors (in terms of employment rates, number of companies). Even more, it turns out that the proximity of residential areas has a negative economic effect on the performance of the business area (mainly due to external effects on the neighbourhood, which will restrict actions). Spatial effects though, especially in terms of liveability and vibrancy call other authors to praise a mix of functions (Hek, 2007).

The idea of mixing outside the traditional areas is thus, because of the negative trends both in the retail sector and in the industrial and service-related sectors, promising. Undisputed other solutions are also not yet to be found. So it should be encouraged to examine new proposals. In terms of retail it is yet known that dispersed retail experiences less vacancy (Locatus/PBL/CLO, 2016), for the other sectors at least small clusters seem to be necessary. More knowledge about the subject may provide new sustainable answers.

1.4 Theoretical Relevance

The subject of location choices is definitely not a black box. Von Thünen devoted a book to location factors of agricultural businesses already in 1826 and since then numerous variations have been presented based on sector, cities, business size, international networks (Clark, 1967). Yet, the term 'informal work location' is not mentioned in the literature although there are references to neighbourhood economics (Risselada & Folmer, 2012). Risselada and Folmer focussed on the small and medium-sized companies in the residential areas of five Dutch cities. They made a rough distinction between the entrepreneurs settled at home and those in commercial real estate. This study proposes to analyse according to a more specific new framework, using a familiar typology consisting of the home, shared business

premise, 'other informal' and future informal locations. As becomes clear from the theoretical account, the different 'types' have been researched on itself, but not always in the context of the residential area and also they have not been combined in a single work yet.
The clear link with mixed-use development and policies has furthermore not been found in other studies, which also adds to the originality of this thesis.

1.5 Reading Guide

In the next chapter theory is collected to explain the entrepreneurial location choices for informal work places. Classical location theories are combined with present insights. Furthermore, specific literature, especially relevant for informal locations, is presented and connected to the contributions on mixed-use development. In the third chapter the methodological leverages to test the theory are to be found. A long chapter with the results and the conclusion will follow afterwards. The references and appendixes with for example background information, tables and the survey will be at the end of this paper. After reading this thesis one should have an idea of whether entrepreneurial activity on the informal location has to be stimulated to create mixed-use development, and, if so, how. A return to either the dark years of mixed-use in the 19^{th} century or the strict separation of functions in the 1960s is after all undesirable.

2. THEORY

2.1 Introduction

The study on location choices, simply called Location Theory, started already in the early nineteen hundreds. Since then, the theories have changed in focus, depth and complexity (Krumme, 1969). The field has known three classical stances which are still relevant today, although they are occasionally the subject of heavy theoretical debates. The question is furthermore how the factors generated out of the theories relate to advantages that are associated with mixed-use development.

2.2 Structure and Agency: The Context

First however, the context should be swiftly established. The process of decision-making and ultimately the behaviour both fall within a century-long debate around the concepts of 'structure' and 'agency' (Healey & Barret, 1990). Basically, the heated disagreement is about whether one acts guided by nothing but their own free will (Marshall, 2013) or if one's actions are determined by formal and informal rules, financial resources, the personal network, the availability of information, physical constraints and capabilities (Barker, 2005). Or, in other words: "*Giddens (…) defined agency as the power of individuals to freely make choices and perform actions that affect the course of their lives, while structure is a system of rules and resources that shape the extent to which those choices and actions are possible*" (Randell, 2016: 267). This does not mean that 'structure' and 'agency' are fully external and independent entities (Giddens, 1984). Even on the contrary, Sewell (1992) mentions that both concepts strongly influence each other. "*Structures empower and constrain social action and (…) tend to be reproduced by that social action"* (Sewell, 1992: 19). 'Structure' provides the borders in which the individual can follow his or her aspirations, which might lead to moving borders (more or less financial power, contacts etc.) or even the use of these to accomplish predefined goals.

The consequences for the individual decision maker are clear. Not every decision will rationally be wise. There are several considerations to be made, which will together provide the ground for the final decree. This discussion between proponents of both sides has been extended out of a general discussion. Also in the field of location theory the influence is noticeable as the grand theories on location choices show.

2.3 Grand Location Choice Theories

The three main stances in Location Theory namely mark a shift from agency to structure. The (neo-)classicists, under the command of Von Thünen, Weber and Christaller, painted a picture of the all-knowing entrepreneur who makes rational and economically beneficial decisions (Pellenbarg et al., 2002). The only constraints are possible costs, but these can easily be bypassed by just a new business move.

This rationality (and the abstract theory) was heavily criticized by the next generation of thinkers. The behaviouralists meant that the classists' models were too far from reality (Massey, 1973). The main assumption can be summarized under the term 'bounded rationality' (Simon, 1997). According to behaviouralists as Allan Pred (1967), entrepreneurs tend to make suboptimal choices. He explains this thesis on the basis of his 'behavioural matrix', consisting of four elements along two axes:

- The amount of information available. It makes no sense to assume that all information is available to the entrepreneur and therefore the phenomenon of uncertainty rises.
- The ability to effectively use the information at hand, which will mitigate the risen uncertainty. Since entrepreneurs are likely to know more about the places they have lived for a while, they tend to relocate their business in this familiar environment as well. Perception sometimes plays a

more important role than the actual facts.

It follows from Pred's argumentation that only if a company can obtain enough relevant information ánd knows how to use it, a rather optimal new location will be chosen (Mariotti, 2005). Important to mention is that there is no constant reconsideration of the chosen location, instead of what the classical writers argue (Stam, 2003). Only if the company does not function properly a new decision-round will be started.

However, the question is whether the entrepreneur is indeed free to choose a new alternative location, which is not questioned by the classicists and behaviouralists (Hayter, 1997). The institutionalists argue that the entrepreneur cannot autonomously decide (with or without sufficient information) on which location the business will be settled. They realised that there were more actors involved who could influence the decision:

"*Firms have to negotiate with deliverers and suppliers, local, regional or national governments, labour unions and other institutions, about prices, wages, taxes, subsidies, infrastructure, and other key factors in the production process of the firm. Locational behaviour is the result of the outcome of these negotiations*" (Pellenbarg *et al.*, 2002: 10).

The bigger companies will be more influential in these negotiations, ensuring a more promising location. The smaller companies on the other hand will have more trouble securing the perfect location.

Location factors

"*Given the need for a general theory of "locational factors", which can be defined as advantages to be obtained when an economic activity takes place at one point rather than elsewhere, then the primary question to be asked is: Are there any general causes of location which concern every industry?* (Reid, 1968: 4).

Hard factors

The stance in the aforementioned agency versus structure debate is relevant for the answer on the question Reid poses. Neo-classicist Weber (1929) and the behaviouralists as represented by Pellenbarg *et al.* (2002) together roughly mention four important factors:

- Transportation costs. Weber assumes that the ideal spot is determined on the basis of three assumptions: distance towards both the raw products and the consumer or selling point, which behaviouralists call the distance-transaction costs (Stam, 2003), weight of both the raw and the final products and the (un-)ease of transferring these. For the location choice of industries one fist rule applies. If a good is relatively heavy in the first phase of production, the plant should be located near the supplier of these raw materials. If weight is added on later, a location near the city should be chosen. The transport of the bulky and heavy masses will therefore be reduced, which is obviously cheaper. Weber's notion is very demand-oriented (Fetter, 1930). Therefore fellow (neo-)classicist Christaller (1933) elaborated on the *Location of Industries* by focussing more on demand, the wishes of consumers (Christaller, 1968; Tordoir, 2014; Von Böventer, 1968; Fetter, 1930).
- Labour costs. The costs of labour can alter the previous, carefully chosen, location. Weber assumes that every location has a price in terms of these costs, irrespective of the labour supply. From this moment on, the reasoning is relatively simple (although the underlying mathematical schemes and graphics are not): If a change of the initial location towards a place with lower labour costs is beneficial, so despite the higher transport costs, the company will have to move. If not, the entrepreneur will stick to his choice, based on the transport costs. The size of the product will therefore still play an important role.
- Agglomeration factors. All other relevant factors that may influence the location choice fall within what Weber

calls the 'agglomeration factors'. These concentrations of companies or the company and its customers are likely to further decrease the costs. Costly (public) services can be shared, components of a product may easier to be obtained, the pool of labourers who live in proximity may be higher, the demand for products will be great too without having to promote the business (it is clearly visible for the consumers). Demand and costs are, in short, the main components regarding these agglomeration factors.

- Building costs. Overlooked by Weber, but recognized by the behaviouralists, is the suitability of the business space for the activity, especially in terms of size (Pellenbarg *et al.*, 2002).

Soft factors

- Appearance of building and neighbourhood. 'Non-traded commodities' are furthermore recognized already by the behaviouralists: image and appearance are therefore a significant location factor (Ashworth & Voogd, 1987).

Institutional factors

The institutionalists, with their focus on structure, are obviously more interested by the 'context' in which the negotiations take place (Hayter, 1997):

- Governmental action. Governments can play a significant role in the moving process with their ability to create a suitable zoning plan, to enforce environmental regulations, impose fiscal measures et cetera. Also they can provide hard and soft infrastructure, which can facilitate development.
- The real estate market. The situation on the market is also determining the negotiation position of both entrepreneur and governments.

Together these factors form a solid base on which the entrepreneur is thought to make a decision. Therefore, multiple policies have been created which try to influence the location choices based on these factors in the name of the 'compact city' (Neumann, 2005).

2.4 Mixed-use development

According to Neumann, very critical on the concept, the two most important characteristics of the compact city are the high density and a mix of uses in the city. However, the form of these in practice might be unclear. 'Mixed-use development' is relatively vague and really an umbrella term. Rowley (1996) puts emphasis on 'the grain of a settlement' (86). A fine grain implies that there is a strong mix of land uses and therefore activities, residents and buildings. A sharp grain means there is a clear difference between (homogeneous) areas. To be mixed, an area must therefore be fine and 'blurry'. It makes sense to steer on a fine grain. Diversity is after all thought to have many benefits:

- According to Neuman (2005) it is associated with health, mutual adaptation and interaction. The diverse compact city is therefore also regularly linked to transport: functions can be combined at walking distances and the support for public transport is enlarged. This also means a reduced dependency on energy resources. The effects are however small (Cervero & Kockelman, 1997).
- Besides, being on the streets, the social cohesion can also only be improved by mixture (Grant & Perrott, 2010). This is mainly true in comparison to the huge out-of-town malls in America (where this study was conducted).
- As residents and visitors are present in the neighbourhood, vibrancy and therefore safety is the pleasant result (Jacobs, 1961).
- As mixed-use is thus often related to the compact city, the increased density of housing lowers the pressure on the housing market (Grant, 2002).
- "*The minimization of transaction costs; maximization of face-to-face and business-to-business interaction;*

acceleration of tacit knowledge transfer between firms" (Foord, 2010: 56-57).

- Proximity to (potential) workers (Foord, 2010).

Yet despite the benefits of mixed-use development for entrepreneurs, the government believes to have to intervene in the spatial and economic sphere to foster mixed-use. Whether the government succeeds is questionable however. Sennett (2007) warns for ('over-') determinism: the widespread governmental aim to 'control and improve the city with self-made aims and plans (Hemel, 2015). Sennett saw, as a result, the rise of the 'Brittle City': a city which is static, disposable, result oriented and subject to immediate (top-down) change if considered necessary. Sennett therefore invents the 'open system', a social system which most noticeable characteristic is perhaps best described as 'muddling through in line with a story'. In line with Lindblom (1959), trial and error are crucial following a narrative to interpret the developments. According to Hemel, who is a fervent proponent of Sennet's doctrine, densification and diversification while maintaining cohesion are the result, as well. This implies that the entrepreneurs have a natural preference for mixed-use and do not particularly need the government to steer them. Other authors share the vision on a smaller and different government, but state that the 'classical' location factors and the physical mixed-use benefits do not apply at all anymore.

2.5 Informal locations

"*The revolution in information processing and telecommunications is accelerating the growth and dispersion of both economic activities and population, possibly moving towards the point where "geography is irrelevant". Yet, at the same time, many planners advocate "compact cities" as an ideal, in contrast to the reality of increasingly spread-out metropolitan development*" (Gordon & Richardson, 1997: 95).

The situation and time period in which the theories have been written down let room for this criticism about the applicability in the contemporary information age, let alone the applicability on businesses on informal work locations. As is clear, all benefits are somehow related to physical proximity, which IT-measures in theory can replace. Besides, Weber's industries are unlikely to be found in residential neighbourhoods. The relevance of factors and advantages are believed to be under pressure.

Information Technology and mixed-use

Neither the 'virtual office' mentioned by Rowley (1996), nor Webber's (1964) non-place urban realm, which both refer to a world in which place is no longer of importance, has landed though. IT has not replaced physical proximity and urban form by the concentration and quality of information streams as the definition of urbanity. There are several indications of the diminished significance of place, but at the same time the classical factors have not lost their value.

For the informal location this statement indeed applies as well. Rowley defines four scales or settings of mixed-use: the neighbourhood, street, block and within the building or even unit: working from home could imply a working function at day and a living function at night (Hoppenbrouwer & Louw, 2005). On the level of the neighbourhood three 'economic locations' are chosen to elaborate on the lasting importance of place, the influence of IT and the applying benefits of mixed-use.

Home

Freelancers are their own boss, are free (or fired), are looking for adventure and are developing themselves in combination with a higher wage (Hoekema, 2014; Staniewski & Awruk, 2015). Most are attractive elements, and thus is freelancing increasingly popular (Bosma & Suddle, 2008).

The common discourse is that the freelancer at home does not choose for a location out of business considerations. Foremost, it is easy and cheap (building costs), and they can combine multiple tasks at hand: running the household, other work, hobbies etc. (Sleutjes &

Beckers, 2012). Ultimately this means that distance and proximity, transportation costs, still matter.

It is possible to start one's own business as the computer and internet provide opportunities to work alone (usually from home): "*Technological developments make it very easy to stay on your own or to just 'come together' on internet fora or platforms"* [translated] (Ministerie van Veiligheid, 2017: 1). The home is sufficient to perform tasks in the information society, which would diminish agglomeration factors (network). Despite the fact that the relation with the neighbourhood depends on the type of business (it might be that the freelancers are mostly active at the start of the production process, advising and visioning, which means they are independent of the number of clients in the physical vicinity), entrepreneurs already tend to start and locate their businesses in the environment they (used to) live and work (Kulchina, 2016). The existing network is especially an important reason. Besides, they can use flexible work places (Florida, 2003): Third spaces as cafés, but also special business concepts directed to this function (Memarovic *et al.*, 2014). The main reasons for the use of these spaces are probably however the lack of space inside the home, the preference to separate work and private life and disturbance by the family as Benschop (2004) found. Besides, Laterveer (2011) argues that the work place itself is not of relevance, but the possibility to combine working with networking.

IT lowers barriers, as is clear from the fact that multiple businesses can be settled at home with only the necessary use of virtual infrastructure. This immediately indicates that not all businesses are appropriate in the neighbourhood and obviously there are governmental rules for these. Besides, the socioeconomic situation determines the configuration of business types in the district. Risselada & Folmer (2012) have demonstrated this relation between the socioeconomic characteristics of the neighbourhood and the type of businesses for some of the large Dutch cities. The idea is that the districts with lower incomes house more (freelance) businesses which require a lower education level (for instance construction), whereas the 'richer' areas have more businesses in for instance the consultancy sector. Evidence for this statement was found, just as it became clear that the number of freelancers is lower in neighbourhoods with a weaker economic profile. It is simply difficult to have a successful company in the sectors which require this lower education level. There are less chances and the information age requires "permanent education for the staff" and thus entrepreneur according to the Rabobank (2016). This makes it more difficult to find a niche and then to keep up.

Some of the advantages of mixed-use development (resilience in being able to overcome gaps in the work time, less transaction costs) and related location factors (especially transport costs, agglomeration costs and building costs) are thus still relevant. Multiple different factors are of relevance too however. Especially the type of dwelling and education level is noteworthy. IT has its influence, but the effects seem to be limited. The last conclusion also applies for the next 'group' in the neighbourhoods.

Shared business premises

"*Offices in residential quarters include a large group of office users and locations. It mainly involves small-scale offices (...) [in the form of] 'woonwerkunits', offices in the plinth of a building or a shared business premise"* [translated] (Stec, 2008: 33).

The shared business premise is increasingly popular and specifically designed for small businesses (Benschop, 2004). Van Noort & Reijmer (1999) have researched the criteria for small and medium sized businesses. Almost twenty years ago the results pointed towards the opportunities the building offers for the business aims, a strategic position towards the market and accessibility. At least the distance towards home is a new factor compared to the previous scale level.

Silicon Valley, but on this scale level also the numerous creative 'broedplaatsen' prove that entrepreneurs still prefer a location with high potential for physical interaction both with the client and possible collaborators (Jacobs-Crisioni, 2011). It would make sense that on informal locations, which are especially suitable for smaller companies, businesses cluster as they will not have all knowledge, skills and services 'in house'. Ketting (2014: 133) confirms the relevance of the agglomeration costs: "*Working originally is a social phenomenon and 'the spot around the coffee machine' has a social function. Especially smaller companies need these networks. This network exists of both the social aspects of work, sharing knowledge and the informal network opportunities*" [translated]. Besides, these facilities as a shared coffee machine are appreciated and the costs are obviously shared. These costs could be a reason not to search for a 'regular' (office) space (Risselada & Folmer, 2012). Especially when there are flexible rent contracts (short and with the possibility to quickly end the tenancy, as starting businesses not always mature).

The authors ask themselves the question whether the appearance of the neighbourhood can be decisive for the departure of businesses. Their answer is negative though, as they find that the characteristics of the building are more important. In obtaining a place in this building, the entrepreneurs in shared business premises are likely to be quite dependent on the supply of space, which is on itself dependent on regulations on transformation and the behaviour of office owners. The creation of a shared business space on itself is simply too expensive for most renters.

It is relatively simple: Physical distance matters for the entrepreneurs. For the shared business premises (depending on the type of renters), this is mainly because of the agglomeration costs. Less transaction costs and more face-to-face contact is thus leading. Also the building costs in relation to the opportunities the home offers are of importance.

Centres

On a larger scale level, the entrepreneurs are mostly active in the retail sector, hospitality, business services and have a 'regular' business premise (Pijlman *et al.*, 2010). IT is thought to have a significant influence on this configuration, but the so-far impossible way of automating most of the service-related work has prevented the extinction of the physical premises (Coe, Kelly & Yeung, 2013).

Online shopping is upcoming however and challenges the physical stores (which usually also have a webstore) (Van Tellingen, 2013). However, according to Van Tellingen there are certainly also 'winners', especially in the central shopping areas in the large cities with a relatively wealthy service area. Funshopping is furthermore still quite popular, which asks for more 'experience' (GfK, 2016). The criteria of Christaller, the number, preferences, time travel budget and financial budget of clients will remain crucial. A question to be asked though is whether these 'funshopping centres' are to be found on informal locations. Depending on the definition of 'informal location' the answer is probably negative as especially convenience stores are likely to be found here. Therefore however Pijlman *et al.*'s (2010) statement applies that the entrepreneur is likely to feel connected to the neighbourhood, as this is where his clients are from, and fellow entrepreneurs in the vicinity, who deal with the same issues (especially when they are active in the same sector).

Agglomeration costs (attractivity) and transportation costs are thus important (especially also for webshops). For offices the expectations of telecommuting were high. Telecommuting still is a promising idea, although it was recognized as soon as in 1998 that the chances and benefits might be smaller than hoped for (Mokhtarian, 1998): Not even all IT-employees can perform their tasks from home, employees prefer to be visible for their superiors and some are also simply not allowed to work at home. Newer research of the Kennisinstituut voor Mobiliteitsbeleid (2014) indicates that almost one third of the working population tends to be logged in from home for on average not even a full working day a week: 6 hours. Besides, the effects on the use of other modes of transport are negligible as the 'travel time budget' seemingly has to be used entirely (Graham, 1997). A solid and speedy wifi connection on location and in the residential area around it and a good road system are therefore important.

Depending on the business type, entrepreneurs and workers will tend to prefer quality infrastructure to accommodate car usage, while others (to be expected on informal locations), due to the distance, ease, a lack of parking space or environmental concerns, prefer reliable public transport or walking and bicycle paths. In 2011, Jeekel however showed the ever rising popularity of the car in the Netherlands, not only claiming an expected absolute growth of car usage, but also a relative increase (contrary to the other modes). A lack of parking space still is one of the largest push factors.

As websites have not taken over the physical stores, building costs are important. Risselada & Folmer (2012) mention the attractiveness of neighbourhoods who are economically weaker as the costs are presumed to be lower. Especially when the streets are more or less appealing as well, these suit the starting entrepreneur. A negative image is however not appreciated and obviously there are chances that image, costs and economic status are related.

2.6 Implementation of mixed-use development

Despite some obvious benefits for entrepreneurs (liveliness, proximity to clients, less labour costs, scale economies), the implementation of mixed-use development is difficult in practice. The main reason is the difference in interests between the planner, citizen and developer. Rowley (1996) mentions a development framework, consisting of resources, rules and "ideas and values that people hold about (…) what kind of environment they should seek" (90). Regarding the resources, several authors mention the reluctance of developers to invest in mixed-use development. The initial barriers are quite high, as there can be acquisition issues due to a multitude of owners (Foord, 2010). The design can furthermore be problematic (considered difficult) and not always as 'sustainable' as hoped by the government. Kimelberg & Williams (2013) argue that clarity, speed and certainty are especially of significance. Long negotiations, juridical processes could still be obstacles.

So could financial uncertainty: it is considered a relatively risky investment, compared to more stable, quicker and perhaps more profitable returns on housing (Hoppenbrouwer & Louw, 2005). According to Grant & Perrot (2010) the latter is therefore often used to save the development. Grant (2002) furthermore states, related to the people's values, that the residents are often not in favour of the plans. NIMBY-ism, Not-In-My-Backyard, occurs when incompatible or perceived incompatible functions are zoned in or next to residential areas. Negative responses to industrial plans immediately 'make sense' and are regulated by law, playgrounds and high-density housing are more incorporated in policies and are more subject to negotiation. The fear of nuisance is however great: "*a national survey of residents living in intensified neighbourhoods found no evidence of the often-cited benefits, including increased neighbourliness and social cohesion. Increases in the disbenefits of intensification such as over-crowding, increased environmental wear and tear and conflicts over parking, traffic and noise were more likely*" (Foord, 2010: 49). Residents find it also hard to see their familiar environment change (Grant & Perrott, 2010). Foord mentions the trade-offs: residents still wanted to live there, as it was close to, in her case, London and the relatively low housing prices. Instead of 'preference', 'tolerance' was most associated with mixed-use.

Foord found that entrepreneurs themselves were not too bothered by their location amidst multiple functions. They hardly took interest in the residents around their business. Hoppenbrouwer and Louw (2005) draw similar conclusions. On the other hand, 95% appreciated mixed-use development, despite parking problems and a high density.

It could be argued that the developer and the public should be influenced to reach mixed-use development. One advantage here is the following: According to Duyvendak (2004: 90), the 'more anonymous and collective' entities, tend to influence us more as dependency shifted from family and the neighbourhood to the government and employers. Schnabel (1999) mentions the consequence of this trend: People are allowed and able to make more and more decisions on their own, although these are similar to how society would respond. The government has a great role in this.

On the other hand, according to Salet (2006), IT and the connected globalization have altered (loosened) the grip of the government on businesses, as these businesses are embedded in networks on a higher scale than the government has authority in. It is a fact that at least the national government takes a step back in the field of planning, giving more space to the local governments and market actors (Oostdijk *et al.* 2016). The liberal influence is recognized: 'Permission planning' (*toelatingsplanologie*) and 'development planning' (*ontwikkelings-planologie*) will be replaced by 'invitation planning' (*uitnodigingsplanologie*) (Van Rooy, 2011). The government sets the rules of the game, but will leave sufficient room for developers and entrepreneurs to act: a classical stance. Although the 'facilitative government' is a popular concept in the academic planning scene (see for instance Van Buuren et al., 2013; Van der Cammen et al., 2012), in practice scholars still observe a multitude of rules, all sorts of spatial, economic, social policy documents and visions. The 'omgevingswet' could be a start, although it is unknown whether it will diminish the number of visions and policy documents. Sennet's ideal is at least quite far away.

2.7 Conclusion and causal model

Figure 1 shows the causal model that is used in this research. The end result on the right of the model is a certain 'grain' of mixed-use on the neighbourhood level. This is accomplished by the behaviour of the entrepreneur within the playing field. In this simple model this playing field is mostly represented by the institutional factors whereas preferences etc. are equal to the classical factors. Both are obviously influencing each other, but the institutional factors determine whether the original demands are achievable and thus determine the implementation and (im-)possibility of moving. Actors as the government, market actors have a severe influence on this.

This is also visible in table 1, which shows the location factors that are considered important. They are generated out of both the aforementioned theory and the work of several authors, who, inspired by their iconic predecessors, used them to prove the theoretical relevance of their study or who also really applied the criteria in their quite recent research. The motives have therefore proven to be understandable, relevant and usable.

The relative importance is not shown by the table. The results tend to differ per study (pursued by the authors from who the factors from table 1 are generated), as not the same factors are taken into account and slightly different methodologies are used. Besides, the context and business type are obviously of importance. The list is therefore also not perfect: Some factors may still be missing. Since there was overlap in the theories of the authors and the mixed-use theorists, the main items seem to be covered though. The factors in this table are especially of relevance for the coding part, which will be explained in the next (methods) chapter.

Figure 1: Causal model

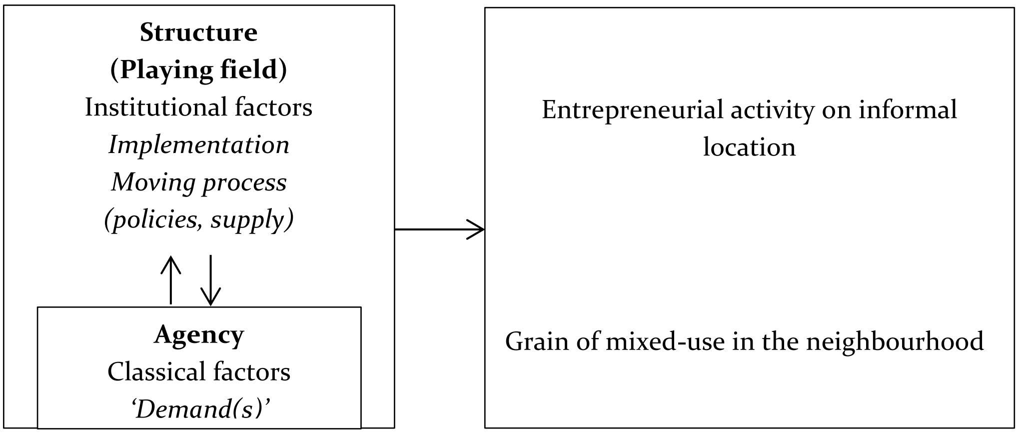


Table 1: Location factors / Operationalization

CLASSICAL FACTORS
Building
Suitability of the building for the business activities
Future suitability of the building (expansion/flexibility)
Sustainability of the building
On-site parking space
Infrastructure
Quantity and quality of public transport (railroads, busses)
Quantity and quality of slow mode infrastructure
Quantity and quality of car infrastructure
Access to virtual infrastructure
Consumers
Proximity to clients/consumers
Population density
Consumer preferences
Local spending power
Agglomeration factors
Proximity to suppliers/raw materials
Proximity to similar firms
Proximity to collaborating firms
Level of local economic activity in the neighbourhood
Proximity to services
Proximity to administrative centres
Personal considerations
Proximity to family and friends
Match with other work, hobbies, and tasks
Changes in private life (e.g. household growth)
Base of local knowledge
Personal contacts in the neighbourhood
Incentive to add to neighbourhood (fairness / social equity)
Team/Staff
Availability of qualified employees
Distance to (potential) employees
Availability of and proximity to education
Neighbourhood
Local liveability
Appearance of the neighbourhood / Image
Proximity to cultural amenities
Proximity to natural amenities
Proximity to leisure (shops, restaurants)
Safety, nuisance (noise, smell etc.)
Other
Access to scientific research
Proximity to business fairs/technological fairs

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS
Attitude of significant others
Reputation of neighbourhood/municipality as workplace
Reputation of neighbourhood/municipality in economic development
Reputation of neighbourhood/municipality as living place
Government policy
Taxes
Subsidies
Social capital
Environmental regulations
Clarity of moving process (permits, contracts etc.)
Predictability of permitting
Speed of moving process (permits, contracts etc.)
Building costs
Rent costs
Financial position and capabilities
Possibilities to obtain a mortgage
Insurance costs

Sources: Ferreira *et al.* 2016; Hu *et al.* 2008; Kimelberg & Williams 2013; Kulchina 2016; Sleutjes & Beckers, 2012, complemented

3. Methods

3.1 Strategy, design, case selection and methods

Now that the first hypotheses are formed, it is useful to consider how to measure the research questions in order to test the theses. A frequently used figure to structure the methodology is the so-called Research Onion, developed by Saunders et al. (2013). The authors propose a quite linear structure starting with the research philosophy via, among others, the strategy and methods towards the data collection and analysis.

Ontology and Epistemology

It is clear that the perception of the factors by the entrepreneur is considered crucial. In this respect, the research could take in an interpretivist perspective (Bryman, 2012): "*The phenomenologist views human behaviour (…) as a product of how people interpret the world (…) In order to grasp the meanings of a person's behaviour, the phenomenologist attempts to see things from that person's point of view*" (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975: 13-14). This epistemological stance is connected to the ontological perspective of constructionism, which "*implies that social phenomena and categories are not only produced through social interaction but that they are in a constant state of revision*" (Bryman, 2012: 33). Applied to the subject it follows that the entrepreneurs will perform certain actions as a consequence of the perceived encouraging or limiting factors, which themselves are continuously given new meanings. According to post-positivists, these factors can be considered as 'generative mechanisms'. These still are seen as being influenced by the context, but could be transferable as well. Therefore this stance suits the aim to contribute to or to develop theory better, which makes it a leading perspective in this research.

Research approach

A qualitative approach would fit the interpretivist perspective as respondents can be asked to each make sense of the world in their own words. Each of the location factors might have different meanings for each individual entrepreneur, which would make it difficult to use quantitative measures. One would therefore have to ask all respondents to their opinion. There is another reason to approach the topic qualitatively as the concept of informal workplaces is not already that well-known, which would logically result in an exploratory research and therefore a qualitative approach. This is after all mainly used to understand behaviour. Nevertheless, the choice is made to use mixed-methods, with therefore also quantitative elements that are of interest. There are two reasons for this stance. First, the extended literature has provided already a large amount of information on location factors in general, which can together be seen as generative mechanisms that can be applied to the answers of a large selection of respondents. This last part forms the basis for the second reason as there is a wish to generalize or to at least hear the opinion of a considerable amount of Zaanstedelingen.

Research design

The cross-sectional design is considered suitable. According to Bryman (2012: 59) multiple cases should be of interest, which are then easy to compare. Causality may be hard to show (or at least the direction), but relationships will be proved. Yin contributes in stating that 'what-questions', which are significant in this research ('what are the reasons for settlement') should be answered with this design: It is "*actually a form of a "how many" or "how much" line of inquiry (…) A survey can be readily designed to enumerate the "what" whereas a case study would not be an advantageous method in this situation*" (Yin, 2009: 10). A case study would obviously have a more explanatory character, in the sense of 'why' and 'how' a phenomenon might happen (having a slightly different meaning following Yin's argument). Bringing in mind the fourth research question though, trying to find answers to 'How do the municipal policies relevant for mixed-use (and their implementation) relate to the location factors', it will at least be clear that the divisions between the designs and methods are not strict. In principle however, it will be a cross-sectional design.

Methods

Three main methods have been used to collect the relevant data. This was necessary to be able to properly answer the different research questions. Besides, a form of triangulation can be expected as the answers might overlap. This will only strengthen the research.

Desk research

First of all it was necessary to get a general view of the issue in Zaanstad. In the research questions this is phrased as 'the (geographical) characteristics of formal and informal locations'. Using municipal data the position of each company can be determined, which gives insight in the dispersion pattern and the numbers of businesses per type per area. Desk research is also used to obtain relevant contact details with the potential respondents, necessary to be able to use the following methods.

Structured interviews

According to Farthing (2016), all interviews are part of the same 'family': *"[All] are methods which pose questions to respondents (…) about facts, behaviour, beliefs and attitudes, and their use assumes that these people are in a good position to know the answer to these questions"* (127). To help them remember though, a structured interview is ideal. Despite the opinion of some authors, as presented by Farthing, who state that attitudes and values require qualitative and open questions, initially a multiple choice survey was designed. The deductive approach was to use the location factors presented in table 1 and ask the respondents to fill in the importance of them, using a Lickert scale. A tick in the 0 would mean that the factor is very unimportant in choosing a location, a 5 equals a very important criterion. The use of this scale would make it possible to calculate the relative importance of each factor, based on the averages (Kimelberg & Williams, 2013). Then additional statistical analyses could have taken place. However, in consultation with a professional of the municipal I&S-department a more modest, shorter, survey was created. This version also included more open questions (see also the reflection). The chance of a proper response was therefore thought to be enlarged.

The survey has a logical design: First there are some general questions about the business, followed by the settlement behaviour. Then there are the three main open questions concerning the reasons for settlement and the demands for the location and the building. A question regarding the evaluation of these demands is included as well. The full list can be found in the appendix.

All questions were tested beforehand to check the comprehensiveness and 'paths', but there was also room in the questionnaire for comments. Afterwards the answers were analysed using Excel, which is a quick, relatively easy, but still decent programme with statistical measures. As open questions were used, the use of SPSS was not considered achievable.

Focused interviews

In addition to the survey several focused interviews have taken place with representatives of business associations, several departments of the municipality and business supporting actors (owner of shared business premises for example). The idea was twofold: the generation of more in-depth knowledge and more information about policies, implementation and facilitation. Apart from the classical interview appointments, both by phone and face-to-face, some questions were sent by email. Also several business meetings have been attended in order to speak with entrepreneurs. A list of respondents (although anonymized) and meetings can be found in the appendix.

All open questions were coded (the same applies for the open questions in the survey) and analysed thematically (Bryman, 2012). This is an effective way of ordering opinions.

Sampling

As there were a total of 15550 potential respondents (businesses), the original choice was to do, in Bryman's words, a 'simple random sample' exercise per business type per place. However, due to other municipal surveys, the time of the year this research took place (largely in summer) and the expected low response from online requests to fill in the questionnaire, the first plan was to send the questions to a pool of 265 entrepreneurs who have agreed to regularly participate in small researches. As it turned out that the term 'regular' was not justified and that the response would be (and was) very low, it was decided to use all mailing addresses in the Vestigingenregister 2017 of the Chamber of Commerce. In total 7229 businesses have received two invitations to participate in the survey. Soon it was clear by the amount of feedback that the register was not entirely up to date anymore. Also it was noted that freelancers not always saw the added value of their participation, which was literally worded in several of their reply-mails. Still 752 entrepreneurs filled in the questionnaire. These are however not neatly distributed over the research classes as the general amount of respondents was considered so important, that in the mailing this division was not taken into account. After all then some of these businesses would have to be intentionally left out beforehand and we expected only a response of about 70. Entrepreneurs in certain sectors have thus filled in their e-mail address more often at the Chamber of Commerce and/or were more willing to cooperate. Some attention has therefore to be paid at the interpretation of the results and conclusion. The number of respondents will also be mentioned regularly.

Concerning the interviews, these were purposely sampled due to their expert knowledge or their interest in this study. They usually have in common that they facilitate entrepreneurs and therefore have insight in the main institutional factors from the perspective of the three domains (government, civil society, other market actors).

3.2 Reliability and validity

There are multiple ways to assess a study, frequently the reliability and validity are determined (Drost, 2011). A research is reliable when the results point towards the same conclusions when it is repeated. This research has relatively simple and clear concepts as its focus and uses an established methodology (although not ideal). As long as the questions are not multi-interpretable and the coding of the answers is done logically the reliability of the research could in theory not be questioned.
The research itself is repeatable as well. The methodology chapter in combination with table 1 and the added questions and code lists in the appendices should be enough to replicate the research in the same or a different context. This is especially useful in testing the results, but also for falsification and theory building.
In terms of 'validity' there are at least ten forms, but the most important will be briefly illustrated. 'Measurement validity' is closely linked to 'reliability' as it refers to whether the method really measures the concept. As indicated no major problems are here to be expected. 'Internal validity' deals with the quality of the proved causal relations. The main aim of this research is to demonstrate the relation between the dependent variable of the business location and the independent variables, motives et cetera. Since the questions simply ask which motives were important in the moving process, the causality is almost guaranteed (although not quantified). 'External validity' refers to the generalizability of the results. The results of this study are meant to generalize only to the population (and then only the relevant mixed-use level) of the municipality of Zaanstad. As mentioned however, there were issues regarding the division over the categories. Nevertheless, the results still have some value as the groups are considerable in size. Lastly, the 'ecological validity' is of concern. One can consider every action out of the ordinary routine as unnatural. Answering questions is no exemption. This may

be true, but the questionnaires can at least be answered in a natural and safe environment. Besides, it is not the first time the respondents were asked to answer questions, nor are the questions hostile or shocking. Having said this, there are rules regarding how to treat respondents so that they will be safe, comfortable and respected. These can be summarized under the term of 'ethics'.

3.3 Ethics

Ethics is a topic that has gained considerable attention in the last decades. This research takes in a universalist stance, which means that "*ethical precepts should never be broken. Infractions of ethical principles are wrong in a moral sense and are damaging to social research*" (Bryman 2012: 133). Diener and Crandall (1978; Bryman 2012: 135) distinguish between:

- *No harm to respondents* "Physical harm; harm to participants' development; loss-of self-esteem; stress" (135). The most important action for the researcher in this respect, which will be done in this study as well, is to make sure that either the names of the respondents are anonymized and/or that sensitive information is not published, especially when it concerns information about financial aspects, competitors et cetera. Transcribed interviews can first be sent to the respondent in order to receive approval if indicated by the respondent. This has not happened though.
- *Sufficient provision of information* Unlike ethnographic research, the proposed study did not have to deal with respondents who were completely unaware of their participation in a program. The respondents were contacted, and at this time they also received basic information about the project. The contact email for the survey is added and can be found in the appendix. If it was necessary to receive more information, this was provided. In terms of content, the research aim, the reason for contacting, an estimation of the time needed for the survey or interview; these were given as correctly as possible. The survey for instance has been filled in prior to sending to note the completion time.
- *No violation of the privacy* Again, this is more of a criterion which is especially important in covert methods, but, as mentioned, private information has only been published if approved. Sites, buildings and interview locations have only been entered with consent as well. Names that were dropped in the surveys or interviews have not been written down in the paper either.
- *No deception* Deception is related mostly to experiments. In this case the respondents have been told to participate in an experiment which is different from the one they are actually participating in. Of course in this study this is not relevant.

Now that the foundation of the research is finally laid, the empirical results will be presented. In addition to the introduction in the next chapter some information on formal and informal locations is provided in the appendix.

4. Case description

4.1 Introduction

The mix of living and working is characteristic for Zaanstad. For centuries farmers and later industrial workers lived around the corner of their workplace. These historical sites still have their influence on the contemporary spatial lay-out of the residential quarters. Over time new formal locations have been added and the nature of the informal locations has changed as well. In this chapter an overview of Zaanstad and its economic development and characteristics is presented, ending with a general description of the informal location (in relation to its formal counterweight).

4.2 Basic characteristics of Zaanstad

Despite its name Zaanstad is a municipality, consisting of six villages (Koog aan de Zaan, Zaandijk, Wormerveer, Westzaan, Krommenie and Assendelft) and one city (Zaandam; in terms of population numbers) (O&S Gemeente Zaanstad, 2017). With a population of around 155 thousand, a number which will be stable in the next 20 years, the municipality has a firm place in the top 20 of biggest cities in the Netherlands. One of the main reasons for this position is its location, which is highly beneficial. The location along the river Zaan and close to the Dutch capital provides not only an interesting living environment, but also economic opportunities. Zaanstad is a member of the Metropool Regio Amsterdam, a collaboration of the municipalities and provinces around Amsterdam. At the moment, the MRA even is in the top 5 of economically strongest regions in Europe (Benning & Stam, 2016).

Despite several ‘problems’, related to both the labour market and the real estate market, Zaanstad has always been an important member in this administrative collaboration. The average personal income for example is slightly below the Dutch average (especially in Zaandam), although the number of financial allowances is smaller than in Amsterdam and comparable cities as Enschede and Tilburg (CBS Statline, 2016). Besides, the education level is lower than the national average as fewer students enroll in vmbo-t, havo or vwo lessons (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2015c). The differences per quarter are relatively high though.
Vacancy is furthermore a problem (although not generally endorsed) within the region of Zaanstreek-Waterland with the supply of business space 16 times higher than demand, an expected gap of almost 30 thousand square meters for office space and a vacancy rate for shops of 10 percent (De Kort & Wursten, 2016). Especially on the formal locations, the business estates (both historical and new), this new reality is easily visible.
The components Zaanstad adds (and will add in the future as there are no striking differences in these numbers to be expected as the declining sectors are still large and the upcoming sectors relatively small; VU, Ecorys & BVR, 2016) to the Metropolitan Region are especially retail and wholesale businesses, construction companies, care related businesses, agriculture and obviously industry (Hagens, Kruger & Copping, 2017). It is this industrial sector that has defined the spatial lay-out for centuries.

4.3 Economic development in historical perspective

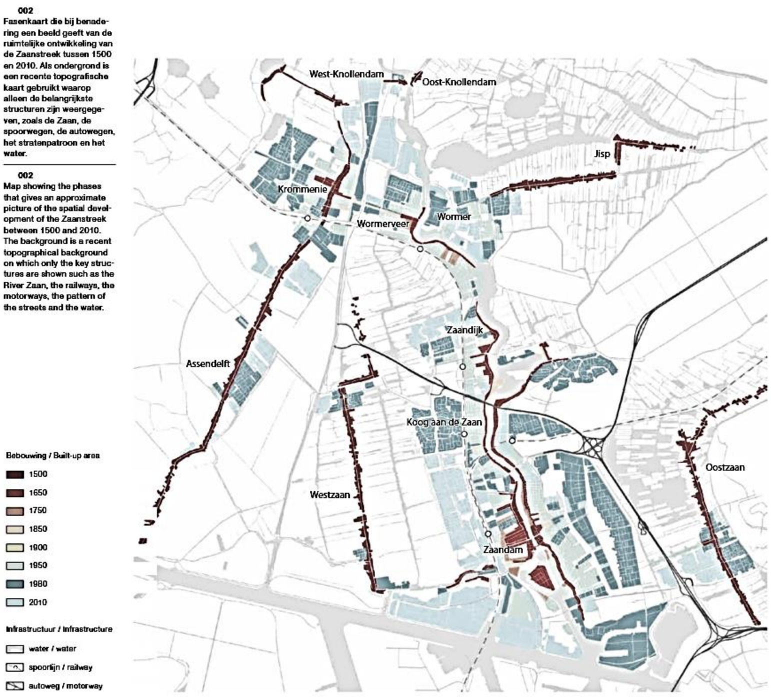
Zaankanters are proud to call their region the oldest industrial area of Europe. The rise of these industrial work locations in Zaanstad finds its origin in geophysical characteristics (Rutte, 2016). The farmers in the area in the 15th and 16th century experienced too high water levels on their meadows due to its location close to peatlands. Agricultural production was as a consequence no longer possible for several peasants, which urged them to find another business. Whereas some remained on their land, trying to graze cattle, others decided to use water to their advantage. They adjusted and widened their focus from over their land to the river Zaan and went fishing (including whaling) and trading. Many however also found work due to a groundbreaking invention that was implemented in the Zaanstreek: the sawmill (Zaanwiki, 2017).

As the adjacent city of Amsterdam made name as the stacking market of Europe, space could not be consumed there for production ends. The Zaanstreek, connected to the Amsterdam harbour by the Zaan, was an attractive alternative. Using the omnipresent wind, hundreds of industrial mills produced grain and wood, but also mustard and tobacco: goods that were imported from the colonies. A distinctive feature of the area was that these mills were neatly aligned on both sides of the river, instead of being concentrated (Rutte, 2016). This spatial lay-out turned out to be characteristic for the area until now as new developments took place on the same location.

On the ashes of the mills industry (although not entirely gone), which was hindered by the economic stagnation after the Dutch golden age and was then overtaken by time, the new steam-driven industry arose in the 19th century. Stimulated by the new North Sea canal and the improved trading relations with the American continent and tropical areas, industries settled on the mouth of the Zaan and up towards Wormerveer. Brands as Honig and Verkade set up iconic buildings, together creating a 'river wall' (figure 2). Apart from the view, the fabrics stimulated other senses as well. It is therefore interesting that the working districts were built closely around the entrepreneurial activity. Especially since the new quarters were the result of the newly introduced Woningwet (Sleutelaar, 1902), which stated that the living conditions of the poor should be improved. Thus, the combination of living and working as was common on the farms simply seems to have continued in Zaanstad. A strict separation of functions hardly has occurred.

Some companies could only shortly enjoy the uplift of the industrial economy though (Van Braam, n.d.). Fabrics in groats, bluebells and sail cloths could not survive. Business failure, as some could not respond properly to changing consumer preferences, but also too tough competition were the main causes. Originally the trade with the colonies was very beneficial for the Zaanse industry, now these countries started to produce themselves. The half-finished products could directly be obtained from far, without an intermediate step in Zaanstad. The smaller businesses could furthermore not adapt to the rise of mass consumption in Europe.

Figure 2: Urban expansion of Zaanstad over the centuries



Source: Rutte, 2016: 15

A couple of decades later most industrial businesses left their original spot along the river. Whereas automatization already led to the loss of thousands of jobs (Bleeker, 2015), horizontal and vertical integration in the end had the same effects. Several industries were taken over by other Zaanse or international competitors, and in many instances they left. The locations on which they were settled partially remained the industrial and business areas of the Zaanstreek though (Zaanwiki, 2015) (Krommenie-Oost, Assendelft-Noord, Noordeinde, Zaandam-West) or house the 'new industry' in shared business premises. The history of Zaanstad, both industrial as in terms of the combination of working and living, is therefore still omnipresent and an important part of the identity.

4.4 'Shrinking' formal locations

Whether developed path dependently or appointed by the government (Achtersluispolder, Westerspoor, Zuiderhout and recently HoogTij), most formal locations experience decline. An overview of these locations, including a short description of the activities, a view on future developments and trends based on the location within or outside the city is presented in the appendix. 'Decline' is however relative. For instance, it is known that the added value of the industrial sector in Zaanstad is increasing (personal communication; CBS, 2017). Besides, in 2017, the total number of businesses settled on formal locations might have been only 3.760 out of 15.541 (24,2%; based on the 'vestigingenregister' of the municipality), the growth of 25% is remarkable. The number of formal workplaces however declined with 7 percent between 2010 and 2017 (table 2/A1): 27.557 among 23.876 on the informal locations (54/46%; municipal data). Furthermore, as mentioned, the vacancy rates are high. According to De Kort & Wursten (2016) this is explained by oddly enough the building of relatively new parks, such as the mentioned HoogTij and declining demand for space in general. The latter is also indicated by the

Table 2: Number of businesses on formal locations in 2010 and 2017

	Formal locations (Businesses)			
Sector	Tot.2010	Tot.2017	2017-2010	2017-2010
A - Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	7	8	1	14%
B- Mineral extraction				
C - Manufacturing	338	346	8	2%
D - Production, distribution and trade of elektricity	5	2	-3	-60%
E- Extraction and distribution of water, waste	9	13	4	44%
F- Construction	416	449	33	8%
G- Wholesale, retail and reparation of cars	773	966	193	25%
H- Transport and storage	109	145	36	33%
I- Hospitality (cafés, hotels etc.)	89	128	39	44%
J- Information and communication	97	161	64	66%
K- Financial institutions	165	158	-7	-4%
L- Real Estate	48	96	48	100%
M- Consultancy, research and other specialistic business services	415	504	89	21%
N- Lease of movable assets	159	216	57	36%
O- Public administration	13	11	-2	-15%
P- Education	54	72	18	33%
Q- Health care	110	200	90	82%
R- Culture, sports and recreation	102	150	48	47%
S- Other services (organisations, reparation, funeral business	98	135	37	38%
Unknown				
Overall	3007	3760	753	25%

Source: Gemeente Zaanstad, 2010a & 2017a (Vestigingenregister; calculated by author)

numbers. The number of businesses and the employment rates still relate though, as the mentioned important and struggling SBI-sectors in Zaanstad as industry (-900 jobs / 13%), construction (-1822 / 49%), agriculture (-167 / -78%) show only a small growth in business numbers, whereas health care (only -21 / -3%), retail and wholesale (+449 / +9%) and upcoming hospitality (+191 / +50%) match a strong growth in table 2. Remarkable developments which do not confirm the statement are the growth of the real estate sector (50%) and public administration (65%), due to movements from multiple informal to one formal location of Parteon (reorganization) and the municipality itself. Overall, some of the traditional functions are thus declining (in terms of businesses slightly increasing), whereas 'new' functions are growing (in terms of businesses strongly increasing).

4.5 Rationale economic policies

The aforementioned trends made the municipality realize that new economic policies were necessary:

"The industry – the core of the economy and employment in Zaanstad ('kurk onder de Zaanse economie', red.) – *changes or moves away. This not only leads to less employment, but it makes the Zaanstreek also less attractive for new businesses. And there are more fields which need extra commitment of all stakeholders: education, sustainability, accessibility, etc."* [translated] (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2015a: 1).

Especially the elements of 'less employment' and 'declined attractiveness for businesses' are used to further declare which measures are useful.

IT and automatization are thought to be the main influences on the declining employment in the traditional sectors. Although this issue is most likely to be nationally experienced, the consequences are considerable for Zaanstad as the labour force division is, as mentioned, highly uneven. Polarization is visible as there are even larger differences between the highly educated and 'richer' versus the lower educated and 'poorer' residents. The second group is more likely to become unemployed due to the developments and experience difficulties in finding new jobs. Besides, the jobs that are still available in the manufacturing sector are increasingly accepted by cheap workers from especially Eastern Europe. The position of the lower educated in Zaanstad, a large group, is therefore weak.

Diversification, both economically and socially, is, according to the municipality, the solution. Zaanstad aspires to be a modern 'woonwerkstad' with a vibrant business climate (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2012). Therefore measures to improve the business climate (e.g. investments in infrastructure) are implemented and entrepreneurship is encouraged, but the focus is on the supply of dwellings, which has to be diversified as well by attracting higher income classes (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2009: 19): *"Zaanstad will be attractive for the middle income groups by adapting the living environment (…). It is a self-reinforcing phenomenon. In places where living is pleasant, employment opportunities will arise. Employment offers career opportunities, which will on itself attract talent"* [translated].

The 'resilience' of Zaanstad thus has to be enhanced by attracting these middle and higher income classes. The lower income classes will probably benefit from a perceived trickle-down effect.

Apart from socioeconomic issues the municipality also responds with these aspirations to the expected growth of demand in the city due to ageing of the population and 'migration' from Amsterdam (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2015a). In the last decade Zaanstad already saw its population rise with about a thousand a year, of which a third used to live in the MRA (usually Amsterdam). For 2040, Zaanstad will therefore build 15-20 thousand new dwellings (Pots & Van der Molen, 2016).

The question is where exactly these dwellings will be provided. At least it is certain that the opportunities for expansion are limited (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2011a). The borders of the urban cores are fixed. Functions within existing buildings with a different function (industry for example, now used as residential building or shared business premise), but also (high-rise) buildings on strategic positions should be used to reach the goal.

As the formal locations are in decline, several of these are appointed as potentially mixed-use areas (working and living). *"The main aim [of Plabeka} will remain (...) to provide sufficient and qualitatively matching supply of work locations in the MRA, hereby contributing to the strengthening of the (inter)national position and the improvement of the regional business climate"* [Translated] (Hagens, Kruger & Copping, 2017: 11). Transformation of the vacant offices is one of the spearheads of the program to improve the business climate. The initiators recognize a step in the right direction in terms of quantity of space, and therefore prefer to focus on a right match in terms of wishes of entrepreneurs, 'on the right places' (a qualitative focus). Nevertheless, new sites, especially within the city, are being prepared for mixed-use development.

The second possibility is to densify and mix on the existing informal locations, which are increasingly recognized in the MRA as the economic growth on these locations has attracted the attention.

4.6 Thriving informal locations

In the new MAAK.Zaanstad policy several areas within the city have been appointed as mixed functions area (pilot). They follow the urban axis alongside the Zaan from Wormerveer via Zaandijk and Koog aan de Zaan to Zaandijk (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2015a). It is rumoured that 10 thousand new residents should be welcomed together with 5 thousand new jobs, probably fitting the image of the new industry.

'New' is not directly the term that could be associated with the functions on informal locations. True, consultancy is by far the largest sector, but this sector is followed by construction, wholesale/retail, health care and other services (e.g. welness). These numbers are partially in line with the findings of Hagens,

Table 3: Number of businesses on informal locations 2010-2017

	Informal locations				
Sector	Tot.2010	Tot.2017	2017-2010	2017-2010	**F-IF 2017**
A - Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	99	101	2	2%	-93
B- Mineral extraction		3	3		-3
C - Manufacturing	324	411	87	27%	-65
D - Production, distribution and trade of elektricity	1	3	2	200%	-1
E- Extraction and distribution of water, waste	7	16	9	129%	-3
F- Construction	1256	1738	482	38%	-1289
G- Wholesale, retail and reparation of cars	1252	1439	187	15%	-473
H- Transport and storage	236	457	221	94%	-312
I- Hospitality (horeca, hotels etc.)	214	321	107	50%	-193
J- Information and communication	428	629	201	47%	-468
K- Financial institutions	460	476	16	3%	-318
L- Real Estate	127	178	51	40%	-82
M- Consultancy, research and other specialist business services	1343	2098	755	56%	-1594
N- Lease of movable assets	491	617	126	26%	-401
O- Public administration	15	10	-5	-33%	1
P- Education	372	706	334	90%	-634
Q- Health care	624	1187	563	90%	-987
R- Culture, sports and recreation	373	641	268	72%	-491
S- Other services (organisations, reparation, funeral business	545	755	210	39%	-620
T- Household as employer		1	1		-1
Unknown			3		-3
Overall	8167	11790	3623	44%	-8030

Source: Gemeente Zaanstad, 2010a & 2017a (Vestigingenregister; calculated by author)

Kruger and Copping (2017), who found that for the whole region of Zaanstreek-Waterland, health care, construction and hospitality (hotels, restaurants) are often settled in these places. They did however also consider the station areas of Zaandam and Koog aan de Zaan as informal, while in municipal sources these are named formal. In general, the business activity has grown from 2010 to 2017 with 3623 businesses (44%) and 117 jobs to 23016. The latter is still considerably smaller than employment rates on formal locations. Also transport, education, health care, hospitality, information and communication and culture experienced significant growth, with the latter two not much present on formal locations. For real estate the opposite applies.

Table 3 shows the differences in absolute numbers per sector on formal and informal locations. The numbers in green point towards a far larger sector on informal locations. Taking these statistics into account the expected division in functions on formal and informal locations hardly takes shape, with small differences in manufacturing and transport, but also for instance hospitality.

Zooming in however several differences become visible. The difference between wholesale on formal locations and retail on informal locations is a simple example. Striking branches in terms of the number of businesses and/or growth, are industrial design, social services without stay at night (child care for example), welness & funerals, hotels, art/culture and the reparation of machines (Table 4). Oddly enough the production of machines has strongly decreased on the formal locations, which could indicate a shift in severe economic times. Most of the growth rates of these branches are in line with national social and economic trends. Health care for example comprises yoga studios, dieticians which are increasingly popular due to the fact that civilians are becoming more (too much) aware of their health (RTL Nieuws, 2016). The growth of driving schools, despite the stable amount of new students (Verpalen, 2016) on itself is hard to explain, but in line with the trend – just as the increase of industrial design & photography (Braams, 2010). Furthermore, Zaanstad profits from the location next to popular Amsterdam in the increase of the number of hotels in the city (Fedorova, Bakens & Tepic, 2016). The growth of social services is partially explained by the in 2012 expressed need for more day care, as the waiting lists were among the longest in the Netherlands (Hoogenbosch, Zijlstra & Wever, 2012).

When comparing the jobs (Table 5/A1/A2), the division between formal and informal becomes crystal clear: health care, education and culture on informal places, wholesale, transport and storage on formal places. They also help explaining the high number of construction, health care, education and, according to researchers of Platform31, also trade / transport / hospitality and service related businesses: These are mostly established by freelancers (Dorenbos, Heebels & Van Hoorn, 2016). In fact, using the definition of the CBS (which basically refers to 'not being an employee and not having

Table 4/5: Top 10 branches in 2017 (based on SBI numbers)

Sector	Number of bus.	2010-2017
Construction (41/43)	1658	37%
Retail (no wholesale)	977	22%
Health care	741	76%
Education	706	90%
Holdings	667	64%
Welness	620	45%
Ind. Design	502	130%
Art	479	82%
IT	438	51%
Soc. Services	392	125%
Overall	**11792**	**44%**

Sector	Number of jobs	2010-2017
Health care	3272	16%
Education	2918	6%
Retail	2571	3%
Soc.serv.	1656	-15%
Pub.adm.	1125	22%
Construction	1825	73%
Care	803	-7%
Holdings	647	7%
Hospitality	642	24%
Welness	625	16%
Overall	23876	64%

Source: Gemeente Zaanstad, 2010a & 2017a (Vestigingenregister; calculated by author)

one either'; SER, 2010), almost the full growth in the number of businesses on informal locations can be explained. At least 8023 freelancers (out of 11805 businesses) were found on informal locations. As this number increased with 3605 since 2010, 99,5% of the growth in businesses can be contributed to 'eenpitters'. Considering the fast growth of the mentioned sectors of information & communication and culture & recreation, these are also mostly caused by the increase of freelancers.

4.7 Creating a monitoring framework / Description on quarter level

Although the characteristics of informal locations have so far been presented for Zaanstad as a whole, 'the' informal location does not exist. Every district has its own configuration, its own special mix: It is obvious that there are differences in the number and size of the businesses in each ZIP code area, quarter or neighbourhood. Before turning to the three 'components' (home, shared business premise, other) in the next chapter, some attention has to be paid to the configuration on this quarter level.

For the new Plabeka of 2018, the responsible consultancy will choose for a distinction per quarter ('wijk') to monitor the developments and trends on the informal locations (personal communication - meeting). They argue that there are basically three categories in each municipality:

- The centers ('centrumgebied').
- The rural areas: Locations which house less than a thousand addresses per square kilometer.
- The residential areas: Locations which do not fall within the two aforementioned categories.

The centres

Zaandam Centre is obviously the largest centre in Zaanstad, although on a smaller scale also Wormerveer (1521) and Krommenie-Oost (1561) can be mentioned.
Zaanstad center is, when taking into account the contribution of each sector to the total in Zaanstad, the most balanced ZIP code area. The sectors information & communication, financial institutions, real estate, consultancy and culture stand out. Interesting is that the classical centre functions as retail (which is probably due to the method / definition) and hospitality do not have a 'special score'. The hospitality of Zaandam is settled largely in the adjacent area of Zaandam Centre East. Wormerveer on the contrary, really reflects the classical centre function with large numbers of retail and hospitality (and real estate due to housing associations). For Krommenie-Oost the same applies (although less hospitality).

The rural areas

Assendelft-Zuid, is the area which contributes most to the agricultural sector (58%) together with Westzaan (17%). Assendelft however also stands out for its construction, financial institutions and consultancy. Westzaan is 'average' on the other criteria.

The residential area

Probably all other ZIP code areas (or quarters as these usually overlap) fit within the residential area. Interesting are the large contribution to the transport sector in Pelders- en Hoornseveld (1503), Poelenburg (1504), which both also have a large share of businesses and freelancers in facility management, and Assendelft-Noord (1567), which has together with Zaandam Nieuw-West the largest contribution in the sector information & communication. Overall however, the contribution in each sector is compared between each of the other ZIP code residential areas quite even, except perhaps for the financial institutions in Krommenie-West (1562). For almost all 'particularities' in the share of businesses applies that the relative number of freelancers is also high (see also table A3-A6).

Issues with the classification

The threefold is a starting point for monitoring and further analysis, although some doubts have already risen.

- In the Plabeka initially the large centres are monitored, which would mean that only Zaandam centre is part of this category. However, almost every core has some sort of center, with businesses who are likely to have more or less the same location factors.
- Residential areas can have a different profile (especially when only the number of employees is taken into account).

In response to the last note, it is thought by the Plabeka creators that for the large municipalities three extra types apply, which can also be quite problematic for Zaanstad and/or this research though:

- The production quarter: These quarters (although it would probably be more accurate to use the word 'neighbourhood') are characterized by the mix of companies (in business premises) and housing. Based on the characterization these are most likely to be former business or industrial estates. These are in this research still regarded formal or potential future informal locations.
- The creative quarter: Creative quarters are characterized by the mix of offices (also shared business premises) and housing. The same reasoning applies for these quarters. Moreover, there are probably only two estates which once would fall within this category: VVZ and Poort Clam Dijcke. Nowadays however, it turns out that the 'office-part' of the plans is hard to realize. Besides, a quarter which exists of only one shared business premise is difficult to imagine. For the different ZIP code areas the share in the creative sector of Zaanstad is calculated in order to perhaps offer a new definition of the creative quarter (see table A7). Zaandam center is with 14% (5,56% would be average) by far the largest contributor both relatively and absolutely. This is however already considered a central area following the classification. Wormerveer (9%), Kogerveldwijk (8%) and Westerkoog/Oud Koog aan de Zaan (8%) follow, with Poelenburg and Zaandam Noord rock bottom (2%).
- The city street ('stadsstraat'): These streets are characterized by a combination of a traffic function and a leisure function. The Peperstraat can be an example (the Transformatorweg in Amsterdam was also mentioned, but this is largely part of a business estate as well). However, streets like the Lagendijk, Dorpsstraat Assendelft have similar functions on a smaller scale and could be taken into account by at least the municipality. When combining the 'stadsstraat' and the 'centrumgebied' criteria overlap occurs as well, which is extra complicated.

4.8 Conclusion

Narrowing down from a general distinction between the overall shrinking formal locations (at least in terms of employment numbers) and the growing informal locations via mixed-use policies (mainly targeted at living), more insight in the economic situation and the workplaces of Zaanstad has been provided. Striking branches on the informal locations are consultancy, construction, health care and retail, but also more specifically industrial design, social services without stay at night (child care for example), welness & funerals, hotels, art/culture. There are however differences per ZIP code area, which could be explained by zooming in to different 'environments' such as the central locations, the rural areas and residential areas. Whether these are specific enough is questionable however. For now it is thought that the levels distinguished in the theoretical account might suit this research better and therefore these are used in the next chapter to look into the location factors.

5. Results

5.1 Introduction

In the 16th century the location factors were relatively clear and simple (Rutte, 2016). Trade in those times mainly occurred via waterways. Ships could easily bring raw materials and take semi-finished products along in Zaanstad over the river Zaan. What puzzled some authors is why the mills were not concentrated, as is common for most businesses. The main reason is that the area did not have a market place itself. Products were shipped to the three main cities in the region which did have this function: Amsterdam, Haarlem and Alkmaar. Times change however and in this chapter therefore the contemporary location factors are the focus of interest. For each scale the demands of entrepreneurs, actual settlement reasons, attitude to the relocation process, fulfillment of the demands, preferred services and possible future locations are discussed.

5.2 Home

Municipal aim of mixed-use

As mentioned, the home forms an important part of the municipal mixed-use policies. Especially in the area of Zaanstad-Midden (Kogerveld and surroundings) several projects of densification and transformation are already in the research and planning phase (Gemeente Zaanstad, n.d.a). In Inverdan, the new centre of Zaandam, the construction process is in many instances even already finished, resulting in a combination of housing types in different price ranges. In other areas, as Hembrug and Achtersluispolder there are so far only perspectives. One would however expect that mixed-use in terms of temporary shifts within the home would play an important role in the municipal policies. However, it is very difficult to find the economic role of the home in policy documents – let alone specific measures to stimulate these entrepreneurs. The question is whether this is justified, given the type of businesses and related location factors.

Characteristics of businesses

In an attempt to give some insight in this number of businesses at home the BAG codes in the municipal business register are used (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2017a). A combination of a residential function and a business provides some sort of answer to the question. For the informal locations 9519 companies (80,7%) are located at home, of which 7293 are a freelancer. The sectors in which the largest numbers of entrepreneurs work from home are consultancy (1907), construction (1642), retail (961) and health care (716). Basically all other sectors are well represented too: information & communication (593), education (592), culture (543), facility management (558). Only real estate and financial institutions stay behind in this respect. Given the type of companies this is hardly surprising though (housing associations, banks).

Note: it turns out that several buildings classified as residential really have multiple functions – especially in retail. As freelancers are well represented within the retail sector the real number of businesses at home could be considerably lower. On the other hand, the buildings which are allowed to house multiple functions are not taken into account.

Characteristics of respondents

The respondents (table 6) are obviously not a perfect representation of 'the informal location'. The number of respondents from the consultancy sector is, as should be, the largest. The differences with the other sectors are however quite large as education, culture and lease of movable assets should be about a third of the consultancy total. It is safe to declare that this sector is overrepresented. Some attention is therefore required in interpreting the results. However, as the number of respondents for the largest sectors on informal locations is also considerable in the survey, it is thought that no strongly deviant results will be collected when repeating the study.

Table 6: Overview respondents 'at home'

Sector		Respondents
A	Agriculture	2
C	Manufacturing	17
D	Electricity	1
F	Construction	50
G	Retail	32
H	Transport	8
I	Hospitality	5
J	Information & Communication	33
K	Financial inst.	31
L	Real estate	3
M	Consultancy	112
N	Lease of movable assets	7
P	Education	15
Q	Health care	32
R	Culture	17
S	Other services	9
-	Unknown	8
-	Multiple	1
Overall		**383**

Source: Survey

Previous location

As could be expected, most of the entrepreneurs at home also started their business on this location. 7 Out of 10 respondents declared that this applies for them. Furthermore, of the 'movers', almost 75% chose to locate again in a regular dwelling or in a so-called 'Woon-Werk Unit', a dwelling with a separate floor or room for an office, workspace. Almost all of these houses were located in a residential quarter. The flow from home to a new building and location therefore seems to be quite limited. Only 13% of the moved respondents were located in a regular business or retail premise, 8% in a shared business premise. The locations of these buildings are quite evenly spread over the residential quarter, shopping areas and business estate both within and outside the city.

Demands location and building

Of these entrepreneurs the demands for the location and building prior to movement were asked (the differentiation was made in order to increase the clarity of the question list).

Of the 275 respondents to these two questions, 63% of them indicated that there were no specific entrepreneurial location demands. This could indicate the 'footlooseness' of the entrepreneurs. The demands regarding accessibility and infrastructure confirm this image. Although accessibility is regarded an important demand (23%), just as parking opportunities (9%), these are considerably more appreciated on the other scales. Virtual accessibility on the other hand (11%) is more often mentioned by the entrepreneurs at home. A quick and solid internet and telephone connection is required, which could also save costs. In light of the number of consultancy and information and communication related businesses and the administrative tasks, this is easily explained. The demands further indicate that the entrepreneurs do not seek agglomeration economies. The proximity to clients, suppliers or collaborating / competing businesses in the same sectors was hardly mentioned.

Equally, 34% referred to not having strong wishes in terms of the building. Space in a cost-efficient dwelling is appreciated (18%). Apart from the size, several entrepreneurs prefer to have a separate (bed-)room (14%), office (5%), shed (1%), storage (3%) or atelier (1%) for their activities. The appearance of the dwelling (9%) (and the neighbourhood, 8%) is compared to the entrepreneurs in shared business premises and the 'others category' not perceived as that important, just as the accessibility of the building (only 3%). The house thus usually is not thought to have a reception function. One would therefore expect the preference to locate nearby flexible work places, but only 2% of the respondents referred to these (see also the box below).

Settlement reasons

"They live somewhere and then they decide to freelance. This is also why there are so many flexible workplaces: They will find a place to work then. Also because they are very dependent on the network they have built" (Expert).

The excerpt above seems to refer to a non-deliberate choice to work at home, which matches the large number of 'no demands'. The home as location is the consequence of a larger decision to start freelancing. In the survey, answers of equal meaning were given. About a third of the respondents simply refer to the dwelling: 'I live there', implying that it is obvious that they then also work there. A single percent of the respondents furthermore refers to the decisive fact that the dwelling was assigned to them, which might be related to social housing. The decision to work at home is however also considered logically. Another 'non-deliberate reason' of a different kind is mentioned by the 2% that acquired the business and therefore also 'received' their locations, which was not really into their hands. It makes sense that this group does not have specific (business-related) demands regarding the location and building.

Of the group who referred to specific criteria, the other 58%, some give more insight in the benefits of having the home as the business location. Reducing the costs (18%), as no other space is rented, and the associated flexibility, is an important motive. This also relates to the motives of especially freelancers to start their business:

"I had a business with four employees on a business estate with a showroom and impressive storage room. High housing costs. Then the crisis came and I had to fire people. That was kind of a trauma (…). I decided to never have to experience that again, to see your business go down like that (…). [I still collaborate] but on project base, so when there are no projects you do not have the charges and costs."

"I have always taken three/four months of vacation each year. Sometimes even a whole year".

Besides, the business is not always profitable enough (yet) to rent a separate place:

"If you are fired as an accountant, you are likely to still have some clients. You will always do something 'extra' (next to the job)."

"If my business grows and a retail premise will be achievable, then I will consider the best location"

Also, several respondents mention that the home is 'practical' (6%) or 'easy' (2%), referring among others to the match with other tasks, family life, the distance to school et cetera. Most important however is of course that the building fits the business activities (19%). This also applies for the 5% of the respondents who refer to their flexibility. They state that they usually work on location (construction for instance). Their dwelling is suitable as only the administration takes place here. Also there are several holdings on the addresses of dwellings, with the business settled elsewhere. The 'conscious choice' thus has the upper hand (with dominant demands regarding the building instead of the location) although the differences are relatively small.

Moving process

Table 7: Assessment moving process

Very positive	47%
Positive	28%
Neutral	21%
Negative	3%
Very negative	1%

Source: Survey

Once decided, the moving process was usually not considered problematic (search, preparation, facilitation, actual move), although one entrepreneur recounts:

"When I asked the municipality 12.5 years ago for the rules about working at home, they were quite reluctant. First they said that it was not allowed. When I said that a lot of businesses are settled at home, they said: 'Okay, it is allowed but we prefer you not to do so" (Survey; Beauty salon).

At the moment, working from home is strongly encouraged by the municipality, according to the official website (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2017b). However, the government is very much at the side of the entrepreneurs who prefer a quiet workplace: especially (only) the sectors health care, consultancy, business services and the creative sector are indeed stimulated to work at home.

The land-use rules are strictly applied for other sectors (or not strictly enough according to some barbers in regular business premises who fear the barbers at home).
Dwellings with a purely residential function should be used for 70% for living (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2009c). The business space can be at most 45 m^2 and in renewned zoning plans 65 m^2. Retail and hospitality apart from B&B's, which can generate noise, are excluded, just as functions which will attract too much traffic. 'Too much' can be qualified as the number to which extra measures for accommodation are necessary (such as parking lots). This also implies that there is no space for employees: The occupant is also the worker.
There are less rigid restrictions for dwellings which are assigned for multiple functions (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2007). Here the ground floor can be used for retail, hospitality, business services and construction. According to a municipal servant this function has become more common in the city.
So if nuisance is prevented then the following is really true in this case:
"The government welcomes you with the arms open and is really willing to give you a chance. Employment is really important for the municipality" (...) *When I obtained this premise I had to know the land-use (...). I just requested a meeting [and the responsible servant knew everything]".*
Nevertheless, some disturbing sounds were audible. It should be mentioned that in the same breath the need for an improved municipal service was expressed. According to the ZON (Zaans Ondernemers Netwerk) an 'ondernemersloket', some sort of entrepreneurial helpdesk, is absolutely necessary as it is difficult to find and/or reach the right person within the city hall – especially by phone. Small entrepreneurs who might lack the personal network are the main victim. It simply discourages entrepreneurs, and "not all will call a fourth time". Besides, it can give insight into the opaque and unclear permit system: The length of the process and decision periods are long, without a clear reason according to the entrepreneurs. It is likely that usually a link to the legal decision terms is sufficient though.
Even when the land-use and the permits are allright, problems might still arise as the same entrepreneur later states:
"But after a successful half a year in business the municipality and the fire brigade stood at the door. The bottom line was that I had to close. They do not tell each other what is going on. No internal communication" (Freelancer, multiple functions).

Present location

Being located at home for a while, the entrepreneurs believe in general that their demands are fulfilled (83%). Not surprisingly, given the high number of respondents without demands. Only 7% responds predominantly negative to this question. Areas of concern are usually the lack of opportunities to expand or just the lack of space in general, although some responded to this issue by renting extra space (storage rooms) elsewhere. Also the preference to find a separate office room (with separate entrance and facilities) has not always been possible. A very limited amount of respondents refers to the restrictive opportunities of the zoning plans (retail at home). The number of businesses settled in buildings with multiple functions, which thus allows retail, is decreasing since 2010 from 392 in 2014 to 362 in 2017, despite the municipal efforts. This finding could confirm the statement that these units are increasingly used as just a regular dwelling (VROM, 2006). Notwithstanding this governmental involvement, the self-regulation or pressure from outside on functions that are officially allowed are also occasionally felt:
"I am not entirely free to make music even though my whole ground floor is adapted for this purpose" (Survey).
Accessibility issues are only mentioned twice (fiber optics internet & lack of public transport), although once asked for preferred services public transport (16% of the 68 answers) and

free and/or more parking (9%) actually were mentioned regularly. In terms of services the ZON furthermore lately received quite some questions on storage and parking spaces for large carts. Only a couple of respondents refer to services specific for starters: networks, 'broodfondsen' and administrative support. Flexible workspaces were, although initially not demanded, mentioned relatively often as well.

Flexible working

In light of the rise of 'Alternative workplace strategies' (het Nieuwe Werken), one could have expected a stronger call for flexible work spaces, especially given the number of consultants in the respondents base. However, so far flexible working has not taken off in Zaanstad. There have been several initiatives, focusing purely on attracting flexible workers or in combination with other business activities already, but almost all of these did or do not (yet) flourish:

"If one wanted to network you had to talk to [the owner], cause there was no one else. That is why I thought: 'Flexible working is popular everywhere. Seats2Meet is a big success. But Zaankanters do not do it" (Owner flexible workspace).

Remarkable in a way, since the advantages of flexible working and/or the specific accommodations are obvious:

- No distraction from family life, social obligations and domestic work. The conditions for concentration are well-present as several services (computer, internet, coffee and tea, displays, desks) are provided, which make sure that the entrepreneur can directly start working.
- There is the opportunity to network, collaborate and ask advice as other flex workers can be met. This could be advantageous in the future. A network is considered crucial, especially for small companies who have to attract customers, knowledge.
- Some of the spaces are even free, either because it is just a service from the provider in a large office or because of the so far disappointing number of clients:
  "Only if there are some clients one can think of a revenue model. A punch card: Ten times for a certain price. But if it is incidental..."
- The locations are usually attractive (either deliberately chosen or not): Close to the station or highways, close to Zaandam centre or Amsterdam and therefore easy to combine with other obligations.

Of the perceived reasons on why Zaankanters hardly work in these spaces not one is completely undisputed.

One could argue for instance that the space the dwelling offers is sufficient or that a flexible work space is not a suitable work space at all. For a considerable part of the freelancers this is a statement that is likely to apply as the previous findings indicate. However, out of the respondents who missed certain services in the neighbourhood 12% referred to flexible meeting rooms, 9% to hospitality (partially to work as well) and 9% to quick internet (which is provided in these spaces). Besides, an earlier study in Zaanstad also mentioned the lack of flexible work spaces (De Win, 2016). There thus seems to be demand.

The findability might be an issue, both online as from street level. Zaan2Connect is for instance unrecognizable from the street, other places are hidden in a shared business premise or rather peripheral areas. Even when the place is known though customers are not guaranteed, although it obviously helps: *"When I presented my business the room was packed with freelancers and they said 'if you are ready, I will come'. They still have to come."* Therefore the focus is on bringing in the clients to have them experience the atmosphere and opportunities: A proven concept with mixed success as for instance *"Amsterdammers will not come to Zaanstad to do it [flexible working]"*. Although another supplier mentioned: *"Most of my clients are from Westzaan and Amsterdam"*.

Perhaps the concepts just should be given some time. *"They [predecessors] thought to become rich within a year"*. Or, as someone else mentioned, it is an example of *"Zaanse hijgerigheid"*. Also the frequently cited Seats2Meet was settled in Zaandam for only a year as, apart from lifecoaches, demand simply felt behind (Alefs, 2012; Witteveen, 2012). This is not the all-encompassing answer either though, as some of the existing workplaces (open for several years and still struggling) prove.

Lastly, a quite promising possible answer is a mismatch between the wishes on the demand-side and the supply. The respondents miss flexible *meeting rooms* the most (instead of work spaces). These are however either usually charged – sometimes considerably – or absent (in the same room as the flexible spaces, which implies a lack of privacy and background noise). Therefore: *"I have the idea that there could be something [between a 'breeding place'] and a Seats to Meet"* (Thematic; Entrepreneur).

Future location

The satisfaction with the present situation is also visible in their view on the future. Two third indicates no expected move in the next 5 years, only 18% thinks it is likely.

Table 8: Relocation in 5 years

Very likely	7%
Likely	11%
Neutral	16%
Unlikely	19%
Very unlikely	47%

Source: Survey

Preferred future locations and building types (asked to all respondents, irrespectively of actual moving plans) are again a dwelling or WW-Unit (mentioned in 44% of the responses), followed by a shared business premise (21%) and the regular business premise or shop (without housing 16%, including 11%). The residential quarter (44%) is then as expected the preferred location, followed by business sites within the city (18%), outside the city (8%) and shopping areas (5%). These numbers could correspond with a perceived issue in the Netherlands that the number of 'growers' falls behind:

"I do not want to become Bill Gates, I just want to earn enough for bread with peanut butter" (Expert).

Relation location factors and mixed-use policy

At the start of this paragraph it was mentioned that the 'home' as a workplace is hard to find in the municipal MAAK-documents, which envision the mixed-use future of several large areas in Zaanstad. The question that was posed, was whether this is justified. The answer will always be somewhat subjective, but the statistics show that there is at least reason to believe that municipal measures in the sphere of stimulating entrepreneurs to work at home are of minor importance. The decision to use the home as the base is a subordinate part of the larger decision to start freelancing and it therefore makes sense to pay more attention to issues as simply the quality of living.

It will be interesting to monitor the development of the number of workers from home as the housing prices are quickly rising (Massaut, 2017): 'Madness', according to the newspapers. Entering the market might thus be getting harder for all groups, but especially the lower incomes. There might therefore be consequences for the spread of sectors over the neighbourhoods. It is useful here to take Risselada and Folmer's (2012) earlier mentioned contribution into account here. In accordance to their findings the socioeconomic situation in the Zaanse neighbourhoods (ZIP code areas in this case) and the type and number of businesses seem to be related (some data has been collected for each ZIP area and for each a map with the work locations has been added - see the appendix). Based on the wijkmonitor (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2016), an analysis of the municipal quarters, a distinction can be made according to the score on four themes: 'social cohesion', 'quality of the area' (safety, living environment, services etc.), 'capacities of the residents' (education, health, income, language skills) and 'participation'. What is interesting is that the ZIP areas with a score below the average indeed have both far more (freelance) businesses and jobs in general and in the sectors of construction, transport and other business services (facility management, security) than in the sectors information & communication and consultancy compared to the economically stronger areas (table 9). The difference in percent point between the sector groups for the number of businesses in Zaanstad is for instance 1%, but for the economically weaker areas 15%. In terms of freelancers the Zaanstad average is 5%, but for the mentioned ZIP code areas 11%. For jobs the numbers are 6% and 10%. Education, income and housing/neighbourhood thus relate. Therefore it is more promising to focus on education (which is an important asset in municipal policies), and particularly on teaching entrepreneurship. The ROC (MBO-school) for instance has quite recently set up the program 'Excellent Ondernemen', with cooperation of local entrepreneurs, in order to lower the thresholds for freelancers to start at all by offering lessons in entrepreneurship and practical guidance at the first steps for talented students / starters.

Anyway, it is likely that even without specific measures towards mixed-use at home, this business location will in the future increasingly be chosen as in terms of demand it is expected that the number of freelancers will rise (personal communication) and movers usually choose again for the home. Besides, the number of potential business locations (houses) will rise strongly as well. As long as these match certain criteria as a solid internet connection and room for at least an office, freelancing will occur here as well. The entrepreneurs namely seem to be quite satisfied overall ánd have a positive attitude towards mixed-use as a concept. 91% Of the respondents has this positive attitude towards mixed-use development, 3% is neutral and only 5% is negative (especially related to nuisance).

Table 9: Difference between the sectors Construction, Transport and Other business services and Information & Communication and Consultancy (businesses, jobs and freelancers; per. point)

SBI/ZIP	1501	1502	1503	1504	1505	1506	1507	1508	1509	1521	1525	1541	1544	1551	1561	1562	1566	1567	**Average**
FHN	11%	20%	28%	28%	18%	19%	21%	7%	11%	18%	0%	17%	15%	10%	14%	11%	25%	21%	16%
JM	10%	8%	10%	6%	6%	28%	20%	4%	9%	10%	2%	16%	12%	10%	8%	10%	17%	17%	11%
Dif.	1%	12%	18%	22%	12%	-9%	1%	3%	2%	8%	-2%	1%	3%	0%	6%	1%	8%	4%	5%

SBI/ZIP	1501	1502	1503	1504	1505	1506	1507	1508	1509	1521	1525	1541	1544	1551	1561	1562	1566	1567	**Average**
FHN	16%	21%	23%	26%	16%	24%	19%	6%	7%	20%	1%	24%	13%	14%	13%	8%	34%	16%	17%
JM	12%	10%	9%	7%	6%	30%	15%	3%	7%	12%	1%	17%	11%	7%	10%	10%	20%	16%	11%
Dif.	4%	11%	14%	19%	10%	-6%	4%	3%	0%	8%	0%	7%	2%	7%	3%	-2%	15%	0%	6%

SBI/ZIP	1501	1502	1503	1504	1505	1506	1507	1508	1509	1521	1525	1541	1544	1551	1561	1562	1566	1567	**Average**
FHN	23%	28%	33%	43%	34%	16%	21%	33%	21%	24%	22%	21%	23%	24%	19%	19%	23%	21%	24%
JM	23%	19%	17%	13%	17%	32%	27%	18%	26%	17%	19%	25%	25%	25%	16%	29%	22%	29%	23%
Dif.	1%	9%	16%	30%	17%	-16%	-7%	15%	-5%	7%	3%	-4%	-2%	-1%	3%	-10%	1%	-8%	1%

*Calculated out of the total share of the number of businesses, jobs and freelancers in the sector in the ZIP area compared to the total number of businesses, jobs and freelancers in the sector in Zaanstad (full overview presented in table 10 and 12)
**Blue ZIP-codes indicate a score in the 'wijkmonitor' below the Zaanstad average

Source: Gemeente Zaanstad, 2010a & 2017a (Vestigingenregister; calculated by author)

5.3 Shared business premises

Municipal aim of mixed-use

The old Verkade fabric in Zaandam is a pleasant example of a redeveloped industrial building. The original company moved across the street, whereas the monumental building could be used as a shared business premise. There are now 50 rooms to be rented. The library, a restaurant, a fitness center, an employment agency and a manufacturer of board games are now already, among others, settled in this Zaans heritage (Carree, n.d.).

Buildings as the old Verkade fabric play an important role in the mixed-use plans. Vacant buildings like these along the river are used to (temporary) "sustain the characteristic mix of living and working along the Zaan" (Noordzeekanaalgebied, 2016). Already in 2010 the municipality decided to steer on a supply of 1000 square meter a year for creative businesses and breeding places (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2010b). These places are considered suitable as "the monotony of the residential areas (…) can be broken" (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2012: 49).

In more recent policy documents especially the role of Hembrug is remarkable (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2015a). The former business estate is thought to become *the* next creative hotspot in the region, with a large number of (future) breeding places. Other locations lose out to this promising terrain. So far realization remains a distant prospect however.

Characteristics of businesses

How many businesses there are located in shared business premises on informal locations in total is unclear. Even if the tenant base of the Honig fabric and the Bedrijvige Bij (the main developer in Zaanstad in this industry, having 240 tenants and facilitating work for 700 people according to the owner) is not representative, at least some remarks can be made. Usually the creative sector is associated with places like these (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2013). The Honig fabric is a perfect example. It has 65 units, which are almost all rented by artists, furniture makers, musicians (Honigfabriek, 2017a). However, these functions are harder to find in the buildings of the Bedrijvige Bij, which also houses quite some health-related businesses and businesses in consultancy, administration and education (usually small).

Characteristics respondents

Consultancy, administration (K) and culture roughly have the same number of respondents, but as becomes clear from table 10 the number of health care related businesses is richly represented. In interpreting the results it can therefore be expected that demands as the appearance and accessibility of the building and the neighbourhood are of relevance, as these entrepreneurs will usually invite guests at their place. For a more nuanced view, interview excerpts are again used.

Table 10: Overview respondents in shared business premises

Sector		Respondents
F	Construction	1
G	Retail	1
K	Financial inst.	4
M	Consultancy	6
N	Lease of movable assets	1
P	Education	2
Q	Health care	18
R	Culture	5
S	Other services	1
-	Unknown	1
-	Multiple	1
Overall		**41**

Source: Survey

Previous location

Compared to the entrepreneurs at home, fewer entrepreneurs have started in their current building. 42% Of the respondents indicated to not have moved at all. Of the 58% that did change locations, most (38%) have experienced the pleasure of a shared business premise before. 31% Furthermore seem to take a step back, originally located in a regular business premise or shop. The dwelling is in 23% left for the new building. Usually the previous location was a residential quarter (81%), which thus does not differ much from the present site.

Demands location and building

Although the location might thus not differ that much, only 3% stated that they had no demands regarding this topic (compared to 63% from entrepreneurs at home). Location matters: Accessibility is very important, both by car and public transport (66% of the location demands), free parking space (34%) and proximity to home (20% - the match with other work and hobbies is however only 3%) are also often mentioned. Important is the difference between 'close to home' and 'home', in accordance with the reasons of using flexible work spaces:

"When they are home the neighbour comes by for coffee, the children come home... They say: I cannot come around to work" (Owner shared business space).

The virtual infrastructure on the other hand was not a firm demand (0%), despite statements like:

"They want a quiet work spot with internet and they especially want to be part of a community" (Facilitator shared business space on creative entrepreneurs).

It is likely though that the composition of the respondents has its influence here. A central location, physical instead of virtual proximity, which could also lead to increased visibility is more appreciated (location 11%/ visibility 9%).

Regarding the building all respondents had specific demands. The amount of space, usually in combination with specific separate rooms as waiting rooms, work places, treatment chambers (36%), is important, as only the building costs were more frequently mentioned (55%):

"This man is only composing, a box with a lot of foam rubber. You cannot do that at home".

The flexibility of the space (6%) was appreciated as well and hardly mentioned by the other type of respondents (the entrepreneurs at home). This also applies for 'accessibility' (24%), which relates to the number of 'health care respondents'. Also indeed the appearance of both neighbourhood (31%) and building (30% - preferably with certain internal services) is highly important. The Honig fabric responds to these wishes with specific marketing slogans: *"Do not hesitate, come by for a preview and be enchanted by this beautiful building"* (Honigfabriek, 2017b).

"We need to have the estimation that creatives like the premise. An old building at the Zaan thus appeals more than an old premise from the eighties on a business estate" (Another supplier).

Settlement reasons

The high number of specific demands is visible in the actual settlement reasons. The entrepreneurs at home did not make a deliberate entrepreneurial choice in slightly more than 1 in 3 occasions. The reasons of entrepreneurs in shared business premises however strongly relate to their substantive demands. Only three reasons were cited which did not directly indicate a conscious choice and the related percentages are moreover quite low. For instance, 6% of the respondents refers to the acquisition of the business and therefore also the location. Furthermore, only 3% indicates that the entrepreneur was initially fired, but that he/she could work on the same location as a freelancer. There thus was no reason to change locations as the same facilities could be used and it is likely that the working relationship did not change too much. Third, the push factor 'unsatisfied with the previous location' is mentioned (3%).

Thus, the choice for a shared business premise on a certain location is usually quite deliberate. Of the criteria that were perceived decisive the possibilities for collaboration (26%) stand out, less often mentioned as a demand though. For collaboration the influence of health care on the numbers is significant. One-third of the respondents of this sector mention the importance of this opportunity:

"That is also fashionable nowadays, that GP's (plus pharmacy and paramedics) cluster"
"The tenants meet each other, generate work at each other" (Owner shared business space).
The distance to the dwelling, the amount of space (17%) are furthermore frequently mentioned. In the past the sizes of the rooms were often too large, nowadays there is more flexibility. Infrastructure (14%), in combination with parking (9%), is a 'new' category in this segment which was hardly mentioned here by the entrepreneurs at home.

Moving process

Apart from the substantive settlement reasons, especially the building costs were mentioned often (26%). For the entrepreneurs at home or those who did not move this could be the only affordable option:
"A fixed place would be ideal, but a 'regular' office premise is unattainable for me at the moment" (entrepreneur on the waiting list for the Honig fabric – webshop / atelier).
This seems to apply especially for the entrepreneurs who moved from home. The costs could also be a reason to prefer a shared business space over a flexible workspace as the mentioned demands are partially in line with the reasons to use these spaces. A room in a shared business premise could be as expensive as a pinch cart on monthly basis, the payment of deposit and the 'long-term contracts' (usually a year) might however be a threshold (see also De Win, 2016).
The popularity of renting a room in these shared business premises is visible in the occupancy rates: these are high; although the number of mutations is quite considerable as well as not all (starting) businesses exist for a very long time. Finding a place might overall be difficult. Providers mention the economic situation, a changed mind-set and the undersupply in Amsterdam as main reasons.

Furthermore there could be issues regarding regulations. However, only a couple of the 'health care entrepreneurs' do refer to the regulations from assurances or inspection agencies. In terms of zoning only the distance to housing has some influence (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2011b). Based on the expected nuisance (mainly smell and noise), zoning is applied and the allowed business types determined (environmental category of the VNG). Within 40 meters of housing a business premise is for instance allowed to house only businesses up to category 2. This appears to be strict, but taking into account several examples it becomes clear that construction companies smaller than 1000 square meter, fabrics for medical and optical devices, car dealers, retail and bowling centers are allowed. There thus certainly are opportunities for a lot of entrepreneurs. That does not mean that there are some buildings on formal sites to which for instance building entrepreneurs are guided by the suppliers. Usually the composition develops organically though. Instead of a restrictive effect on the entrepreneurs themselves, zoning rules might actually have more influence on the provider of shared business premises. Usually a new function has to be designated, which means a change in the zoning plan (and long procedures). Even temporary use is still difficult. The crisis- en herstelwet, kruimelgevallenregeling and Coördinatie-procedure Wro offer opportunities according to experts, but in practice the processes are rough (Vereijken, 2015).

Overall, despite possible nuisance, it is thought that the neighbourhood has a positive attitude towards the entrepreneurs as the shared business spaces are not only settled in dilapidated buildings, but are also thought to have a neighbourhood function (shared business space owner). As the municipality seemingly wants to 'privatize' community centers, the business premises take over some of the activities as painting, yoga.

These could all be reasons why the incumbent entrepreneurs are so satisfied with the settlement process: 36% is very positive, 27%

positive, 27% neutral and 11% does not know the answer (anymore). Together these percentages form the full 100%.

Table 11: Assessment moving process

Very positive	36%
Positive	27%
Neutral	27%
Negative	0%
Very negative	0%

Source: Survey

Present location

The participating entrepreneurs furthermore seem to have found what they were looking for: Of those who answered the question 97% ticked the 'positive box', only 1 respondent was predominantly negative about the location choice - taking into account the demands. This attitude is also evident from the number of suggestions for preferred services: only 7 (2 refer to a business point, 3 to public transport and parking spaces and 2 to an improved appearance of the neighbourhood in terms of greenery and retail).

Nevertheless, some other sounds below the surface were also heard. The praised opportunities for collaboration are according to some interviewees smaller than expected:
"The stories one hears about this… Usually they are slightly exaggerated" (although it is acknowledged that some business types indeed profit from it). Some have argued that there should be a specific facilitator in these buildings, who can stimulate meetings, activities and co-operation. The entrepreneurs sometimes have to be pulled into the hallways. The same applies for a specific group of users:
"The Amsterdammers here are very happy to return to Amsterdam in the evening. They do not like it at all here [Zaanstad, red.]. (…) They like the space (…) and the possibility to receive guests."
"No risks and still the appearance of a nice, large premise. They all have pantries (…). People like that a lot".

These Amsterdammers are not interested in the creation of a network, integration in Zaanstad. They only know how to reach their (compared to Amsterdam) cheaper office, using the nearby highways, but seem to have no further interest in the area. Local bonding, which is also dependent on the type of business, should therefore be stimulated:
"From these [other, red.] Amsterdammers with a business in Zaanstad I know that the Zaanstreek was not the top choice, but in practice they are very satisfied (…). I think that Zaanstad has a chance if you accommodate new entrepreneurs better and if you get them in touch with a Zaans network".
The Zaankanters however seem to have the reputation of being not so accessible:
"You have to work very hard to be accepted".
Anyhow, the entrepreneurs overall seem to be very satisfied.

Future

The satisfaction with the present situation is also visible in their view on the future. Slightly over 50% of the respondents indicates no expected move in the next years, 20% thinks it is likely. This is a little more than the entrepreneurs at home. The question is for how long the non-moving entrepreneurs can actually remain on their current location.

Table 12: Relocation in 5 years

Very likely	11%
Likely	9%
Neutral	24%
Unlikely	16%
Very unlikely	40%

Source: Survey

Preferred future locations and building types (asked to all respondents, irrespectively of actual moving plans) are however also again a shared business premise (mentioned in 39% of the responses), followed by a dwelling (WW-Unit) (32%) and the regular business premise or shop (without housing 19%, including 6%). The residential quarter (32%) is then as expected the preferred location, followed by business sites outside the city (16%), inside the city (11%) and shopping areas (0%). The entrepreneurs are thus willing to stay or move again to a shared business space in the neighbourhood, but it is unknown whether they can.

Relation location factors and mixed-use policy

This is unknown given the temporary nature of several of these places and developments in the spheres of market and government. Given the mentioned location factors, in some instances there seems to be a mismatch between supply and demand. As mentioned, the old munition depot, the Hembrugterrein, is regarded *the* venue for breeding places. This location does match with the factors 'appearance', 'affordability' and obviously 'collaboration' (which is just the nature of the building). However, in terms of distance towards the dwelling, space (the premises at least are usually smaller according to a shared business owner) and infrastructure, the to be realized neighbourhood might be a step back in several instances (at least for Zaanse entrepreneurs).

One could wonder why the premises within the existing neighbourhoods are not (also) a highly important policy measure, especially given the fact that there are also other functions apart from the creative industry that are housed in these premises. The supply of space is the main reason, which is influenced by market actors and the state.

De Bedrijvige Bij in principle does not have the intention to transform their buildings to other functions (than shared business space), but in general it is true that it is a temporary use:

"First there is a temporary function until there are definitive plans and then the breeding place will move towards the next vacant premise. That is the ideal sequence for me" (Municipality).

The most recent example is the former Honig fabric, which will be closed in the nearby future. These entrepreneurs will thus need to find a new spot. Partially the market itself offers solutions as in this case another supplier offered space in a recently acquired premise. However, it is difficult to offer space with the same specifications:

"You also need to have the buildings (…) It is difficult to find a building in which they can do it again (…) The main problem is that these premises are just so poor (…) In ten years it [the Honig fabric] is likely to collapse".

Redevelopment and conservation of the building becomes simply too expensive, at least on the longer term as the necessary investments will not return. The respondent, a supplier, experiences this threat more and more in Zaanstad, referring to the buildings of Tate & Lyle, Meneba.

Most of these former fabrics are demolished. The heritage department of the municipality uses the tool of appointing a 'monumental status' to save the buildings and to have a stake in a possible change in function. Monitoring the developments in these buildings is an issue however. Of not all premises the desirability of a monumental status is known, which incidentally leads to a quick research assignment of the cultural and historic value when the plans become public (which freezes the process and thus frustrates the other actors): *"I wonder whether the definitive decision is not made too quickly: Demolition is easier".*

Housing is the safest option for these premises as they imply return directly after completion. Besides, the municipality is willing to facilitate by changing the zoning plan. According to the specialist however dwellings are difficult to create in the given factory structure. Moreover, when dwellings are part of a re-use of the building, it turns out not to be the best option in terms of construction techniques. If it is done correctly though, the value of the premise rises considerably. However, for our purposes it is not the building itself that is especially of relevance, but the change from an economic to a residential function. The economic function of these buildings in the neighbourhoods is under pressure.

Apart from the historic buildings, also former schools, offices are sought after. Next to the appearance, the suppliers mention size (preferably 3000-4000 square meter, with enough light to be able to create small cabinets), location (close to public transport, Amsterdam, in a neighbourhood) and the acquisition price as most important determinants. The latter moreover explains the concentration of premises in Koog aan de Zaan / Zaandam: The costs of interesting buildings in other parts of Zaanstad were just too high. Municipal real estate has played a significant role in this respect. Vacant school the Groene Bark for instance is granted by the municipality as there were hardly any other options due to the location near two railway tracks. However:
"I have understood that the municipality itself does not have [that many] vacant premises" (expert).
So the municipal policy goal to attain diversity in the supply of work and support of small and medium-sized enterprises seems to be quite hard to achieve for shared business space.

Case of Amsterdam
In Amsterdam the issue of a reduced amount of appropriate supply of shared business space has been playing already for some time. The old buildings in the capital are, since the economic crisis is over, all transformed to new offices and dwellings by commercial developers: 'Breeding place developers' thus have no chance financially. Beneficial for the municipality is the fact that they have a strong position in terms of land. In development areas as Sloterdijk and the Zuidas, Amsterdam stimulates market actors to incorporate breeding place meters to be let for a reduced price in the private negotiations over the land (a certain percentage of the area). The developer will obviously take these numbers into account in his/her offer. The shared business space is thus financed by the developer (reduced revenues compared to the full opportunity for private sector development) and the municipality (lower land prices).

The entrepreneurs are willing: 86% Of the respondents has a positive attitude towards mixed-use development, 5% is neutral. Only 8% is negative. Besides, the shared business premise in the neighbourhood is the preferred location in case of a business move. Overall, the entrepreneurs are quite satisfied in terms of fulfilled wishes and demands. The market situation and municipal housing program are potential threats in obtaining a finer grain of mixed-use in the neighbourhood. Although, another respondent mentions that 'creatives are excellent in finding (…) special workplaces' themselves. Whether the 'wijkeconomie' will profit in this respect is however unknown.

5.4 Centres, City Streets, Other

Municipal aim of mixed-use
As mentioned, Zaanstad is not fully dependent anymore on the market function of nearby cities as Alkmaar, Haarlem and Amsterdam. The informal location, using the broad definition, is the place where this function manifests itself. However:
"The weather in Zaanstad is 'partly cloudy'. Cloudy because there are vacant properties, but the expected population growth provides some favourable prospects" (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2015b:2).
The municipality therefore defined concentration, densification and compactness as the starting points for these centres. A future-proof retail structure is the consequence: Smaller centres, more mix in the streets towards these places and less isolated activity (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2011a).

Characteristics
For this last level on the informal location therefore a distinction is made between the (shopping) centres, the 'city streets' ('stadssstraten') and the companies in a regular business or shop premise in a residential neighbourhood.

Table 13: Centres, city streets, residential areas

Shopping centres	All centres as distinguished in the retail vision (excl. Zaandam centre, which is regarded formal by the municipality)
City (and village) streets	Both sides of the Zaan river, Peperstraat, Guisweg, Dorpsstraat Assendelft (excl. centers)
Residential areas	'Regular shop / business premise

The retail clusters as formulated in the Detailhandelsstructuurvisie 2015 (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2015b) in the informal areas are usually (9 out of 13) in decline. According to the vision the core shopping areas in the centres of Wormerveer and Krommenie experienced a 10 percent higher vacancy rate than the average in Zaanstad. Of the so-called supportive areas, which are basically the smaller district shopping centres, almost two-third sees decreasing employment rates and business numbers in the retail sector (Vestigingenregister gemeente Zaanstad – own calculations). Several of these clusters are combined with housing. According to the Detailhandelsstructuurvisie just the amount of scattered retail strongly grows (this is likely to be found in the city streets, next to other functions), although precise numbers are missing and these can also be on formal locations (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2015b). The entrepreneurial activity outside the home in the residential areas hardly consists of shops. Associated 'businesses' are schools, day care centers and health care businesses.

Characteristics respondents

The number of respondents is insufficient to draw proper conclusions for the three categories separately (respectively 26, 20 and 37). For all three applies however that the retailsector is predominant (in the residential quarter mainly barbers instead of classical shops), followed by health care (although relatively fewer respondents in the central shopping areas).

Table 14: Overview respondents neighbourhood level

Sector		Respondents
A	Agriculture	2
C	Manufacturing	8
F	Construction	9
G	Retail	35
H	Transport	1
I	Hospitality	6
J	Information	2
K	Financial inst.	3
L	Real estate	3
M	Consultancy	12
N	Lease mov. asset	3
P	Education	5
Q	Health care	21
R	Culture	4
S	Other	3
	Multiple	1
	Unknown	2
Overall		**120**

Source: Survey

This is not that surprising though as especially the differences between the 'village street' and the 'village centre' are not that large. Take the centre of Krommenie for instance:

"There is a multitude of businesses, a car dealer, some bars, restaurants, shoe stores" (Entrepreneur).

Some of these functions are also likely to be found at the Lagendijk or the Peperstraat.

Remarkable is furthermore that the number of freelancers is relatively low (29,2%). The businesses are usually settled in regular business premises (81,2%).

Previous location

Only 34% of the entrepreneurs indicated that they have moved before, which is less remarkable when considering the fact that also a third has started this decennium. Of the 34% that did change locations, 55% moved from a regular business premise, 30% from a dwelling and only 8% from a shared business premise. Interestingly, 60% moved from a residential quarter (of which half from a regular premise, but almost all of these are again settled in city streets or the residential district) and 'only' 23% from a shopping district (2/3 is now located again in such a district). The formal business estates are hardly the previous location.

Demands location and building

These entrepreneurs in shared business premises however have more demands in terms of both building and location. 23% Of the entrepreneurs in the current category had no specific wishes in terms of location. Accessibility, again, forms the most important criterion (29%), just as parking (20%, also for trucks: 1%). Proximity to home is considered way less important (only 4%) though, which indicates that the accessibility is mainly important in terms of clients. This is also in line with the perceived significance of a central location, visibility and proximity of similar firms (14,14 and 13%). The relevance of the classic example of the ice cream sellers on the beach is thus shown again. In attracting consumers the appearance of the neighbourhood (21%) is important as well to create a pleasant living environment. Identity, a link to the place, is mentioned for the first time (1%): Krommenie for instance is praised for its warmth and the well-willing attitude of the local retailers (some even have a small shop in the center and the 'headquarters' on a formal locations).

Character is not mentioned by the respondents, even though: *"What I see is that because we are in an old center, we can create more of an atmosphere (...) This in stark contrast to the new superefficient standard shopping centers as the Kaaikhof in Assendelft.*
(...) Not a single premise is the same. One was built six meters from the street, the other two. It is all straggly, but perhaps that is charming as well" (retailer about Krommenie).
Also not mentioned is proximity near well qualified (potential) employees. *"Look at Milanello (...), people went to jobs, instead of the other way around".*
The mobility of people is perceived to be large these days.

19% Of the respondents indicates that they did not have any specific demands regarding the building at all. The entrepreneurs who did, on the other hand, usually had more demands than those located in shared business premises and obviously also than those at home. The amount of space (32%) is not particularly high relatively, the number of references to a certain layout, specific spaces (treatment rooms, windows, storage) are (relatively; 19%). The appearance of the building (23%), an extra 5% mentions the preference of a new building, is important as well. The costs are less frequently mentioned (26%) than by those in shared business premises.

Settlement reasons

Once asked for the actual settlement reasons, one entrepreneur was very clear:
"There are business opportunities. It is as simple as that." (Business meeting).
"Do we mind to be settled in a neighbourhood shopping center? No, we have a service function".
Or, in other words, the expenditure per year for the products or services to be sold in the service area and the projected share to be attained with a new store compared to the expected business costs roughly determine the location. This is useful when asked for a certain building (availability of the building: 5%):
"Did we have influence on the location? Not really, we were nicely approached for it" (Retailer).
In terms of reasons which point towards undeliberate choices also the number of business acquisitions (14%) is remarkable. Unboundedness to a specific location (3%), demolition (2%), a forced choice (2%) and dissatisfaction with the previous location (1%) complement the total of 27%, which represents a middle position.

Of the criteria that point towards a more deliberate choice, a central location in combination with proximity to clients and visibility (13,9,5%), space (9%), accessibility (9%), appearance (8%) and the building costs (8%) are mentioned. When considering the type of responding entrepreneurs, this is hardly surprising. Especially the first three criteria make this group stand out as the businesses in shared business premises for instance have less need to attract consumers from the streets.

Moving process

In the retail vision (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2015b) the municipality sets out the 'hoofdstructuur'. Zaandam, Krommenie and Wormerveer centre are the main districts, supported by several smaller shopping centres (for daily needs). Competition from shops outside the structure (either isolated or part of a too small and/or unpromising location) is not appreciated and further restricted. Non-daily goods are prevented from settlement outside the structure unless they fulfill three requirements (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2015b: 4):

- They cannot be fit into the main structure;
- They contribute substantively to the attractivitiy of the municipality;
- They do not have a negative effect on the main structure.

The response towards this measure varies, as some retailers out of the structure feel subordinated, whereas others point to the benefits of less vacancy and the important function they still have.

Starting and/or small businesses have issues to obtain a regular premise due to the rent prices and as the vacancy rates are declining these are not likely to decrease (Willemsen, 2017).

This mixture of functions is however not always appreciated by the residents, especially when it concerns hospitality (nuisance). Besides, the number of parking lots might become insufficient.

Despite all the rules and organizational issues the entrepreneurs are satisfied with the settlement process (in many instances the retail vision did not exist yet). In the survey, several respondents however prefer a loosening of the rules to accommodate working and living in business premises (a mixed function), for instance as "entrepreneurs with a low income can work and live there easily". This could thus strengthen these streets to the centres, which also fits a policy goal if these former centres are part of the appointed city ribbons (more specific 'stadslinten'), who have basically the same function as the city streets. The municipality aims to maintain or enlarge entrepreneurial activity of all types on these locations (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2011a).

Table 15: Assessment moving process

Very positive	24%
Positive	37%
Neutral	24%
Negative	4%
Very negative	1%

Source: Survey

Present situation

Despite restrictive forces, the entrepreneurs again seem to find what they are looking for: 85% is positive, only 5% negative. Of the critical remarks only one respondent refers to the lack of opportunities for expansion. The decreasing variety of shops is mentioned twice. The Zaanse market seems to be too small for their special assortment. Some retailers do not point to the missing niches, but to the existence of too much homogeneity of certain businesses in their sector (barbers). No further measures are implemented though, as the municipality refers to the tasks of a business association. The settling entrepreneurs in this case, on the other hand, seem to be either very optimistic or unaware of the mentioned calculation (which is also a service of the ZON). When asked for preferred services, 23% of the 31 answers of respondents who miss certain facilities refer to diversification of shops, more hospitality in the neighbourhood and hotels. Almost half of the answers refer to accessibility measures: public transport, parking and signage:

"Let the municipality think for once about parking space. Every open space is being covered, but one does not think about parking space" (Survey).

Improvement and/or maintenance of the public space (litter, public toilets, rain drainage) accounts for another 26%. An appealing, diverse and accessible neighbourhood is thus preferred.

Future

The chance that the respondents will add with a move to mixed-use is quite small. 71% Indicates that a new location is not to be expected in the near future. Only 16%, slightly less than the entrepreneurs in shared business premises, is likely to go and these are usually settled in a regular premise in a residential quarter.

Table 16: Relocation in 5 years

Very likely	8%
Likely	8%
Neutral	14%
Unlikely	18%
Very unlikely	53%

Source: Survey

The business estate within the city (24%) surprisingly is the preferred new location (due to businesses in construction and information & communication), followed by shopping areas (19%), residential areas (11%) and business estates outside of the city (8%). The regular business premise (mentioned in 39% of the responses), followed by a shared business premise (20%) and the dwelling (WW-Unit: 9%) are the preferred buildings.

Relation location factors and mixed-use policy

"The old city hall is deconstructed here and the plan was, in 2005 or 2006, to create a beautiful new complex with a lot of dwellings, high-rise and shops. (…) In 2008 that could all be abandoned. We are now at the stage that the unbridled building of shops is no longer feasible" (Retailer Zaandijk).

Given the importance of appearance, visibility and a central location, it is obvious that location factors and the municipal policy measures have several common grounds. The municipality furthermore states that they should create the preconditions for a pleasant business climate, investing in the public space and accessibility. Mixed-use is, as could thus be expected, appreciated by the entrepreneurs. 87% Of the respondents is positive, 12% neutral and only 8% is negative. The positive entrepreneurs believe that it will strengthen accessibility and visibility, that it could be a solution to vacancy and that it is part of the Zaanse identity.

The state has a potentially large influence on the factors with their retail policy (which is also beneficial considering the pressure on the housing market) and the aim to stimulate entrepreneurial activity in the city and village streets, but it justly states that the entrepreneurs themselves could perform as well, especially in the creation of a pleasant vibe:

"We are not going to tell them how to do business" (Municipality).

Nevertheless, in the formation of a network in places where this is especially asked, the entrepreneurs adopt a passive attitude. On the other hand, the DOKA in Krommenie for instance actively communicates with the municipality in order to improve the 'spatial conditions' for location choices.

A question could be whether the retail vision is not too restrictive: Forcing businesses to settle according to the main structure, whereas these thus might have issues obtaining a premise in the now more monofunctional centres. On the other hand, other types of business activity might take in the place of retail in the neighbourhood (although for several functions it became clear that they would prefer a business estate). The evaluation will have to shed light on these issues.

5.5 (Future) mixed-use on business estates within the city

Municipal aim of mixed-use

"The minister of Infrastructure looked around and asked: 'How is this working? How can people live here amidst all this?'" (Former process manager Zaans Proeflokaal).

'All this' refers to the highway A8, the railway, the river, Tate & Lyle, dwellings and a school: Complete disorder, according to the minister, whose senses were heavily stimulated. As mentioned, the improvement of the 'spatial preconditions' and the partial rezoning and redevelopment of the inner city sites are solutions that would appeal to the minister.

A noteworthy pilot that has attracted quite some national attention and was the direct consequence of the visit is the complex project of Zaans Proeflokaal, which is formulated to attain three goals (relevant for more cases than just Hemmes):

- The improvement of the quality of life in Zaanstad: *"It smells. There is a lot of nuisance from traffic; it attracts a lot of trucks"* (Expert – Entrepreneur). 98% Of the dwellings in Zaanstad fall within an environmental contour (Gemeente Zaanstad, 2009a).
- Unlocking potential housing sites on the Hemmes peninsula (which was prevented by environmental legislation);
- The sustainable maintenance of the existing companies.

Given the contemporary economic function, merely housing is added. Although, the municipality states that it is "active by searching and seizing opportunities, the support and facilitation of businesses (whether they come or leave)" (Gemeente Zaanstad, n.d.b).

Characteristics

When comparing the 'small' business sites, the urban locations almost all especially offer industrial functions in terms of employment. However, the image is slightly distorted as these estates each house one major industrial company. Biscuit fabric Verkade is the most striking example here, but it turns out that the station area of Koog aan de Zaan houses the OLAM cacao fabric and Overtuinen a large fabric of packaging material, whereas a considerable elektro technic plant is located on the Aris van Broekweg. In terms of the number of businesses, the industry forms only 6% of 1653. Instead, retail (21%), consultancy (14%), construction (10%) and health care (also 10%) are more common. Several of these functions are thus to be expected on informal locations as well.

Characteristics respondents

However, the respondents are mainly active in the production and retail sector, although the consultants are also well represented (table 17). Especially the percentage of manufacturers (26%) is not in proportion with the overall percentage. The culture sector on the other hand is underrepresented (although categories as the creation of furniture could fall within both). Only 23% is a freelancer, often the business size is either 2 or 5. 55% Of the respondents is located in a regular business premise (third column), almost 40% houses in a shared business premise (second column). This is obviously a figure that slightly distorts the image.

Table 17: Overview respondents business estates within the city

Sector		Respondents	SBP	RBP
A	Agriculture	2		2
C	Manufacturing	19	7	11
F	Construction	7	5	2
G	Retail	15	4	10
H	Transport	1		
I	Hospitality	2	1	1
J	Information	1		1
K	Financial inst.	7	3	4
M	Consultancy	9	2	7
N	Lease mov. asset	2	1	1
Q	Health care	6	4	1
R	Culture	2	1	1
S	Other	1	1	
Overall		**74**	**29**	**41**

Source: Survey

Previous location

Compared to the other categories, a considerable number of entrepreneurs has moved (62,2% - 30% multiple times) even though almost a third of the businesses has been founded since 2010. Of the movers, 55% moved from a regular business premise, 22% from a shared business premise and 20% from a dwelling. 37% Was furthermore originally settled on the same type of location, which is quite low, 35% in a residential quarter and 24% in a business estate out of the city.

Demands location and building

First of all, 9% does not have any specific demands in terms of location. Of those who had specific wishes, the settlement reasons return. The importance of infrastructure and accessibility is mentioned by a staggering 75% of the respondents (parking only by 6%). Also the virtual accessibility is highly regarded relatively (7% - mostly due to the Information & Communication businesses). The appearance of the estate is important (19%), but mainly by the entrepreneurs who do not share a premise. 3% Furthermore refers to safety, mainly at night. The location near home is also mentioned often here (20% - almost equal for those within and outside a SBP). In light of the importance of the proximity of clients, the fact that visibility is preferred (16%) is not surprising. This does not mean that the location should be central (3%), which could relate to the wish to be easily accessible (by car). Again, the accessibility does not apply for the neighbours: these are not considered that important for collaboration.

Instead of the neighbours, the suitability of the business space is crucial. Although a moderate 43% refers to square meters (only the entrepreneurs on business estates outside the city refer more often to this: 74%), a relatively large 37% notes the wish for specific spaces as especially storage, an office and work place. Appearance (15%), internal services (10%) and costs (10%) are surprisingly less frequently mentioned.

Settlement reasons

"They say that cocoa from the Zaanstreek has a very good reputation globally: If we would leave we harm our own business as we lose the connection to the Zaanstreek" (Municipality).

An industrial company like Tate & Lyle is still strongly dependent on the river Zaan for the supply of raw materials as became clear this year when the sluices were repaired (Swart, 2017). The spokesperson stated that the business already lost millions of euro's due to this unforeseen problem. It is clear that the position along the river is a crucial factor. 17% Of the answers however points to a less deliberate choice: Availability (9%), the relatively large motive of being asked for a location (5%) and acquisition (only 3%) are mentioned.

Accessibility (25%, which is relatively very high; 2% specifically for trucks) is highly valued whether over water or just over the road. A location near home or significant others (13% / 2%) is perceived ideal. Remarkable is the score of the criterion 'proximity to clients' (8%), which is considerably higher than the scores in the previous paragraphs. Other agglomeration factors are quite low, which is surprising given the high number of respondents from shared business premises. Building costs on the other hand (17%) is perceived important, which does match more with the scores of the entrepreneurs on informal work locations. The costs are more important than the suitability of the building (only 6%) and the appearance (9%). Environmental regulations (3%) should be mentioned as well (not specifically mentioned here before).

Moving process

For new businesses stricter environmental rules apply, as the emissions and nuisance levels are being diminished on the business estates within the city (although obviously still higher than in the residential quarters, as some respondents also mention the (environmental) law as a ground for their settlement on this type of location). Businesses with higher nuisance levels are encouraged to settle on the newer estates outside of the urban cores. Obtaining new regular premises on these business estates is due to the vacancy on these sites not very problematic (Schijven, 2017). Obtaining a qualitatively right premise in an attractive environment is.

Nevertheless, the entrepreneurs are satisfied with the settlement process, although especially the combination of working and living in a regular business premise should be easier.

Table 18: Assessment moving process

Very positive	13%
Positive	17%
Neutral	20%
Negative	3%
Very negative	0%

Source: Survey

Present location

As becomes common, most entrepreneurs experience a fulfillment of most of their demands ("*Otherwise I would not have chosen this location*"): 87% is positive, 10% is predominantly negative. Setbacks were the lack of opportunities to expand, rent prices which turned out to be too high, too rosy expectations of the visibility, nuisance of a nearby factory and deterioration of the neighbourhood. Regarding the last, only 2 responses on the 'service-question' refer to an active improvement of the surrounding area: better lighting and more supervision. Infrastructure-related demands are more common (16/21): more public transport (5), more and free parking (4), faster internet connections (3) et cetera.

Future

Overall the entrepreneurs are thus quite satisfied, which is visible in the number of expected business moves: More than 50% expects to stay. Of both this group and the movers, manufacturers are in the majority.

Table 19: Relocation in 5 years

Very likely	18%
Likely	9%
Neutral	19%
Unlikely	23%
Very unlikely	31%

Source: Survey

Preferred future locations and building types are a regular business premise (mentioned in 58% of the responses), followed by a shared business premise (33%; by entrepreneurs who are already settled in such a building) and a dwelling (WW-Unit; 7%). The business estate within the city (44%) is the preferred location, followed by business sites outside the city (31%), the residential quarter (14%; to a shared business premise) and shopping areas (3%).

Relation location factors and mixed-use policy

Some manufacturers thus already indicate that they expect to move in the near future. The new municipal policy of mixed-use can have some influence here. It could therefore be expected that the existing industrial entrepreneurs are becoming less satisfied, although the location factors do not all reflect a mismatch with the policies. Accessibility and perhaps the proximity of clients somehow are to be related to a negative stance. The costs and appearance of the estate are much harder to connect. So then the lower satisfaction should be visible in the attitude towards mixed-use. The 'negative' percentage is indeed higher, relatively (18%): *"Zaanstad should pursue more proactive policies to separate living and working, which would benefit both the livability and the development of the industry"* (Survey; Manufacturer).
The positivists (71%) point however almost unanimously to the same increased liveliness in the area, which diminishes other types of nuisance as unsafety, criminality (especially when they live above their business themselves, because they are more attached to the environment, 'care' more).

Challenging in the project of the Zaans Proeflokaal is that the initial advantages for the businesses are small. They have to take costly sustainable measures and have to deal with the consequences. Especially the risk of complaining new dwellers is a point of concern, despite commitments of the municipality: *"When there are complaints, then we, as the* *municipal board, will cover you. But those are words. It is a hard case to make"* (Municipality). Complaints are likely though, as the new residents will be 'migrants', unfamiliar with the sight and smell of the Zaanse industries: *"It is hard to estimate. If the wind is in the wrong direction it is as if they are unloading the truck in your backyard (…). Of course the municipality informs the residents, the risks are mentioned (…). They do not tell the whole story though, because it would be too unattractive [to settle]"* (Expert – Entrepreneur).

As Zaanstad-Midden is a 'development area', it is possible to change the zoning plan and force the businesses to take action within ten years, on the penalty of a withdrawal of the environmental permit (Kenniscentrum InfoMil, n.d.). However, the municipality aims to prevent long and costly juridical procedures ánd, as mentioned, simply wants the businesses to stay. The businesses provide employment and strengthen the reputation of Zaanstad as the oldest industrial area of Europe. Whether this last issue is a blessing or part of a lock-in, in terms of path dependency, is debatable: *"In Purmerend you never hear them say 'what a shame we do not have heavy industries'.*

Also, conversations about a possible move to the industrial estates were not effective either: It is too expensive and would damage the brand. Besides, if they would move it is likely that they will exchange Zaanstad and even the Netherlands for the so-called 'resource countries'. Given the difficult negotiations, tangible results are not yet obtained. The municipality has however declared that they will proceed with this pilot and consider implementation in other parts of Zaanstad as well. As the economic crisis is finally over, the interest from market actors to redevelop estates is furthermore rising. The most popular estate, Hembrug, is already a hotspot (Rijksvastgoedbedrijf, 2017). For other less popular estates it is unknown how the market will respond. All in all, obtaining a finer grain of mixed-use is and will be difficult.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

For long, policymakers were focused on the formal locations. These were perceived the settlement places of the engines of the local economy. However, some sand has come into these motors as the employment continues to decrease. Company closures or relocations and decay are the result. At the same time, the employment outside the business estates is increasing considerably. The term ‘informal location’ is therefore more and more used, without a clear understanding of all of its facets. The aim of this explorative thesis was therefore to gain insight into the types of entrepreneurial activity, trends and especially location factors. This was researched in light of the municipal goal of mixed-use development in Zaanstad, traditionally a municipality in which living and working are spatially combined.

6.2 Main conclusions

Characteristics

The formal locations still house the majority of jobs in Zaanstad, 27,5 thousand. This number has strongly decreased since 2010 though with 7 percent. Industry (-900 jobs / 13%) and construction (-1822 / 49%) are the most striking declining sectors. The number of businesses has grown with 25% however. As the vacancy rates are nevertheless high, it makes sense to adopt new policies. This applies especially for the estates within the city, often located path dependently along the river Zaan: These are mostly in decline.

The large sectors (in terms of businesses) are almost equal on both types of locations. Consultancy, construction, health care and retail are well-present. Differences become visible once comparing the number of jobs and more specific branches. Industrial design, social services without stay at night (child care for example), welness & funerals, hotels, art/culture and retail instead of wholesale are examples of the latter that are more often present on the informal locations. In terms of size, the business size is much smaller in the residential areas. This is also noticeable from the growth rates: The informal locations also show an increase in the number of businesses (over 3600 businesses between 2010 and 2017 to almost 24 thousand), but only a modest growth in the number of jobs (117). In fact, 99,5% of the increase of the number of businesses is relatable to freelancers. In total, at least 8000 freelancers were found on informal locations. Considering the fast growth of the mentioned sectors of information & communication and culture & recreation, these are also mostly caused by the increase of these independent entrepreneurs. The existence of this group (and their location) turned out to have a large influence on the location factors.

Location factors

‘Structure’ and ‘agency’ formed the context. Healey & Barrett (1990) found that, within the playing field, the deciding actor has a certain freedom of choice. The development of this thought was visible in the three ‘classical’ stances of Location Theory: the classicists only focus on ‘agency’, the behaviouralist and especially the institutionalists pay more attention to rules, limits and market forces.

To get a deeper understanding of the types of informal locations however, a distinction was made between the home, the shared business premise, a third category consisting of the centres, city streets and solitary buildings and lastly the business estates within the city (the future informal locations). According to this classification, the location factors were also gathered. It was found that there are some considerable differences in both the settlement reasons and demands. Nevertheless, they have strong resemblance of the factors found in the existing academic literature.

The validity of Healey & Barrett's observation was once more proved as the location factors generated out of the main stances proved still relevant: Transportation costs, building costs, agglomeration factors, the appearance of a building and neighbourhood, but also institutional factors as governmental regulations and the market situation were mentioned regularly.

As can be seen, the classical factors have the upper hand; institutional factors usually seem to be preconditions (apart from the building costs and sometimes acquisition). The classical factors on itself furthermore show more or less the remaining importance of place in an increasingly IT-influenced world. The fear that place would not matter in the near future is unfounded. The virtual office or non-place urban realm has not taken off completely.

- The largest subgroup on the informal locations, the entrepreneurs at home, indeed quite often does not choose their business location out of entrepreneurial reasons (Table 20 for an overview of factors). However, they occasionally do fall for the ease, lack of costs and space of their dwelling. They are usually active in the sectors consultancy, construction, retail and health care. This has several implications. Virtual accessibility for example is crucial for some of the business activities they perform. However, as not all have a place at the start of the production process, as was mentioned in the literature, the home is also sufficient for those who combine their (usually administrative) work with personal activities or work on location.
  New trends thus have their influence, but proximity to a flexible work space (in light of 'het Nieuwe Werken') is usually not a factor and these spaces are also not used that often, despite preferences for especially meeting rooms. Laterveer's (2011) statement that not the location, but the opportunity to network is decisive furthermore cannot be endorsed. The location does matter as entrepreneurs prefer to be away from the hassle at home in a place that is suitable to immediately start working.
- The last statement also applies for the shared business premise. These are also usually populated by entrepreneurs (creatives / health care) who either cannot afford a regular premise or are unable to work at home. The main reason they mention is however that they seek collaboration (especially in health care) in a building that has a certain appearance close to home (some specifically stated the neighbourhood). A decent infrastructure is furthermore important (demand). Jacobs-Crisioni (2011) and Van Noort & Reijmer (1999) mention the same factors.
- The other informal businesses in regular premises (schools, day care, shops, also health care) mention factors which strongly resemble of Christaller's theory (partially because of the composition of the respondents base). They prefer a central location close to their visitors, which was often an option due to the acquisition of a predecessor. 'Experience' is indeed a criterion that was mentioned occasionally as a counterpart of online shopping, which is certainly seen as a threat (demand: more regulations!). The view of cars in the area is apparently not seen as disturbing: given the importance of parking lots, the car accessibility is also significant. As most of the businesses had a function which required 'visitors' these factors make perfect sense.

- The entrepreneurs on the business estates within the city (retail, consultancy, construction, health care) are pulled by space and especially accessibility, sometimes also forced by environmental rules (although the estate outside the city is an option too). Availability of the building is also an important criterion. The combination of factors on this formal location thus differs quite strongly from the informal locations. The size of the businesses and products (wholesale) is likely to have especially quite some influence.

Mixed-use (policies)
Given the importance of classical place-based location factors it is thus promising to adopt place-based urban policies. Zaanstad's compact city policy is definitely relevant as it rests on a high density and mixed-use development in order to diversify both population and economic activity (within the neighbourhood). Several measures have therefore been taken: enlarging flexibility in the zoning plans to secure room for multiple possible functions, an extensive housing programme for 15-20 thousand new dwellings in 2040, the municipal retail vision, Zaans Proeflokaal and the transformation of the business estates.

Table 20: Overview location factors (at least 5%)

	Home	SBP	Rest inf.	B.E. within city
CLASSICAL FACTORS				
Building				
Space	3%	17%	9%	34%
Suitability of the building for the business activities	19%	9%	9%	6%
Appearance	1%	11%	8%	9%
Dwelling	34%	0%	5%	0%
Infrastructure				
Quantity and quality of infrastructure (accessibility)	0%	14%	9%	25%
Parking	2%	9%	5%	5%
Agglomeration factors				
Proximity to clients/consumers	1%	0%	5%	8%
(Central) location	4%	9%	13%	6%
Visibility	0%	6%	9%	5%
Proximity to similar firms (Collaboration)	1%	26%	5%	3%
Personal considerations				
Proximity to home	2%	17%	4%	13%
Match with other work, hobbies, and tasks (practical)	6%	0%	0%	2%
Neighbourhood				
Appearance	1%	9%	4%	0%
INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS				
Building costs	18%	26%	8%	17%
After resignation as freelancer in the same building	1%	3%	0%	2%
Availability	3%	0%	5%	9%
Asked for a location	0%	0%	0%	5%
Acquisition of a business	2%	6%	14%	3%
Forced choice	1%	0%	2%	0%
Unsatisfied with former location	0%	3%	1%	0%
Demolition	0%	0%	2%	0%
Not bound to location	5%	0%	3%	0%
Respondents	**326**	**35**	**91**	**64**

Source: Survey

Obviously, the participating entrepreneurs on the informal locations already contribute to mixed-use, which meant that some of the governmental rules did not apply to them. Despite this issue, the policies and practical implementation have their influence.

Mixed-use (policies) and location factors
So, how do the factors on which entrepreneurs in Zaanstad base their decision to locate their businesses in informal work places match with the municipal aim of mixed-use development?

The municipal aim of mixed-use does not always result in steering on the location factors. Several reasons were found:

- The location factors are less relevant in relation to mixed-use. The decision to work at home seems subordinate to the decision to start freelancing. The grain of mixed-use therefore seems to be more influenced by for instance the education level. Hence, even though not explicitly mentioned in the municipal policies, a finer grain is likely to be obtained as a new mix of housing will be built – the higher educated are, as Risselada and Folmer mentioned, indeed more likely to start a business. Besides, the number of freelancers in general is likely to increase.
- The location factors are relevant, but hard to achieve given the market situation. The entrepreneurs in shared business premises explicitly mention advantages of being located within a residential area. Nevertheless, developers and municipality together seem to focus merely on the new Hembrugterrein, instead of the premises in the 'existing' neighbourhoods. Housing has priority.
- The location factors are relevant, but mixed-use is not really the municipal aim. The positive entrepreneurs believe that it will strengthen accessibility and visibility, that it could be a solution to vacancy and that it is part of the Zaanse identity. The market situation can however also be conducive in obtaining the goal. In the retail areas the concentration of shops is likely to increase due to vacancy, in the streets towards these areas though a fine grain could be obtained due to loosened regulation on other types of business activities.
- The location factors are relevant, but mixed-use is not directly to be achieved by attracting entrepreneurs. For the future informal locations it is clear that the addition of housing is the main issue, which is not always in line with the existing business activities. The positivists refer to increased liveliness in the area, which diminishes other types of nuisance as unsafety, criminal behaviour. The opponents fear fewer opportunities for production, expansion and the nuisance they produce themselves.

Obtaining a fine grain is thus, as indicated by theorists, difficult. Entrepreneur, state, civil society and other market actors have different attitudes. The state tries to protect the citizen, who fears noise, smell, overcrowding, parking issues, traffic, but also mainly seems to be concerned with its 'housing component' of mixed-use, which has its impact on the scales on which economic activity can flourish. In fact, one could note that the mixed-use on unit level and on potential informal locations are counteracting each other and find some sort of stressed balance. Developers are logically interested in the most easy and profitable option: which is again also housing.
The reduced pressure on the housing market as an advantage of mixed-use from the literature thus strongly applies for these actors.
The entrepreneur though has a positive attitude to mixed-use in general, based on other advantages (vibrancy, less transaction costs). As Sennett & Hemel argue: They have a natural

preference for mixed-use. The structural institutional factors thus are usually limiting. To state that there is overdeterminism, as Sennett mentioned, is far too premature though: Especially as there are measures taken to increase the economic activity. The choice for more or less entrepreneurship at informal locations is a political decision of course, although there thus are some opportunities to refine the grain of the informal location.

6.3 Practical recommendations

Define the informal location

Before applying policies, it should be clear what exactly will fall within the reach of 'the informal location'. This research has used scientific theories to come to a classification that has several similarities to the one prescribed in the Plabeka. Obviously the Plabeka will be the leading classification, at least on a regional level, but for monitoring on a more specific scale it is recommended to use an approach as presented, which continues on existing features in municipal (spatial) policies as the 'centrumgebieden', 'stadslinten', 'dorpslinten' etc. and has an unambiguous meaning based on physical characteristics.

Three-track policy to stimulate demand ('driesporenbeleid')

In the interviews the role of municipal policies (institutional factor) to accommodate entrepreneurs was a recurring theme. The safest option, which is also implemented partially, is focusing on three tracks: education of the Zaanstedeling, facilitation of the settled entrepreneurs and attracting the Amsterdammers.

Education of the Zaanstedeling

It was found that the neighbourhoods with a higher educated population have more freelancers at home, who founded a business that matches their education level. It is a municipal aim to educate the entrepreneurs in the city in order to let them bond, develop a network which will then hopefully secure the stay of these students after their graduation. The mentioned program of Excellent Ondernemen is an example (not directed by the municipality), with mixed results in this respect. The network is indeed built, but in the interviews a location outside Zaanstad was still preferred.

Facilitating settled entrepreneurs

Therefore it remains important to invest in the 'spatial conditions' for settlement: (virtual) infrastructure, public space. Furthermore it was mentioned that also the soft infrastructure should be maintained and strengthened. Networking is important, thus the existing and new initiatives should be combined to create a sustainable business climate. Especially freelancers sometimes live in a small world, meeting very familiar faces who also happen to be freelancer (and who are unlikely to generate many new tenders): for new opportunities they will have to enlarge their scope.

Attracting the Amsterdammers

It turned out that Amsterdammers are (sometimes) willing (or pushed) to come to Zaanstad to work in shared business premises. It was found that the freelancers who already have a home are unlikely to come, also because they are highly dependent on their network. The 'flying' freelancers could be persuaded to come to the shared business premises or preferably the flexible work spaces by responding to thresholds as persistent negative images. Zaanstad is thought to be boring (except for Hembrug), but so was Amsterdam-Noord. One entrepreneur even offered to make a book about the Amsterdammers in Zaanstad and their experiences to lift the image. Zaanstad is considered to be far away, but cycling from east to west in Amsterdam will take longer than cycling to Zaandam. Besides, Zaanstad is indeed relatively cheap compared to Amsterdam in terms of housing, which is a major push factor. Taking these aspects into account in the marketing campaign would not do much harm. Once they are here however, it is important to integrate them into a network, which is beneficial for themselves and Zaanstad itself as clients, products, streams of money will remain partially in the municipality. A warm welcome is therefore needed. One entrepreneur mentioned that she gave a list of possible interesting companies in the Zaanstreek to a new business, which was a great start.

Options to stimulate supply

Monitor the market

Not all entrepreneurs however see the chance to obtain a premise at all in Zaanstad, as mentioned. If they start from home it is crucial that the space is sufficiently large and fits the activities. As new dwellings are to be built in the city the average measures and services should be taken into account. If the citizens allow it, more streets or blocks could furthermore be appointed for mixed-use. This allows at least larger offices et cetera (now the number of businesses in dwellings zoned for multiple functions only decreases). Furthermore it is important to provide opportunities for them to grow, which is likely to be beneficial for the employment rates as well. The case of the new shared business premises in Amsterdam is an example of how a municipality can stimulate new space in a tight market. Zaanstad is thought to have a weaker position on the land market, but perhaps the new Omgevingswet offers chances to incorporate rules about percentages for shared business space. It is worthwhile to research this.

The role of the municipality

It might seem to be contradictory after mentioning quite some options to stimulate supply and demand, but as shown through the municipality should not control the market. The entrepreneur him- or herself has an own responsibility, some even state that if they cannot handle it they should not have become an entrepreneur at all. Besides, private initiatives are thought to have more urgency (by the entrepreneurs) and practice shows that there are already quite some of these plans. Keeping the city livable remains a joint operation, with the municipality in a supportive role. There are mainly opportunities in the connection and support of initiatives, a clear information provision about the permit process and new spatial plans (expectation management: is the aim participation or in reality 'just' the supply of information?), the improvement of the (spatial) conditions (including also the accessibility of the municipality itself) and occasionally an intervention in the real estate market (zoning plan, fiscal measures): As long as it is in line with the MAAK-policies and Zaans Evenwicht.

6.4 Recommendations for further research

Case study research

This research has touched upon many topics, which were not all researched in detail. There are certainly opportunities to perform a similar research, but then more specific for certain neighbourhoods, streets, buildings et cetera. Also it could be interesting to interview specifically the entrepreneurs from Amsterdam and to Amsterdam to test the presumptions. Loosely related to the location factors, two other topics came across.

Consequences for the employment of the lower educated

Given the situation in Zaanstad it is necessary to research the consequences of entrepreneurial activity on informal locations for, for example, the employment of the lower educated. Obviously there are sectors in which they are more present, but more specific findings to base policies on could be necessary. Also this research has touched upon some thresholds which might hinder business growth, but it is yet unknown whether this group of citizens indeed profits from this growth.

'Multiple functions' in the zoning plan

The opportunities when a business in a dwelling appointed for multiple functions ends, could be researched. At the moment the economic function disappears as most former

entrepreneurs simply use the building as a house (which they have the full right too). Perhaps however there are other, temporary, chances to maintain the economic function in the dwelling.
There thus certainly are some topics which could be explored next to location factors and mixed-use.

6.5 Evaluation

The results have to be seen in light of the quality of the theoretical and methodological framework. In this paragraph some critical notes on this subject are presented, which should be taken into account when valuing the conclusions.

Usually a theoretical framework is created by connecting at least two major concepts to each other. This research lacks such an approach as it was thought that the 'informal location' lacked specific literature. It was later in the research process discovered that several papers were devoted to the 'wijkeconomie' however. Some contributions have therefore been added later on, just as the short theory on mixed-use development as it was soon found out that 'the' informal location did not exist. A more specific categorization was needed and this literature offered opportunities to create a structure (the Plabeka structure was presented by the creators in the analysis phase of the thesis process: too late to fully incorporate, although 'my' structure resembles quite a lot). The structure of the paper therefore also slightly differs from other theses.

The consequence of the creation of a categorization later on in the research process was that some questions rose after the survey was sent. Only one question was specifically appointed to the attitude towards mixed-use development for instance, other questions indirectly referred to it. The interviews were therefore used to gain more insight. Not only the 'theoretical issues' however lead to missed opportunities in the questionnaire. Because the original survey was considered too long (as shortly mentioned in the methods chapter), I had two options. The first option was, apart from removing some institutional questions (references in other questions, mentioned in interviews), to shorten the answer categories ('antwoordmogelijkheden indikken'). However, the disadvantage could have been that the answers would not provide any relevant answer then: 'Quality of infrastructure' does not provide information about what type of infrastructure for instance. The second and chosen option was therefore to use more open questions. These could, after all, provide surprising answers and, if filled in carefully, also more detailed information. As could have been expected though, the open questions were usually and logically answered quickly. Short and perhaps even less detailed answers were the result (and not all questions were answered as designed beforehand). Freelancers for instance occasionally had the idea that the questions were not meant for them as they did not choose a location out of entrepreneurial reasons. Besides, the coding of the responses not only took quite some time, it also does not foster the replicability and reliability. The originally planned more sophisticated data analysis measures could furthermore not be performed.

The choice to use a survey, even though it is some sort of exploratory research, is still justifiable on itself, as the number and diversity of businesses is too large and the scope of the research too wide to only have some interviews. The research would then be less representative. Even though the respondents were not neatly spread over the categories (given the number of variables not surprising), the number of participants in each group was overall quite considerable: Large enough at least not to expect very divergent answers when new respondents would be found. When spreading the research more attention could have been paid to this issue, but as mentioned the expected response was already quite low so all businesses with an email address in the register received an invitation. Unfortunately, this register was slightly dated (January 2017) which meant that some businesses were no longer settled in Zaanstad. Also some entrepreneurs had indicated before that they were not willing to participate in these kinds of researches. This information was simply not at my disposal.

On a more positive note, the interviews were quite alright. Perhaps more entrepreneurs could have been interviewed (now the visits to the network event and some meetings were meant for this), to gain deeper insights. Even though my style could still be improved, the collected answers were very helpful for the research. From these interviews the more surprising results were obtained, because overall the conclusions could have been expected beforehand.

The conclusion is that the potential of the research was there, but some unfortunate choices (which were overall justifiable) and disturbing events have detracted from this. Nevertheless some useful recommendations could have been done of which I hope that they are taken into account.

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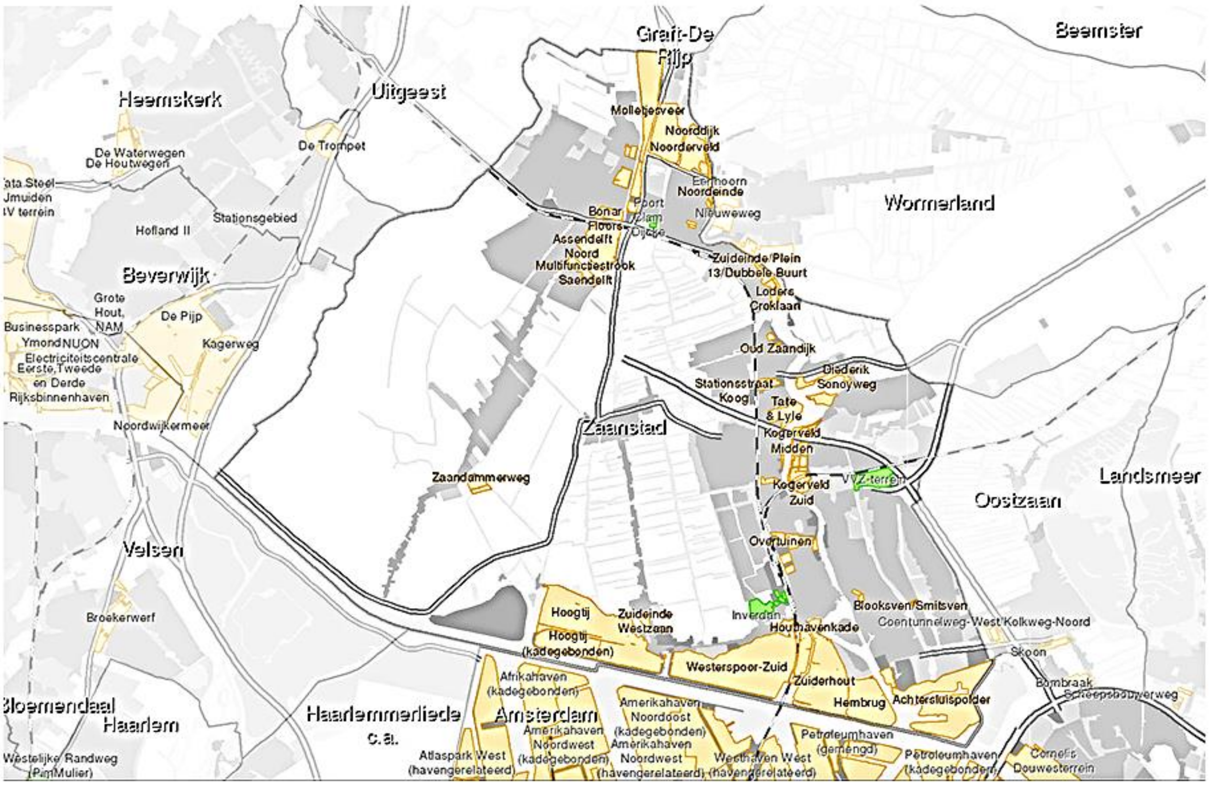
Figure 3: Diversity in informal locations, centred around the dwelling

Source: Own material

Appendices

I. Overview of formal locations

Figure A2: Overview formal worklocations



Source: Bureau Buiten, 2017

Location	Description (indicative number of businesses)
Achtersluispolder	Industrial zone (400): next to the port, prone to vacancy and decay. Nominated for mixed-use (living and working).
Aris van Broekweg	Business park/street (14): across the station of Zaandam, mainly large retail and wholesale, prone to vacancy and decay. Nominated for mixed-use (living and working).
Breedweer	Business park (40): across the station of Koog aan de Zaan, combination of functions (fitness, car sale, building companies). Close to housing. Nominated for mixed-use (living and working).
Diederik Sonoyweg	Industrial zone/street (10): next to the Zaanse Schans, mainly industrial and transport related activities. Stable development.
Hembrug	Former military zone and present industrial zone close to the port (36): space for horeca and woodworking. For sale, nominated for mixed-use (living and working).
Hemmes	Peninsula in the Zaan (7): with mainly ship repair and transport businesses. For sale, nominated for mixed-use (living and working on a small scale).

Honig	Former factory at the border of the Zaan river, close to railway station Koog Bloemwijk (9). Nowadays it is a breeding ground for creative entrepreneurs and should nót be considered a formal location anymore.
Hoogtij	Relatively new industrial zone in Westzaan next to the port (44): consists of mainly construction and harbour related activities. Will remain fully industrial.
Houthavenkade	Business park within Zaandam (*binnenstedelijk*; 22): consists of mainly wholesail (especially cars). Nominated for mixed-use (living and working on a small scale).
Assendelft-Noord	Industrial zone in Assendelft (73): a multitude of functions.
Kogerveld-Midden	Mixed-use business park with for long decreasing economic activities (69) in Zaandam. Nowadays stable.
Kogerveld-Noord	Stable business park within the city (14): has an oil industry, sport park and meat fabric.
Kogerveld-Zuid	Mixed-use business park with for long decreasing economic activities (140) in Zaandam. Nowadays stable.
Krommenieërpad	Business street within the centre of Wormerveer (21). Since 2016 this is no longer considered a formal location.
Krommenie-Oost	Business park within the village of Krommenie (38) which is nominated for mixed-use (living and working). Only category 1 and 2 businesses are allowed.
Molletjesveer	Large business park (256): many construction companies. Prone to vacancy and decay, but it received a considerable financial sum for renovation.
Multifunctiestrook Saendelft	Small zone close to Assendelft-Noord, which functions as a link between the city and the industry (8). There are mainly garages, although also societal functions are planned.
Noorddijk / Noorderveld	Large business park next to Molletjesveer (18/556): diverse functions. Prone to vacancy and decay, but it received a considerable sum for renovation.
Noordeinde	Business street in Wormerveer (24): a combination of wholesail, construction and consultancy among others.
Noordervaartdijk	Business park within the village of Krommenie (34). Only category 1 and 2 businesses are allowed: the largest group are formed by consultancies.
Oostzijde	Business park within the city of Zaandam (26): consists of wholesale, retail and mostly construction companies.
Oud-Zaandijk	Outdated business park within the village of Zaandijk on the other side of the Zaanse Schans (38): Consultancy, breweries, business services

	among others.
Overtuinen	Business park within the city of Zaandam, close to Inverdan (16): multiple functions.
Centrum Zaandam	The recently newly developed city centre of Zaandam with especially a lot of shops alligning the 'gedempte gracht' and the sometimes quite sloppy 'old neighbourhoods' around it (794).
Stationsstraat Koog a/d Zaan	Mainly the OLAM fabric (31).
Tate & Lyle	The fabric of Tate & Lyle (87), having a multitude of functions, apart from industry.
Touwslagerstraat	Old business park in the city of Zaandam close to the neighbourhood of Oud Zuid (30). Especially care-related businesses, garages and construction companies.
Vennenbuurt	Businesses in Poelenburg (26). Especially garages and construction companies.
Verkade	(Former) fabric and surroundings in Oud West, Zaandam (20). Now the former fabric is a multifunctional building. There are especially retail businesses, consultancy and businesses-related services. The contemporary fabric is located at the other end of the street.
Westerspoor-Zuid	A large industrial park, west of Hembrug (542). AH and Aldi have their distribution office here. Also there are several construction companies, metal industries etc.
Wormerveer-Zuid	Business area next to and interwoven in a residential area in Wormerveer (62), with a lot of wholesale (cars).
Zaandammerweg	Business park in Assendelft (23), mainly with construction companies and gardening businesses.
Zuideinde Westzaan	Business park in the south of Westzaan (28). Prone to decay. Since 2016 this is not considered a formal location anymore.
Zuiderhout	Mixed business park, south of the center of Zaandam (201). There is especially retail/wholesale, creative industries, nautic industry. Probably promising perspectives due to its location.

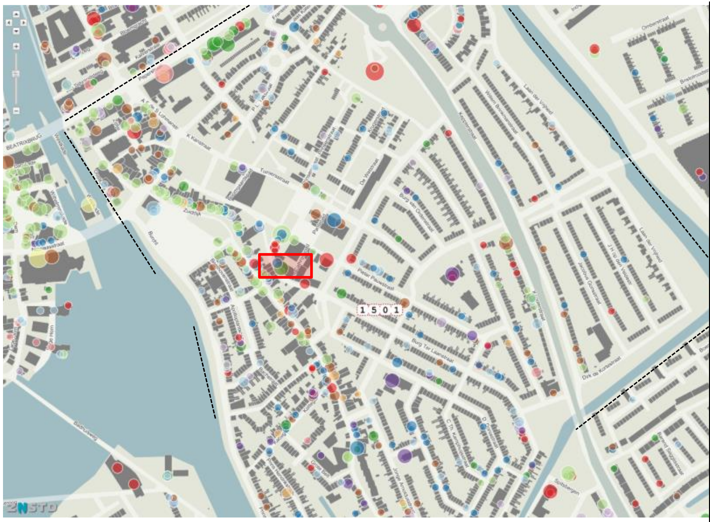
Source: Gemeente Zaanstad – Vestigingenregister 2010 & 2017

II. Overview of informal locations

Consultancy
Construction
Hospitality
Facility m.
Financial serv.
Health care
Industry
Agriculture
Transport
Education
Pub. Adm.
Other

Source: Geoinformatie Gemeente Zaanstad, 1974, 2011, 2012, 2015, 2016 – See the ZaanAtlas for details (Geoinformatie Gemeente Zaanstad, 2012) / Gemeente Zaanstad 2016

1501 – Zaandam Centrum Oost



	2010	2016	2017
Employment	822	835	850
	Con. (163) Retail (127) Educ. (67)	Con. (136) Retail (104) Educ. (84)	Retail (104) Educ. (84) Con. (84)
Businesses	456	585	597
	Con. (93) Retail (47) Well. (31)	Con. (104) Retail (52) Well. (40)	Con. (100) Retail (58) Art (40)
Freelancers	270	354	349
	Con. (70) Well. (19) Retail (15)	Con. (83) Well. (26) Art (25)	Con. (76) Art (31) Well. (23)
According to the Wijkmonitor the quality of life is below the average and has worsened in terms of participation and cohesion. Income, work and education are below average, the entrepreneurial activity on average.			

1502 – Zaandam Rosmolenwijk

	2010	2016	2017
Employment	3227	3225	3172
	H.care (1626) Care (529) R.Est. (165)	H.Care (1647) Care (675) Retail (105)	H.care (1623) Care (659) Retail (99)
Businesses	446	589	612
	Con. (59) Retail (48) H.care (41)	Con. (81) Retail (57) H.Care (54)	Con. (94) H.care (54) Retail (48)
Freelancers	240	342	356
	Con. (50) Retail (21) Well. (15)	Con. (65) Retail (31) Art (20)	Con. (80) Art (22) Retail (20)
According to the Wijkmonitor the quality of life is below the average and has worsened especially in terms of participation. Income, work and education are below average, the entrepreneurial activity on average.			

1503 – Pelders- en Hoornseveld

	2010	2016	2017
Employment	1258	1460	1467
	Educ. (296) S.ser (150) Retail (152)	Retail (340) Educ. (337) S.serv.(154)	Educ. (344) Retail (341) S.ser. (104)
Businesses	487	670	719
	Con. (85) Retail (37) H.care (36	Con. (109) Retail (56) H.Care (54)	Con. (116) Retail (62) Fac.m. (60)
Freelancers	308	405	356
	Con. (78) Whol. (27) Fac.m. (20)	Con. (89) Fac. m. (33) Well. (27)	Con. (94) Art (22) Retail (20)
According to the Wijkmonitor the quality of life is below the average and has almost remained stable. The other indicators are below average as well.			

1504 – Poelenburg

	2010	2016	2017
Employment	936	1055	992
	Educ. (216) Care (138) Retail (88)	Educ. (237) Care (161) Con. (78)	Educ. (246) Care (90) Con. (89)
Businesses	336	446	499
	Con. (66) Fac.m. (48) Retail (34)	Con. (76) Fac. m. (52) Retail (36)	Con. (92) Fac.m. (51) Trans. (45)
Freelancers	218	246	276
	Con. (60) Fac. m. (36) Well. (15)	Con. (61) Fac. m. (33) H.Care (13)	Con. (72) Fac.m. (33) Trans. (25)
According to the Wijkmonitor the quality of life is far below the average and has even decreased further. Income, work and education are far below average, whereas the entrepreneurial activity is 'just' below average.			

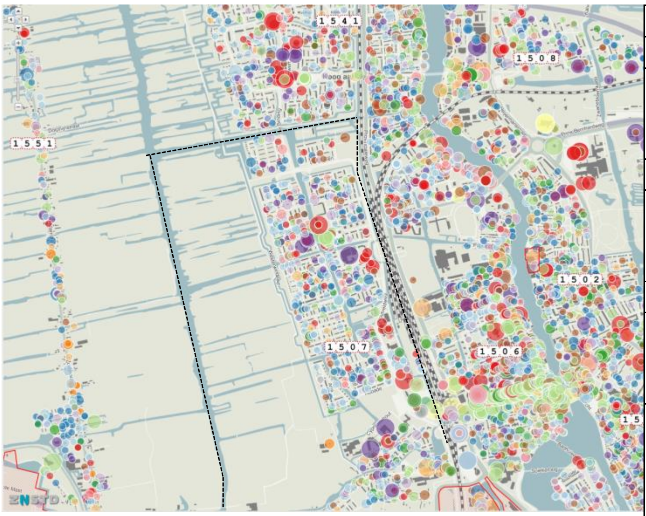
1505 – Zaandam Zuid

	2010	2016	2017
Employment	363	463	722
	Con. (55) Educ. (49) S.ser (42)	Educ. (51) Con. (49) Retail (38)	Retail (57) Con. (53) Educ. (48)
Businesses	230	374	385
	Con. (49) Retail (29) Educ. (11)	Con. (47) Retail (29) Fac. m. (26)	Con. (56) Retail (32) Educ. (24)
Freelancers	153	241	245
	Con. (43) Retail (17) Post (8)	Con. (36) Fac. m. (17) Retail (16)	Con. (39) Fac.m. (17) Retail (16)
According to the Wijkmonitor the quality of life is below the average and has worsened in terms of participation and cohesion. Income, work and education are below average, the entrepreneurial activity on average.			

1506 - Zaandam Center & Schilders- and Waddenbuurt

	2010	2016	2017
Employment	2308	2575	2539
	Educ. (283) H.care (272) Jur. (221)	Retail (489) H.Care (330) Educ. (318)	Educ. (328) H.care(323) Retail (319)
Businesses	764	1194	1184
	Con. (86) Hold. (53) Fin.I. (51)	Con. (107) Retail (103) Hold. (90)	Con. (110) Hold. (93) H.care (86)
Freelancers	437	667	644
	Con. (68) Hold. (40) Pub.a (31)	Con. (87) Hold. (57) H.Care (41)	Con. (94) Hold. (60) Ind.d. (53)
According to the Wijkmonitor the quality of life is above the average and has improved. Income, work and education are above average, the entrepreneurial activity is even far above average.			

1507 – Zaandam Nieuw-West



	2010	2016	2017
Employment	1720	1582	1440
	Educ. (242) Fac.m. (136) H.care(132)	H.care (262) Educ. (211) Retail (105)	H.care(280) Educ. (214) Food (121)
Businesses	614	815	799
	Con. (70) Retail (45) IT (36)	Con. (92) Educ. (64) Retail (63)	Con. (93) Educ. (70) Retail (55)
Freelancers	342	494	463
	Con. (54) IT (27) Well. (21)	Con. (75) Educ. (36) Hold. (33)	Con. (72) Educ. (35) IT (30)
According to the Wijkmonitor the quality of life is above the average and has improved. Income, work and education are far above average, the entrepreneurial activity is just above average.			

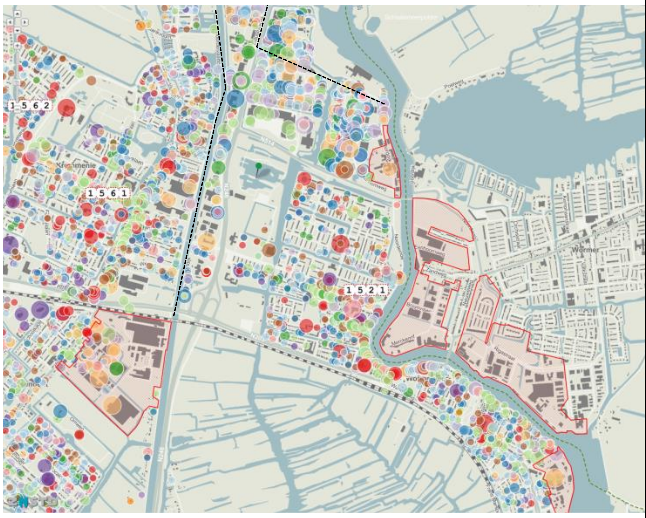
1508 - Kogerveldwijk

	2010	2016	2017
Employment	363	433	418
	Pub.a (94) Educ. (72) Con. (34)	Pub.a (140) Educ. (61) Con. (38)	Pub.a (100) Educ. (61) Retail (52)
Businesses	152	217	226
	Con. (31) Retail (16) Educ. (13)	Con. (41) Educ. (18) Retail (17)	Con. (49) Educ. (19) Retail (16)
Freelancers	90	136	141
	Con. (29) Educ. (8) IT (6)	Con. (34) Educ. (13) Retail (9)	Con. (40) Educ. (15) Retail (7)
According to the Wijkmonitor the quality of life is slightly below average, but has improved on cohesion. Income, work and education are below average, the entrepreneurial activity is on average.			

1509 – Zaandam Noord

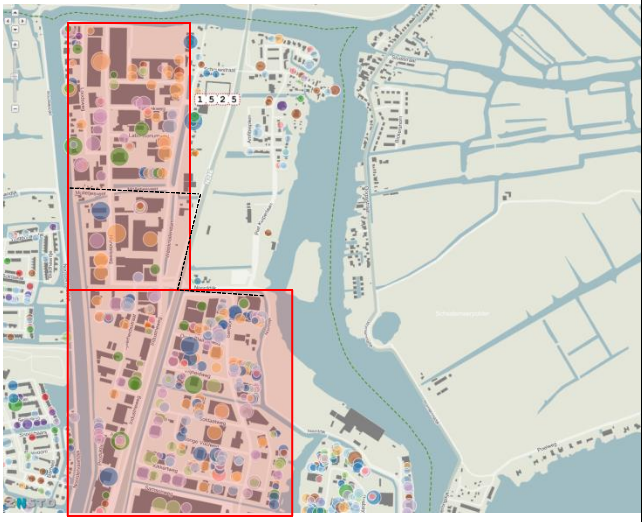
	2010	2016	2017
Employment	910	924	1017
	Educ. (173) Retail (118) Care (103)	Educ. (168) Care (103) Retail (98)	Educ. (183) Care (90) Retail (85)
Businesses	392	465	486
	Con. (43) Retail (38) Hold. (26)	Con. (53) H.Care (34) Retail (31)	Con. (61) H.care(37) Retail (30)
Freelancers	246	288	286
	Con. (31) Retail (25) Hold. (16)	Con. (46) H.Care (21) Hold. (19)	Con. (49) H.care(20) Hold. (17)
According to the Wijkmonitor the quality of life is above average and improved. Income, work and education are above average, the entrepreneurial activity was below average, but is now on average.			

1521 - Wormerveer



	2010	2016	2017
Employment	2046	1649	1612
	Care (356) Retail (354) R.Est. (117)	Retail (315) R.Est. (226) Care (134)	Retail (303) R.Est. (199) Educ. (138)
Businesses	590	793	865
	Retail (100) Con. (77) Hosp. (32)	Con. (120) Retail (101) Well. (47)	Con. (144) Retail (104) H.care(54)
Freelancers	314	446	478
	Con. (61) Retail (28) Well. (24)	Con. (101) Retail (37) Well. (31)	Con. (118) Retail (40) Well. (30)
According to the Wijkmonitor (including Knollendam) the quality of life is on average and has improved on cohesion and participation. Income, work and education are below the average though, the entrepreneurial activity is above average.			

1525 – Westknollendam



	2010	2016	2017
Employment	116	114	128
	Other g. (59) Educ. (10) Recr. (7)	Con. (16) Retail (10) Educ. (10)	Con. (19) Retail (15) Recr. (9)
Businesses	41	72	74
	Recr. (5) Well. (4) Con. (4)	Metal (6) Con. (6) Well. (6)	Metal (8) Con. (8) Well. (6)
Freelancers	24	38	35
	Con. (3) Mark. (3) Recr. (3)	Con. (3) Mark (3) Hold. (3)	Con. (5) Mark (3) Metal. (3)
According to the Wijkmonitor (including Wormerveer) the quality of life is on average and has improved on cohesion and participation. Income, work and education are below the average though; the entrepreneurial activity is above average.			

1541 - Westerkoog & Oud Koog a/d Zaan

	2010	2016	2017
Employment	1364	1490	1493
	Retail (261) H.care (201) Educ. (100)	Retail (227) H.care (180) Educ. (157)	Retail (221) H.care(193) Educ. (159)
Businesses	580	826	829
	Con. (78) Retail (65) Well. (38)	Con. (99) Retail (71) Educ. (58)	Con. (107) Retail (67) Educ. (63)
Freelancers	320	459	451
	Con. (61) Retail (20) Well. (21)	Con. (76) Educ. (35) Ind.d. (34)	Con. (81) Educ. (35) Hold. (31)
According to the Wijkmonitor the quality of life is above average, but has improved in Westerkoog and worsened in Koog. Income, work and education are together above the average though; the entrepreneurial activity is on average. Oddly, the latter is below average in Westerkoog.			

1544 – Rooswijk / Oud Koog Zaandijk

	2010	2016	2017
Employment	1801	1543	1538
	Pub. A (634) Care (203) Educ. (189)	Pub.a. (346) S.serv. (203) Educ. (187)	Pub.a (346) Care (203) Educ. (155)
Businesses	468	657	694
	Con. (57) Retail (45) Fin. I. (33)	Con. (93) Retail (51) Hold. (43)	Con. (100) Retail (49) Hold. (44)
Freelancers	284	400	417
	Con. (48) Fin. I. (20) Hold. (25)	Con. (79) Hold. (28) Educ. (28)	Con. (83) Art (29) Educ. (27)
According to the Wijkmonitor the quality of life is above average, but has improved in Rooswijk (which is comfortably above the average) and worsened in Zaandijk (mixed scores). Income, work and education are together above the average though; the entrepreneurial activity is on average. Oddly, the latter is below average in Rooswijk.			

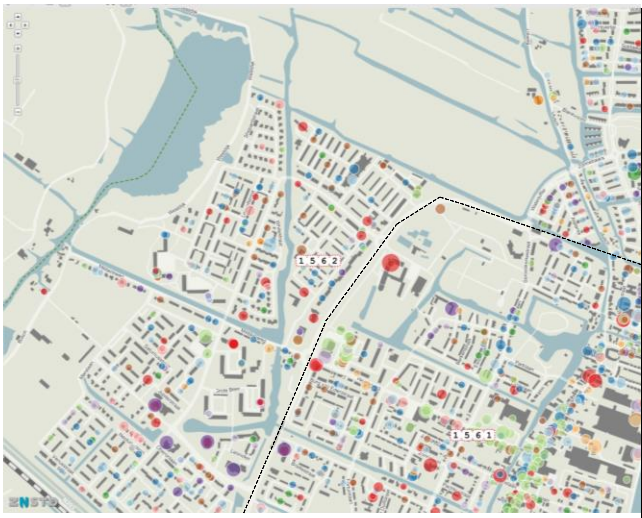
1551 - Westzaan

	2010	2016	2017
Employment	587	639	1272
	Con. (103) Retail (58) Educ. (38)	Con. (131) Retail (72) Educ. (39)	Con. (138) Retail (76) Educ. 38)
Businesses	361	509	537
	Con. (65) Fin. I. (29) Retail (21)	Con. (92) Hold. (36) Retail (26)	Con. (92) Hold. (38) Retail (30)
Freelancers	215	318	319
	Con. (50) Fin. I. (19) Mark. (16)	Con. (72) Hold. (26) H.care (18)	Con. (69) Hold. (25) H.care(16)
According to the Wijkmonitor the quality of life is above average. Income, work and education are above the average, the entrepreneurial activity is on average.			

1561 – Krommenie Oost

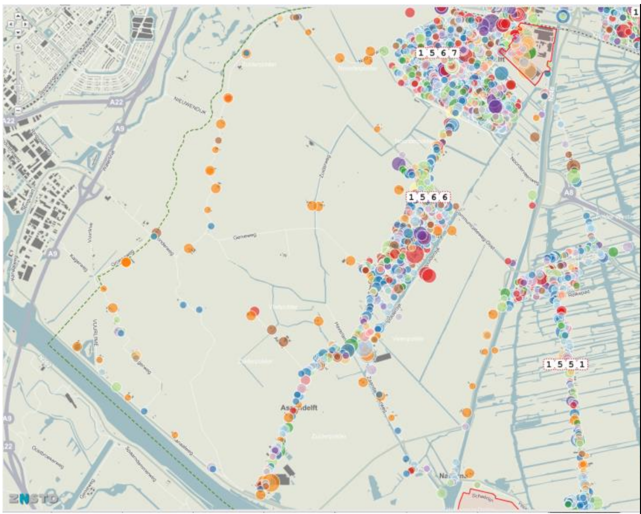
	2010	2016	2017
Employment	1921	1631	1649
	Retail (446) Educ. (353) Care (169)	Educ. (365) Retail (337) Con. (120)	Educ. (353) Retail (342) Con. (117)
Businesses	586	699	718
	Retail (110) Con. (90) Well. (36)	Retail (114) Con. (98) Well. (52)	Retail (110) Con. (94) Well. (55)
Freelancers	310	370	374
	Con. (70) Retail (37) Well. (21)	Con. (76) Retail (36) Well. (30)	Con. (70) Retail (33) Well. (31)
According to the Wijkmonitor the quality of life is on average and has improved on education and health. Work and education are on average, just as the entrepreneurial activity. Income is below the average.			

1562 – Krommenie West



	2010	2016	2017
Employment	676	674	649
	Educ. (113) Con. (74) H.care (55)	Educ. (113) Con. (71) H.care (69)	Educ. (109) Con. (67) H.care(66)
Businesses	476	610	609
	Con. (68) Fin. I. (39) Hold. (33)	Con. (75) Hold. (59) Retail (39)	Con. (76) Hold. (61) Educ. (42)
Freelancers	297	362	345
	Con. (59) Fin. I. (26) Hold. (24)	Con. (62) Hold. (33) Retail (26)	Con. (56) Hold. (31) Educ. (21)
According to the Wijkmonitor the quality of life is above average and has improved on 'Capabilities' of the residents (health and education). Income, work and education are above average, the entrepreneurial activity is below average though.			

1566 – Assendelft Zuid



	2010	2016	2017
Employment	2114	2063	1997
	Educ. (221) Retail (194) Agr. (180)	Con. (271) Educ. (253) Agr. (162)	Con. (288) Educ. (233) Agr. (180)
Businesses	947	1229	1228
	Con. (150) Retail (81) Agr. (60)	Con. (190) Hold. (83) Retail (81)	Con. (195) Hold. (81) Retail (79)
Freelancers	574	688	678
	Con. (110) Retail (36) Hold. (36)	Con. (140) Hold. (53) Well. (39)	Con. (140) Hold. (53) Retail (38)
According to the Wijkmonitor the quality of life is above average although it slightly decreased due to a lack of services. Income, work and education are above average, the entrepreneurial activity is on average contrary to the score of some other 'well-scoring quarters' on this indicator.			

1567 – Assendelft Noord

	2010	2016	2017
Employment	367	909	921
	Educ. (74) S.serv (51) Con. (43)	Retail (149) Educ. (142) Con. (68)	Educ. (152) Retail (144) Con. (71)
Businesses	241	660	729
	Con. (35) Hold. (18) IT (17)	Retail (75) Con. (69) Hold. (47)	Retail (82) Con. (72) Hold. (55)
Freelancers	162	388	409
	Con. (31) Hold. (15) Trans. (12)	Con. (58) Hold. (31) Retail (31)	Con. (55) Hold. (33) Retail (30)
According to the Wijkmonitor the quality of life is above average and even increased further. Income is far above the average, work and education are above average, the entrepreneurial activity is however below average.			

III. Extra statistics

Table A1a: Number of jobs on formal locations per sector 2010-2017

Sector	Formal locations Tot.2010	Tot.2017	2017-2010	2017-2010
A - Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	215	48	-167	-78%
B- Mineral extraction			0	
C - Manufacturing	6947	6059	-888	-13%
D - Production, distribution and trade of elektricity	0	1	1	
E- Extraction and distribution of water, waste	254	134	-120	-47%
F- Construction	3729	1907	-1822	-49%
G- Wholesale, retail and reparation of cars	5243	5692	449	9%
H- Transport and storage	2582	3040	458	17,7%
I- Hospitality (cafés, hotels etc.)	383	574	191	50%
J- Information and communication	663	508	-155	-23%
K- Financial institutions	799	291	-508	-64%
L- Real Estate	146	219	73	50%
M- Consultancy, research and other specialistic business services	3353	3683	330	10%
N- Lease of movable assets	1493	1364	-129	-9%
O- Public administration	1748	2887	1139	65%
P- Education	976	794	-182	-19%
Q- Health care	646	667	21	3%
R- Culture, sports and recreation	297	246	-51	-17%
S- Other services (organisations, reparation, funeral business	267	303	36	13%
Unknown				
Overall	29741	27557	-2184	-7%

Source: Gemeente Zaanstad, 2010a & 2017a (Vestigingenregister; calculated by author)

Table A1b: Number of businesses and employment on formal locations in 2010 and 2017

Number of businesses	Inverdan	'Large business estates' (out)	'Small' business estates (in)	**All formal**	*Number of jobs*	Inverdan	'Large business estates' (out)	'Small' business estates (in)	**All formal**
Overall	794	2107	859	3760	**Overall**	7505	14683	5232	27557
% 2017-2010	22%	31%	15%	25%	**% 2017-2010**	20%	-8%	-16%	-7%

Source: Gemeente Zaanstad, 2010a & 2017a (Vestigingenregister; calculated by author)

Table A2: Number of jobs on informal locations per sector 2010-2017

	Informal locations				
Sector	Tot.2010	Tot.2017	2017-2010	2017-2010	**F-IF 2017**
A - Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	227	225	-2	-1%	-177
B- Mineral extraction		2	2		-2
C - Manufacturing	1005	1088	83	8%	4971
D - Production, distribution and trade of elektricity	0	1	1		0
E- Extraction and distribution of water, waste	15	35	20	133%	99
F- Construction	1861	1909	48	3%	-2
G- Wholesale, retail and reparation of cars	3362	3192	-170	-5%	2500
H- Transport and storage	493	540	47	10%	2500
I- Hospitality (horeca, hotels etc.)	542	668	126	23%	-94
J- Information and communication	427	589	162	38%	-81
K- Financial institutions	534	552	18	3%	-261
L- Real Estate	643	448	-195	-30%	-229
M- Consultancy, research and other specialist business services	2136	2067	-69	-3%	1616
N- Lease of movable assets	1062	982	-80	-8%	382
O- Public administration	925	495	-430	-46%	2392
P- Education	2763	2918	155	6%	-2124
Q- Health care	5640	5731	91	2%	-5064
R- Culture, sports and recreation	560	691	131	23%	-445
S- Other services (organisations, reparation, funeral business	704	796	92	13%	-493
Unknown		87	87		-87
Overall	22899	23016	117	1%	5401

Source: Gemeente Zaanstad, 2010a & 2017a (Vestigingenregister; calculated by author)

Table A3-5: the total share of the number of businesses, freelancers and jobs in the sector in the ZIP area compared to the total number of jobs in the sector in Zaanstad

SBI/ZIP	1501	1502	1503	1504	1505	1506	1507	1508	1509	1521	1525	1541	1544	1551	1561	1562	1566	1567	**Overall**	
A	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	3%	2%	0%	1%	2%	1%	1%	0%	17%	3%	8%	58%	2%	100	
B	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%		
C	5%	4%	4%	2%	2%	7%	6%	1%	5%	8%	3%	6%	7%	6%	9%	4%	16%	5%		
D	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%		
E	6%	6%	13%	19%	6%	0%	13%	0%	6%	0%	6%	0%	6%	0%	6%	0%	13%	0%		
F	6%	6%	7%	5%	3%	6%	6%	3%	4%	8%	0%	7%	6%	6%	6%	4%	12%	4%		
G	5%	5%	6%	3%	3%	9%	6%	1%	3%	10%	1%	7%	5%	4%	10%	5%	9%	7%		
H	4%	6%	10%	14%	8%	5%	7%	3%	3%	5%	1%	5%	4%	3%	5%	2%	6%	9%		
I	12%	7%	5%	4%	4%	8%	6%	3%	5%	16%	0%	5%	5%	4%	7%	2%	7%	2%		
J	6%	4%	5%	4%	2%	13%	10%	2%	5%	4%	0%	8%	6%	4%	3%	4%	8%	10%		
K	2%	2%	5%	1%	2%	16%	6%	1%	5%	5%	1%	7%	8%	7%	5%	9%	12%	4%		
L	3%	3%	3%	4%	1%	15%	4%	2%	4%	10%	0%	6%	7%	8%	8%	6%	11%	4%		
M	5%	4%	4%	2%	2%	14%	7%	1%	4%	6%	1%	7%	7%	5%	5%	7%	11%	7%		
N	3%	7%	11%	10%	5%	9%	5%	2%	4%	6%	0%	6%	6%	2%	3%	4%	8%	6%		
O	0%	0%	10%	0%	0%	10%	0%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	20%	10%	10%	0%	20%	0%		
P	5%	4%	7%	4%	3%	10%	10%	3%	4%	6%	0%	9%	6%	4%	4%	6%	10%	6%		
Q	4%	7%	7%	4%	3%	11%	6%	2%	5%	8%	0%	8%	6%	3%	7%	5%	8%	7%		
R	7%	7%	5%	3%	4%	12%	6%	2%	6%	7%	1%	7%	7%	4%	5%	4%	9%	4%		
S	6%	6%	6%	4%	3%	8%	8%	1%	4%	7%	1%	8%	5%	4%	9%	5%	10%	6%		
T																				
% c.t. ZNSTD	5%	5%	6%	4%	3%	10%	7%	2%	4%	7%	1%	7%	6%	5%	6%	5%	10%	6%	100%	5,56
Overall	597	612	719	499	385	1184	799	226	486	865	74	829	694	537	718	609	1228	729	11790	

SBI/ZIP	1501	1502	1503	1504	1505	1506	1507	1508	1509	1521	1525	1541	1544	1551	1561	1562	1566	1567	**Overall**	
A	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	4%	2%	0%	0%	4%	2%	2%	0%	21%	6%	9%	43%	4%	100	
B	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%		
C	5%	4%	4%	3%	2%	8%	6%	1%	3%	8%	1%	6%	7%	6%	9%	3%	17%	6%		
D																		100%		
E	0%	0%	14%	29%	14%	0%	0%	0%	14%	0%	0%	0%	14%	0%	14%	0%	0%	0%		
F	6%	6%	7%	6%	3%	7%	5%	3%	4%	9%	0%	7%	7%	5%	5%	4%	12%	4%		
G	5%	5%	7%	3%	4%	8%	7%	2%	3%	9%	1%	6%	6%	5%	7%	7%	11%	7%		
H	3%	7%	10%	12%	9%	4%	8%	2%	4%	5%	1%	5%	4%	2%	5%	3%	6%	10%		
I	13%	7%	5%	5%	6%	5%	6%	3%	6%	15%	0%	6%	6%	6%	5%	2%	3%	3%		
J	5%	5%	6%	4%	2%	11%	11%	3%	5%	4%	0%	9%	6%	4%	4%	4%	6%	10%		
K	2%	2%	4%	1%	3%	16%	6%	1%	5%	5%	1%	8%	9%	7%	4%	11%	11%	5%		
L	4%	2%	5%	4%	1%	11%	5%	2%	2%	9%	0%	7%	9%	10%	8%	7%	10%	4%		
M	5%	5%	5%	2%	2%	14%	8%	2%	5%	5%	0%	7%	7%	5%	5%	7%	11%	7%		
N	3%	6%	10%	10%	6%	9%	5%	3%	4%	5%	0%	6%	6%	3%	4%	5%	9%	6%		
O																	100%			
P	5%	4%	7%	3%	4%	10%	9%	3%	4%	6%	0%	10%	7%	4%	4%	6%	9%	5%		
Q	4%	5%	6%	4%	3%	9%	8%	2%	5%	9%	0%	8%	6%	4%	5%	5%	9%	8%		
R	7%	8%	5%	3%	4%	12%	5%	2%	5%	8%	0%	8%	8%	3%	6%	5%	9%	4%		
S	6%	5%	6%	3%	3%	7%	9%	1%	4%	7%	1%	7%	5%	4%	9%	5%	10%	7%		
T																				
% c.t. ZNSTD	5%	5%	6%	4%	4%	10%	7%	2%	4%	7%	0%	7%	6%	5%	5%	6%	10%	6%	100%	5,56
Overall	402	416	491	323	281	780	571	159	336	561	40	572	510	369	438	443	813	515	8020	

SBI/ZIP	1501	1502	1503	1504	1505	1506	1507	1508	1509	1521	1525	1541	1544	1551	1561	1562	1566	1567	**Overall**	
A	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	8%	1%	5%	80%	0%	100	
B	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		
C	3%	2%	2%	1%	1%	8%	25%	1%	15%	4%	3%	3%	11%	2%	6%	1%	9%	2%		
D	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%		
E	0%	9%	3%	11%	3%	0%	23%	0%	3%	0%	9%	0%	3%	0%	3%	0%	34%	0%		
F	7%	5%	6%	5%	3%	6%	6%	3%	3%	7%	1%	6%	6%	8%	6%	4%	16%	4%		
G	4%	4%	11%	3%	3%	11%	4%	2%	4%	12%	1%	9%	4%	3%	12%	2%	6%	5%		
H	6%	5%	8%	13%	9%	4%	9%	2%	2%	8%	0%	5%	4%	5%	3%	1%	6%	9%		
I	11%	13%	4%	3%	3%	12%	3%	2%	2%	10%	0%	5%	4%	3%	8%	3%	7%	4%		
J	8%	5%	4%	4%	3%	14%	9%	2%	3%	5%	1%	10%	4%	3%	5%	4%	6%	11%		
K	1%	2%	3%	1%	1%	32%	5%	1%	5%	4%	1%	5%	6%	5%	8%	7%	8%	4%		
L	1%	12%	0%	1%	0%	11%	2%	0%	12%	44%	0%	2%	1%	2%	5%	1%	2%	2%		
M	5%	5%	4%	3%	2%	16%	6%	1%	4%	7%	0%	6%	7%	4%	5%	6%	14%	5%		
N	3%	11%	9%	8%	4%	14%	4%	1%	2%	5%	0%	13%	3%	2%	3%	3%	13%	3%		
O	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	0%	9%	0%	0%	0%	0%	31%	56%	0%	0%	2%	0%		
P	3%	2%	12%	8%	2%	11%	7%	2%	6%	5%	0%	5%	5%	1%	12%	4%	8%	5%		
Q	1%	41%	4%	4%	1%	10%	5%	1%	3%	4%	0%	6%	5%	1%	6%	2%	4%	3%		
R	5%	7%	8%	3%	3%	13%	9%	1%	10%	9%	1%	5%	5%	3%	5%	3%	7%	2%		
S	9%	6%	4%	4%	3%	10%	6%	2%	2%	8%	0%	9%	9%	3%	9%	2%	10%	5%		
T																				
% c.t. ZNSTD	4%	13%	6%	4%	3%	11%	6%	2%	4%	7%	1%	6%	6%	3%	7%	3%	8%	4%	100%	5,56
Overall	850	3172	1467	992	722	2539	1440	418	1017	1612	128	1493	1538	642	1649	649	1997	921	23876	

Source: Gemeente Zaanstad, 2010a & 2017a (Vestigingenregister; calculated by author)

Table A6: The number of employees per sector in each ZIP code area in 2010 and 2017

	Znd C-E		Rosmolenwijk		Pelders-/H		Poelenburg		Znd. South		Znd. Centr.		Znd. N-W		Kogerveldwijk		Znd. north	
SBI	**2010**	**2017**	**2010**	**2017**	**2010**	**2017**	**2010**	**2017**	**2010**	**2017**	**2010**	**2017**	**2010**	**2017**	**2010**	**2017**	**2010**	**2017**
A	1				0			1			1	4	4	4			0	0
B										1		1						
C	38	32	20	26	27	27	49	6	4	15	62	84	251	277	2	6	65	166
D			0															
E	1	0		3	1	1	2	4		1			5	8	1			1
F	168	131	101	99	88	108	70	91	66	58	92	112	177	111	36	49	39	64
G	143	124	165	124	189	360	116	97	52	87	268	336	230	117	47	69	139	127
H	21	33	16	26	21	45	28	72	24	49	31	22	51	49	2	13	10	10
I	66	75	90	89	35	29	8	21	16	19	28	80	21	19	18	16	15	15
J	24	45	32	31	11	25	7	23	14	20	40	82	51	53	9	10	15	16
K	16	8	5	13	21	18	12	8	4	5	61	179	32	26	6	5	35	26
L	36	6	165	54	3	2	6	6	1	0	166	50	7	7		1	27	54
M	111	96	70	95	78	93	77	57	23	49	511	338	122	114	11	17	105	84
N	14	30	121	105	72	88	75	78	17	35	68	139	156	36	11	8	28	20
O					40	0					20	21	25		94	100		
P	67	84	103	64	296	344	216	246	49	48	283	328	242	214	72	61	173	183
Q	17	82	2265	2343	293	243	216	232	66	65	488	545	262	301	34	43	179	164
R	25	36	27	48	64	54	17	20	10	20	101	88	41	60	8	8	56	68
S	74	68	47	49	19	30	37	30	17	20	88	78	43	44	12	12	24	19
T																		
Empty				3								52						
Overall	822	850	3227	3172	1258	1467	936	992	363	722	2308	2539	1720	1440	363	418	910	1017

	Wormerveer		W-Knol.		Westerkoog		Rooswijk		Westzaan		Krom. East		Krom. W.		Ass. South		Ass. North	
SBI	**2010**	**2017**	**2010**	**2017**	**2010**	**2017**	**2010**	**2017**	**2010**	**2017**	**2010**	**2017**	**2010**	**2017**	**2010**	**2017**	**2010**	**2017**
A		1	1	1		0	1		25	18	1	2	11	12	182	181	0	1
B																		0
C	60	44	60	31	24	38	98	123	37	21	75	61	38	16	90	95	5	20
D		0				0												1
E				3				1				1			5	12		
F	100	137	9	19	106	116	100	105	128	145	125	119	74	68	338	303	44	74
G	488	383	8	31	353	290	142	129	98	108	501	386	79	65	314	195	30	164
H	68	42	4	2	37	27	11	24	7	25	84	18	3	6	49	30	26	47
I	70	70			22	36	37	28	14	21	44	54	15	20	41	46	2	30
J	39	28	4	4	32	60	20	23	14	18	34	32	24	23	43	33	14	63
K	28	23	2	4	40	30	39	31	41	29	59	44	44	39	76	43	13	21
L	117	199			16	11	13	5	20	9	24	21	6	4	34	10	2	9
M	149	151	6	10	104	133	161	137	69	85	107	95	93	122	291	288	48	103
N	153	53	1	1	107	125	17	29	20	17	53	31	29	30	80	125	40	32
O	26				14		634	346			26	0			46	28		
P	164	138	10	9	100	159	189	155	38	38	353	353	113	109	221	233	74	152
Q	483	222			321	361	283	291	47	34	311	317	106	95	213	242	56	151
R	42	59	8	10	29	36	24	37	10	22	40	37	23	21	28	50	7	17
S	59	61	3	3	59	71	32	74	19	24	84	75	18	19	63	83	6	36
T																0		
Empty		1								28		3						
Overall	2046	1612	116	128	1364	1493	1801	1538	587	642	1921	1649	676	649	2114	1997	367	921

Source: Gemeente Zaanstad, 2010a & 2017a (Vestigingenregister; calculated by author)

Table A7: Jobs, businesses and freelancers in the creative sector in 2017

Jobs																				
	1501	1502	1503	1504	1505	1506	1507	1508	1509	1521	1525	1541	1544	1551	1561	1562	1566	1567	Tot.	
Creative jobs	70	61	41	20	37	142	75	12	79	93	4	84	63	36	45	42	69	34	1007	1007
Tot. jobs	**850**	**3172**	**1467**	**992**	**722**	**2539**	**1440**	**418**	**1017**	**1612**	**128**	**1493**	**1538**	**1272**	**1649**	**649**	**1997**	**921**	**23876**	
% tot ZIP area	8%	2%	3%	2%	5%	6%	5%	3%	8%	6%	3%	6%	4%	3%	3%	6%	3%	4%	4%	
% c.t. ZNSTD	7%	6%	4%	2%	4%	14%	7%	1%	8%	9%	0%	8%	6%	4%	4%	4%	7%	3%	100%	5,56
Average growth compared to ZNSTD	4%	13%	6%	4%	3%	11%	6%	2%	4%	7%	1%	6%	6%	5%	7%	3%	8%	4%	100%	
Businesses																				
	1501	1502	1503	1504	1505	1506	1507	1508	1509	1521	1525	1541	1544	1551	1561	1562	1566	1567		
Creative buss.	87	65	51	26	41	159	80	20	49	79	5	89	80	52	52	54	90	46	1125	1125
Tot. buss.	**597**	**612**	**719**	**499**	**385**	**1184**	**799**	**226**	**486**	**865**	**74**	**829**	**694**	**537**	**718**	**609**	**1228**	**729**	**11790**	
% tot ZIP area	15%	11%	7%	5%	11%	13%	10%	9%	10%	9%	7%	11%	12%	10%	7%	9%	7%	6%	10%	
% c.t. ZNSTD	8%	6%	5%	2%	4%	14%	7%	2%	4%	7%	0%	8%	7%	5%	5%	5%	8%	4%	100%	5,56
Average growth compared to ZNSTD	5%	5%	6%	4%	3%	10%	7%	2%	4%	7%	1%	7%	6%	5%	6%	5%	10%	6%	100%	
Freelancers																				
	1501	1502	1503	1504	1505	1506	1507	1508	1509	1521	1525	1541	1544	1551	1561	1562	1566	1567		
Creative freelancers	56	47	29	16	28	104	47	12	31	52	4	52	59	33	39	38	56	29	732	732
Tot. freelancers	**349**	**356**	**431**	**276**	**245**	**644**	**463**	**141**	**286**	**478**	**35**	**451**	**417**	**319**	**374**	**345**	**678**	**409**	**6697**	
% tot ZIP area	16%	13%	7%	6%	11%	16%	10%	9%	11%	11%	11%	12%	14%	10%	10%	11%	8%	7%	11%	
% c.t. ZNSTD	8%	6%	4%	2%	4%	14%	6%	2%	4%	7%	1%	7%	8%	5%	5%	5%	8%	4%	100%	5,56

Source: Gemeente Zaanstad, 2017a (Vestigingenregister; calculated by author)

Table A8: Jobs, businesses and freelancers in the tourism sector in 2017

Jobs																				
	1501	1502	1503	1504	1505	1506	1507	1508	1509	1521	1525	1541	1544	1551	1561	1562	1566	1567		
Tourism jobs	112	141	86	44	39	178	81	26	87	140	10	77	68	46	95	42	99	48	1419	1419
Tot. jobs	**850**	**3172**	**1467**	**992**	**722**	**2539**	**1440**	**418**	**1017**	**1612**	**128**	**1493**	**1538**	**1272**	**1649**	**649**	**1997**	**921**	**23876**	
% tot ZIP area	13%	4%	6%	4%	5%	7%	6%	6%	9%	9%	8%	5%	4%	4%	6%	6%	5%	5%	6%	
% c.t. ZNSTD	8%	10%	6%	3%	3%	13%	6%	2%	6%	10%	1%	5%	5%	3%	7%	3%	7%	3%	100%	5,56
Average growth compared to ZNSTD	4%	13%	6%	4%	3%	11%	6%	2%	4%	7%	1%	6%	6%	5%	7%	3%	8%	4%	100%	
Businesses																				
	1501	1502	1503	1504	1505	1506	1507	1508	1509	1521	1525	1541	1544	1551	1561	1562	1566	1567		
Tourism buss.	85	68	52	35	37	112	60	25	55	105	6	67	66	36	60	37	79	31	1016	1016
Tot. buss.	**597**	**612**	**719**	**499**	**385**	**1184**	**799**	**226**	**486**	**865**	**74**	**829**	**694**	**537**	**718**	**609**	**1228**	**729**	**11790**	
% tot ZIP area	14%	11%	7%	7%	10%	9%	8%	11%	11%	12%	8%	8%	10%	7%	8%	6%	6%	4%	9%	
% c.t. ZNSTD	8%	7%	5%	3%	4%	11%	6%	2%	5%	10%	1%	7%	6%	4%	6%	4%	8%	3%	100%	5,56
Average growth compared to ZNSTD	5%	5%	6%	4%	3%	10%	7%	2%	4%	7%	1%	7%	6%	5%	6%	5%	10%	6%	100%	
Freelancers																				
	1501	1502	1503	1504	1505	1506	1507	1508	1509	1521	1525	1541	1544	1551	1561	1562	1566	1567		
Tourism freelancers	51	42	25	19	21	52	25	14	29	53	2	39	39	17	30	24	40	22	544	544
Tot. freelancers	**349**	**356**	**431**	**276**	**245**	**644**	**463**	**141**	**286**	**478**	**35**	**451**	**417**	**319**	**374**	**345**	**678**	**409**	**6697**	
% tot ZIP area	15%	12%	6%	7%	9%	8%	5%	10%	10%	11%	6%	9%	9%	5%	8%	7%	6%	5%	8%	
% c.t. ZNSTD	9%	8%	5%	3%	4%	10%	5%	3%	5%	10%	0%	7%	7%	3%	6%	4%	7%	4%	100%	5,56

Source: Gemeente Zaanstad, 2017a (Vestigingenregister; calculated by author)

Table A9: Businesses and jobs (in-)formal

Businesses	
Formal	**Informal**
1.Retail	1.Consultancy
2.Consultancy	2.Construction
3.Construction	3.Retail
4.Manufacturing	4.Health care
5.Lease of movable assets	5.Other services (e.g. welness)
Jobs	
Formal	**Informal**
1.Manufacturing	1.Health care
2.Retail	2.Retail
3.Consultancy	3.Education
4.Transport and storage	4.Consultancy
5.Public administration	5.Construction

Source: Gemeente Zaanstad, 2017a (Vestigingenregister; calculated by author)

IV. Survey

Box A1: Survey

Beste ondernemer van Zaanstad,

Als stagiair bij de gemeente Zaanstad wil ik u graag uitnodigen om mee te doen aan een onderzoek over formele en informele bedrijfslocaties in Zaanstad. Traditioneel is er veel interesse voor bedrijvigheid op bedrijventerreinen, in winkelcentra en kantoorgebieden. De laatste jaren groeit de werkgelegenheid het snelst buiten deze zogenoemde formele locaties. Om meer inzicht te krijgen in deze ontwikkeling is een korte vragenlijst opgesteld over (mogelijke) vestigingsfactoren. Het doel is om verschillen bloot te leggen tussen ondernemers op de informele en de formele locaties. Deze informatie willen we gebruiken om, in het licht van de trend van het combineren van wonen en werken, bedrijven beter te kunnen faciliteren.

Het invullen van de enquête duurt ongeveer 5 minuten, niet alle vragen zijn daarnaast 'verplicht'. Het is eventueel ook via een mobiel in te vullen. De vragenlijst staat open tot 3 oktober a.s.

https://zaanstad.premiumsurvey.datacoll.nl/nq.cfm?r=33891B85-3217-4397-8373-18203FB8E86A&s=u

Uw antwoorden zullen uiteraard vertrouwelijk en anoniem worden behandeld. Mocht u nog vragen of opmerkingen hebben dan kunt u contact opnemen met Peter Bakker (p.bakker@zaanstad.nl). *Dit onderzoek maakt onderdeel uit van een masterscriptie Planologie (Radboud Universiteit).*

Alvast mijn hartelijke dank voor uw medewerking,

Peter Bakker

!!!! LET OP, U KUNT OP DEZE E-MAIL GEEN REPLY STUREN !!!

sectie A: Vestigingsmotieven ondernemers

Allereerst willen wij u een aantal algemene vragen stellen.

1. In welke branche is uw bedrijf actief?

2. **Hoeveel mensen werken er op dit moment (ongeveer) in uw bedrijf, inclusief uzelf?**

3. Beschouwt u zichzelf als een ZZP-er (Zelfstandige Zonder Personeel)?

- ja
- nee

4. Hoeveel uur besteedt u gemiddeld per week aan uw onderneming?

5. In welk jaar is uw onderneming gestart?

6. Sinds welk jaar is uw onderneming in Zaanstad gevestigd?

7. Wat is de postcode van uw bedrijfslocatie?
(niet van een mogelijke postbus) (1234 AB)

8. Op wat voor locatie is uw bedrijf gevestigd?

- In een woonwijk
- Op een buitenstedelijk bedrijventerrein, namelijk
- Op een binnenstedelijk bedrijventerrein, namelijk
- In een winkelgebied, namelijk
- Overig, namelijk
- Weet ik niet, vul evt. de straatnaam in

9. In wat voor gebouw is uw bedrijf gevestigd?

- In een woonhuis
- In een 'woonwerk unit' (een woonhuis met aparte ruimte voor uw bedrijf)
- In een 'regulier' bedrijfs- of winkelpand
- In een bedrijfs- of winkelpand met daarboven woningen
- In een bedrijfsverzamelgebouw
- Overig, namelijk

10. Bent u weleens verhuisd met uw bedrijf? Zo ja, hoe vaak bent u verhuisd?

- Ik ben niet verhuisd -[sectie A: Vestigingsmotieven ondernemers].[vestigingsmotieven ondernemers die niet sinds 5 jaar zijn verhuisd]
- Ik ben wel verhuisd, namelijk ____ keer

11. Bent u in de afgelopen 5 jaar verhuisd?

4

- Ja
- Nee

12. Op wat voor locatie was uw bedrijf vóór de verhuizing gevestigd?

- In een woonwijk
- Op een buitenstedelijk bedrijventerrein, namelijk ______
- Op een binnenstedelijk bedrijventerrein, namelijk ______
- In een winkelgebied, namelijk ______
- Overig, namelijk ______
- Weet ik niet, vul evt. de straatnaam in ______

13. In wat voor gebouw was uw bedrijf vóór de verhuizing gevestigd?

- In een woonhuis -[sectie A: Vestigingsmotieven ondernemers].[vestigingsmotieven ondernemers die in de laatste 5 jaar zijn verhuisd]
- In een 'woonwerk unit' (een woonhuis met aparte ruimte voor uw bedrijf) -[sectie A: Vestigingsmotieven ondernemers].[vestigingsmotieven ondernemers die in de laatste 5 jaar zijn verhuisd]
- In een 'regulier' bedrijfs- of winkelpand -[sectie A: Vestigingsmotieven ondernemers].[vestigingsmotieven ondernemers die in de laatste 5 jaar zijn verhuisd]
- In een bedrijfs- of winkelpand met daarboven woningen -[sectie A: Vestigingsmotieven ondernemers].[vestigingsmotieven ondernemers die in de laatste 5 jaar zijn verhuisd]
- In een bedrijfsverzamelgebouw -[sectie A: Vestigingsmotieven ondernemers].[vestigingsmotieven ondernemers die in de laatste 5 jaar zijn verhuisd]
- Overig, namelijk ______ -[sectie A: Vestigingsmotieven ondernemers].[vestigingsmotieven ondernemers die in de laatste 5 jaar zijn verhuisd]

De volgende vragen gaan over vestigingsmotieven. Misschien is het voor u lang geleden dat u uw bedrijf heeft opgericht of bent verhuisd en weet u niet meer precies waarom u destijds voor de huidige locatie en het huidige gebouw gekozen heeft. In dat geval kunt u de antwoordcategorie 'weet niet (meer)' invullen.

-[sectie A: Vestigingsmotieven ondernemers].[14].[Wat waren uw voornaamste redenen om u op de huidige locatie te vestigen?]

De volgende vragen gaan over vestigingsmotieven.

14. Wat waren uw voornaamste redenen om u op de huidige locatie te vestigen?

- weet niet (meer) precies
- vestigingsreden(en) ______

15. Welke eisen stelde u aan de locatie voor de vestiging van uw bedrijf? U kunt hierbij bijvoorbeeld denken aan buurtkenmerken, voorzieningen, afstand en infrastructuur, uitstraling.

- weet niet (meer)
- eisen aan de locatie ______

5

16. Welke eisen stelde u aan het gebouw voor de vestiging van uw bedrijf? U kunt hierbij bijvoorbeeld denken aan de benodigde ruimte, uitstraling, kosten.

weet niet (meer) → [sectie A: Vestigingsmotieven ondernemers].[18].[Hoe waardeerde u het vestigingsproces (zoekproces, voorbereiding, facilitering, verhuizing)? U kunt dit aangeven op een schaal van 1 tot 5 (waarbij 1 = 'heel positief' is en 5 = 'heel negatief').]

eisen aan het gebouw

17. Is aan bovenstaande eisen met uw huidige pand en locatie tegemoet gekomen?

- weet niet (meer)
- in de meeste gevallen wel, omdat
- in de meeste gevallen niet, omdat

18. Hoe waardeerde u het vestigingsproces (zoekproces, voorbereiding, facilitering, verhuizing)? U kunt dit aangeven op een schaal van 1 tot 5 (waarbij 1 = 'heel positief' is en 5 = 'heel negatief').

- weet niet (meer)
- 1. heel positief
- 2. ....
- 3. ....
- 4. ....
- 5. heel negatief

19. Mist u voorzieningen in de buurt?

- Nee
- Ja, namelijk

20. Hoe waarschijnlijk is een verhuizing in de komende 5 jaar?

- Zeer onwaarschijnlijk
- Onwaarschijnlijk
- Neutraal
- Waarschijnlijk
- Zeer waarschijnlijk

21. Als u zou gaan verhuizen met uw bedrijf, welke locaties zou u dan overwegen?

- Een woonwijk, evt. zoals bijvoorbeeld
- Een buitenstedelijk bedrijventerrein, evt. zoals bijvoorbeeld

6

☐ Een binnenstedelijk bedrijventerrein, evt. zoals bijvoorbeeld ______

☐ Een aangewezen winkelgebied, evt. zoals bijvoorbeeld ______

☐ Overig, evt. zoals bijvoorbeeld ______

22. Welke van de onderstaande bedrijfspanden zou u dan overwegen?

☐ Een woonhuis
☐ Een 'woonwerk unit' (een woonhuis met aparte ruimte voor uw bedrijf)
☐ Een 'regulier' bedrijfs- of winkelpand
☐ Een bedrijfs- of winkelpand met daarboven woningen
☐ Een bedrijfsverzamelgebouw
☐ Overig, namelijk ______

23. Wat vindt u van de mix van wonen en werken, zoals dat veel voorkomt in Zaanstad?

24. Tot slot.
Heeft u nog opmerkingen of suggesties over dit onderwerp?

-[sectie X: Deelname Zaans Ondernemerspanel].[deelname Zaans ondernemerspanel]

V. Interviews

Table A11: Overview of interviews (anonymized)

Description	Date	Type
MAAK.Zaanstad Centrum Oost	**24/07/2017**	**Face-to-Face**
De Bedrijvige Bij	**26/07/2017**	**Face-to-Face**
Zaans Proeflokaal	**01/08/2017**	**Face-to-Face**
Heritage Zaanstad	**15/08/2017**	**Face-to-Face**
Bureau Broedplaatsen Amsterdam	**31/08/2017**	**Telephone**
DOKA	**01/09/2017**	**Telephone**
Amsterdam Economic Board	**12/09/2017**	**Face-to-Face**
Koog aan Zee	**18/09/2017**	**Face-to-Face**
Excellent Ondernemen ROC	**25/09/2017**	**Mail**
Zaanschap / ZON	**12/10/2017**	**Face-to-Face**

Table A12 Overview of reactions (anonymized)

Description	Date	Type
Entrepreneur / Writer (about entrepreneurs in Zaanstad)	**24/08/2017**	**Mail**
MKB Rabobank	**28/08/2017**	**Mail**
Entrepreneur (Communication)	**11/10/2017**	**Mail**

Table A13: Overview of relevant meetings

Meeting	Participants	Date	Location
Meeting Ondernemersloket	Representatives of business estates / networks / municipality	**27/07/2017**	**Zaan2Connect, Rabobanktoren**
Summerschool – De omgevingswet	Municipal servants	**02/08/2017**	**Town hall**
Summerschool – Bouw je droom (starting a business)	Municipal servants	**22/08/2017**	**Town hall**
Business Event	Ondernemend Krommenie	**11/09/2017**	**De Loads, Krommenie**
Meeting PLABEKA	Municipal servants, Bureau Buiten	**10/10/2017**	**WTC, Amsterdam**

Box A2: Example Interview questions

-De Bedrijvige Bij heeft 6 bedrijfsverzamelgebouwen in de Zaanstreek, en zet in op het ‘flexibel verhuren van betaalbare bedrijfsruimten met kortlopende huurcontracten.

-Nu denk ik zelf bij dit soort gebouwen altijd voornamelijk aan kunstenaars, maar dat is niet specifiek de doelgroep…

-Wat maakt een broedplaats of bedrijfsverzamelgebouw nu juist een interessante locatie voor ondernemers? Waarom ondernemen ze niet thuis of in een ‘reguliere’ ruimte?

-Het aantal ZZP’ers neemt al geruime tijd toe in Zaanstad: Merken jullie dit ook in de vraag naar units? Reageren dezelfde soort bedrijven? Merken jullie verschil per locatie?

-Hoe groot is het verloop / doorstroming bij dit soort locaties?

-Onlangs hebben jullie een nieuw gebouw ontwikkeld, ‘de Groene Bark’.

-Waarom hebben jullie besloten een nieuw gebouw aan te schaffen?

-Aan welke eisen moeten de locaties voldoen?

De locaties van Business Center BedrijvigeBij bevinden zich altijd dichtbij autosnelwegen, openbaar vervoer en er is altijd voldoende parkeerruimte.

-Hoe delen jullie de kantoorgebouwen in?

-Een flink aantal van jullie locaties zijn in of aan de rand van een woonwijk (e.g. De Zwaan, Groene Bark, Palmboom, De Juliana). Is dit een bewuste keuze?

-Ervaren jullie voor- en nadelen van deze locatie in een woonbuurt?

-Hoe verliep de zoektocht naar een nieuw gebouw?
-Hebben jullie bij de verhuizing ondersteuning gekregen van de gemeente?

-Wat vindt u in het algemeen van de opstelling en evt. ondersteuning van de gemeente?

Box A3: Code list interviews

Code-Filter: All

HU: Codering Interviews
File: [G:\Masterscriptie\Interviews\Codering Interviews.hpr7]
Edited by: Super
Date/Time: 2017-10-30 19:42:51

Aanbesteding - Ondoorzichtig
ALG - Arbeidskosten
ALG - Bereikbaarheid
ALG - Verzorgingsgebied
AS - Agglomeratievoordeel
AS - Beleid Gemeente
AS - Bereikbaarheid
AS - Eisen winkelier - Binding
AS - Eisen winkelier - Ondernemersvereniging
AS - Kenmerken
AS - Klantenkring
AS - KRO - Starters
AS - Levendigheid
AS - Nadelen
AS - Pand
AS - Verzorgingsgebied
AS - Voordelen
AS - ZCO - Kenmerken
AS - Zelfregulatie
AS - Zichtbaarheid
AS/BWC - Eisen winkelier - Verzorgingsgebied
Bedrijven - Beleid - Netwerk - Economic Board
BFAB - Beleid - Bedrijfsvoering
BFAB - Beleid - Herontwikkeling
BFAB - Beleid - Herontwikkeling - Monitoring
BFAB - Beleid - Herontwikkeling - Monumentenstatus
BFAB - Beleid - Herontwikkeling - Monumentenstatus - Bedrijfsvoering
BFAB - Beleid - Herontwikkeling - Monumentenstatus - Broedplaatsen
BFAB - Beleid - Herontwikkeling - Sloopvergunning
BFAB - Beleid - Herontwikkeling - Woningbouw
BFAB - Beleid - Herontwikkeling - Woningbouw - Financiën
BFAB - Beleid - Milieueisen
BFAB - Beleid - Nadeel
BFAB - Beleid - Verhuizing
BFAB - Beleid - Woningbouwlocatie
BWC - Eisen winkelier - Leegstand
BWC - Gevraagd voor locatie
BWC - Moeite - Acquisitie
BWC - Nadelen uitbreiding
BWC - Voordelen
BWC - Vraag - Ruimte
Contact Gemeente
Contact Gemeente - Ondoorzichtig
Contact Gemeente - Tevreden
Contact Gemeente - Verkoop
Excellent Ondernemen - Deelnemers
Excellent Ondernemen - Huisvesting
Excellent Ondernemen - Voordelen
Excellent Ondernemen - Zaanstad
Flexplek - Amsterdam
Flexplek - Het Nieuwe Werken
Flexplek - Het Nieuwe Werken - Ambachten
Flexplek - Koog aan Zee
Flexplek - Koog aan Zee - Bevorderen
Flexplek - Saskia
Flexplek - Seat2Meet
Flexplek - Seats2Meet - Nadeel
Flexplek - Verdwijnen
Flexplek - Voordeel
Flexplek - Voordeel tov BVG
Flexplek - Zaan2Connect
Flexplek - Zaan2Connect - Nadeel
Flexplek - Zaanschap - Kansen bedrijf
Flexplek - Zaanschap - Pand en locatie
Flexplek - Zaanschap - Prijs
Flexplek - Zaanschap - Tijdelijk onderkomen
Flexplek - Zaanschap - Vergaderruimte
Flexplek - Zaanschap - Verzorgingsgebied
Flexplek - Zaanschap - Voordelen - Amsterdam
Flexplek - Zaanstad
Ondernemersloket - Aandacht gemeente
Ondernemersloket - Contactpersoon
Ondernemersloket - Oorzaak
Ondernemersloket - Site
Ondernemersloket - WhatsApp

BFAB - Concurrentie
BFAB - Icoon
BFAB - Locatie - Reputatie
BFAB - Nadeel - Overlast
BFAB - Werkgelegenheid
BFAB - Werkgelegenheid - Buitenlanders
BVG - Aanbod - Laag
BVG - Aanbod - Ongeschikt
BVG - AMS - Aanbod Laag
BVG - Amsterdam
BVG - BB - Agglomeratievoordeel
BVG - BB - Agglomeratievoordeel - Activiteiten organiseren
BVG - BB - Amsterdammers
BVG - BB - Doorstroming
BVG - BB - Eisen Gebouw
BVG - BB - Investeringen
BVG - BB - Locatie
BVG - BB - Locatie - Buurtfunctie
BVG - BB - Panden
BVG - BB - Voordeel
BVG - BB - Vraag
BVG - BuBr
BVG - BuBr - Broedplaatsenmonitor
BVG - BuBr - Broedplaatsontwikkelaarsoverleg
BVG - BuBr - CCAA
BVG - BuBr - Eisen gebouw
BVG - BuBr - Nieuwbouw
BVG - BuBr - Organisatie
BVG - BuBr - Vraag
BVG - BuBr - Wensen ondernemers
BVG - Koog - Afstand
BVG - Koog - Agglomeratievoordeel
BVG - Koog - Kindertijd
BVG - Koog - Kosten Amsterdam
BVG - Koog - Netwerk
BVG - Koog - Uitstraling
BVG - Nadeel - Ruimte
BVG - Nieuw Gebouw
BVG - OWet - Nieuwbouw
BVG - OWet - Nieuwbouw - Nadeel
Ondernemersloket - Zelfregulatie
Sociaal Ondernemen
Sociaal Ondernemen - Zelfregulatie
Startups - Amsterdam
Startups - Beleid - Afstand
Startups - Beleid - Ambitie
Startups - Beleid - Financiering moeilijk
Startups - Beleid - Fiscaal onaantrekkelijk
Startups - Beleid - Imago
Startups - Beleid - Initiatieven
Startups - Beleid - Kenniscentrum
Startups - Beleid - Netwerk
Startups - Beleid - Netwerk - Zelfregulatie
Startups - Beleid - Niet faciliteren
Startups - Beleid - Onderwijs
Startups - Beleid - Regionale afstemming
Startups - Beleid - Werkplekken
Startups - Beleid - Zelfregulatie
Startups - Weinig tov Amsterdam
Startups / ZZP - Verhuizing - Netwerk
Startups / ZZP - Verhuizing - Woonruimte leidend
Startups/ZZP - Verhuizing - Netwerk - Aansluiting moeilijk
Vacaturebank - Ondoorzichtig
Vergunning - Duur
Vergunning - Ondoorzichtig
Vergunning - Traag
WWU - BB
WWU - Nadeel
WWU - Vraag
Zaanstad - Voordelen
Zaanstad - Voordelen tov Amsterdam
ZNS - Bereikbaarheid
ZON
ZZP - Locatie
ZZP - Motivatie
ZZP - Woonruimte leidend
ZZPT - AMS - Stimuleren
ZZPT - Voorzieningen - Vraag