

## **Combining multi-level strategic planning, partners and projects in the Netherlands**

### **Introduction**

In this paper for the ISoCARP congress on Urban Dialogues, co-productive ways to relate visioning and strategic urban projects, we present some frames, experiences en lessons learned in the Netherlands on the subject matter. Elsewhere we have presented a more general review on new Dutch spatial planning policy (Vink and Van der Burg, 2006).<sup>i</sup>

Today's focus in planning practices on "projects" rather than on "plans" and at the same time the come back of important long term planning issues as climate change and a deteriorating countryside is producing a new call for "comprehensiveness" and "sustainability" (Albrechts, 2006, Hajer and Sijmons, 2006). This call can easily produce a regression towards "good old" master planning methodologies with clear-cut hierarchies and distribution of planning tasks. To prevent such a reflex we must learn as much as possible form new planning practices on the local, regional and (inter) national scale and the shifts in framing used in those practices. In this paper we have selected some important shifts:

- Content: the introduction of the Layer approach
- Process: the introduction the Development Planning approach
- Roles: central/decentral issues i.e. a new Subsidiarity approach,

### ***Content: the introduction of the layer approach***

An important new element in Dutch spatial planning has been the introduction of the layer approach. Introduced in the Fifth Policy Document the motivation in the National Spatial Strategy (NSS, MHSPE, 2006), read as follows:

*"For too long, we have considered urbanisation, intensive agriculture and other forms of occupation as separate, unrelated elements, without sufficient consideration to the demands created by the other layers. The development of intensive livestock rearing on sandy soils and of large-scale urban areas in the peat soils located below sea level are striking examples of such problems. Water also sets intrusive constraints on long-term, sustainable location policies. Slowly developing trends such as rising sea levels, increased water drainage and more precipitation force us to change how we think about water. We need to give much more consideration to the properties and functions of the ground layer and the network layer, as well as the structural significance of both layers. In the planning stage, the processes in the different layers need to be considered more in relation to each other. This can prevent conflicts between different users of the same land, as well as creating greater coherence in the measures to be taken. After all, intervention can serve more than one policy objective at the same time"*

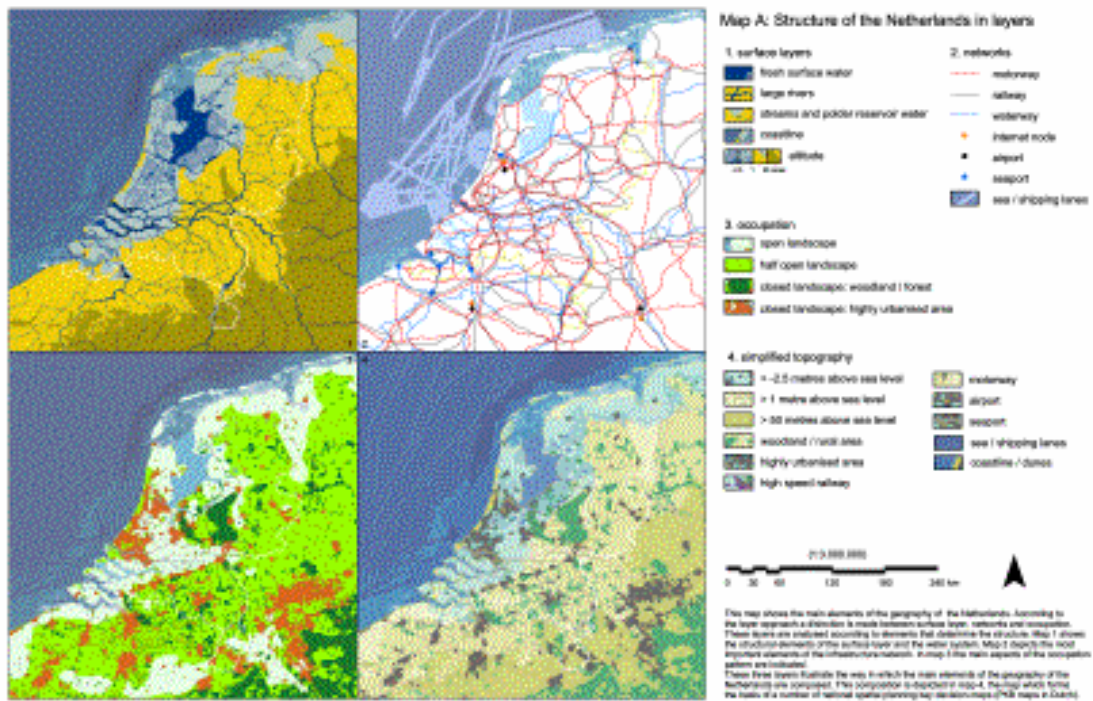


Illustration 1: Layer approach as applied in National Spatial Strategy

In the so called National Spatial Structure, which sets out nearly all central government land-use priorities, the application of the layer approach was made more operational by breaking the structure into two components: Part A, based on the existing water system and associated with “nature” and landscape’ projects focuses mainly on guarantees for specific spatial values of (inter) national importance and part B, based on the existing transport infrastructure and associated with “economic” and “urban” projects, focuses on stimulating spatial dynamics, crucial for the Dutch society and economy.

**Process: the introduction the Development Planning approach**

The new development planning approach in the Netherlands is based on the influential *Ruimtelijke Ontwikkelingspolitiek* [Spatial development politics] published by the Scientific Advisory Council to the Government (Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid; WRR, 1998). Using the WRR publication for 1998 as a frame of reference (WRR, 1998), we analysed best practices in the Netherlands and abroad. This was used as a basis for the preferred Development Planning (DP) approach. This is presented in a nutshell, in the so-called DP ‘turbo’, as shown in Illustration 2 (Twiynstra Gudde, 2003).

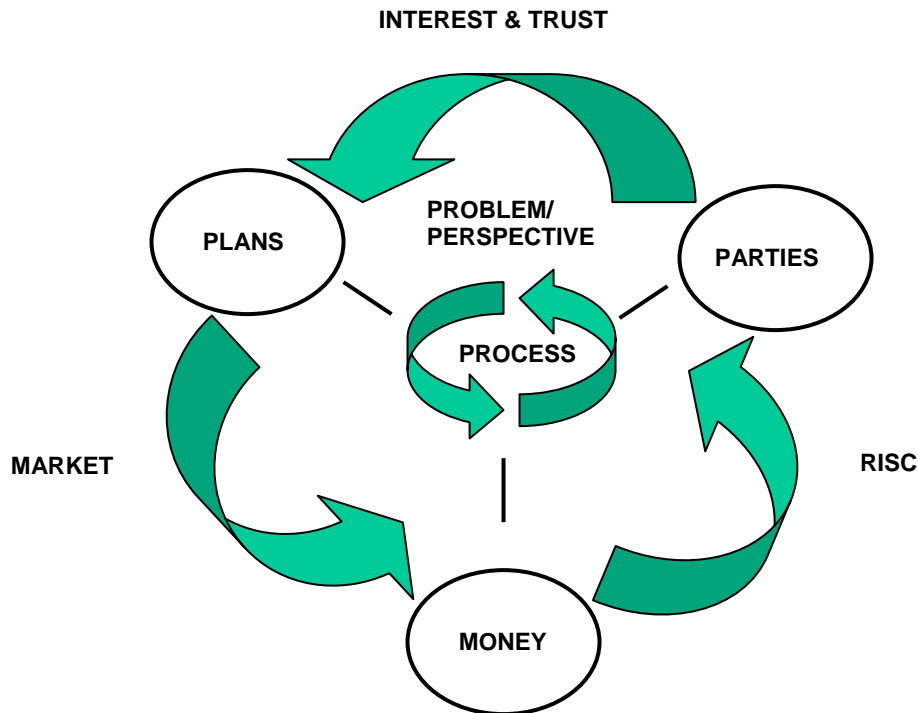


Illustration 2: Development Planning in a nutshell

“The DP concept demands an active and innovative manner of ‘co-working’ in the regional planning practice, the co-ordinated effort of parties, plans and money, with process as an engine to get this all ‘going and moving’ and explicitly steered by (external) tailor-made process management” (Tetteroo, 2004).

**Seeking new roles: central/decentral a new Subsidiarity approach**

Most important in the DP approach is a different, more co-operative attitude from government control towards multi-level governance at one hand and reinventing new ways of subsidiarity between administrative levels at the other. Strongly related to this is the shift and share of projects on the basis of their frequency and their level of scale. Ranging Dutch spatial projects with these two dimensions we can identify different roles and tasks for the central government, which can be qualified as “co-developing”, advisory and stimulating/facilitating. In the following picture this is illustrated.

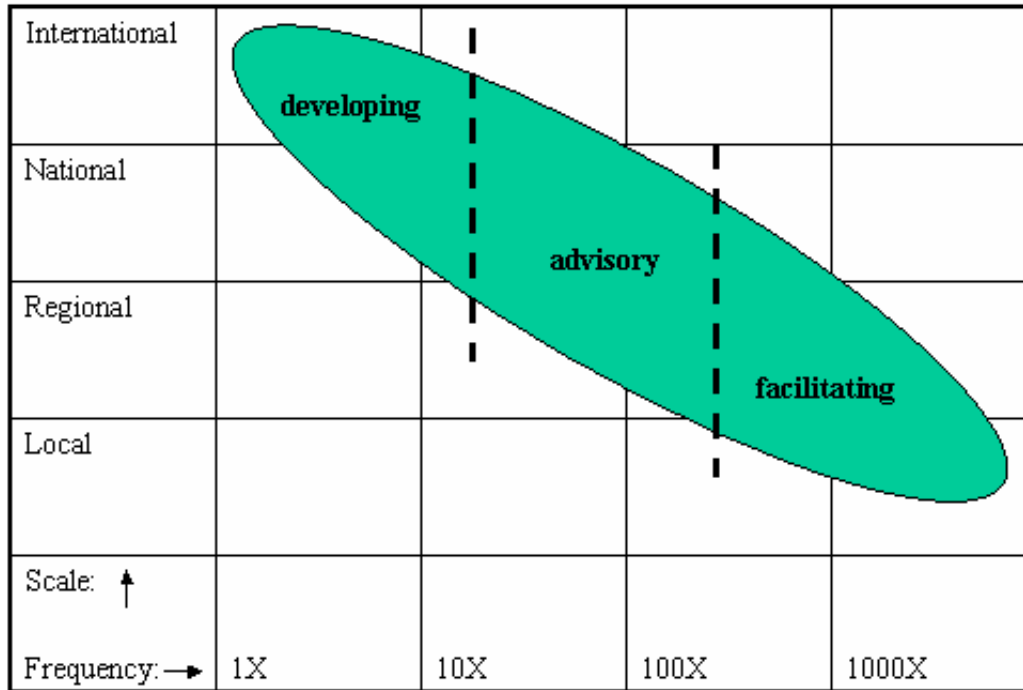


Illustration 3: Scale and frequency of projects and corresponding roles National Government

If we combine the three components we can illustrate the different relations as follows:

	plans	parties	money	possible roles
<b>NATIONAL SCALE</b>				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>NAT. SPATIAL STRUCTURE &amp; PROJECTS</li> <li>SYSTEM</li> </ul>
groundlayer/surface	<b>National Practice/Case: Op een Hoer Plan</b>			
networkslayer				
occupation				
<b>REGIONAL SCALE</b>				ADVISORY
groundlayer/surface	<b>Regional Practice/Case: RZG Zuidplas</b>			
networkslayer				
occupation				
<b>LOCAL SCALE</b>				FACILITATE
groundlayer/surface	<b>Local Practice/Case: MIRUP en pilots ROO</b>			
networkslayer				
occupation				

Illustration 4: Switching between scales and dancing trough layers

In this paper we present some recent developments on the 3 levels of scale on the basis of 3 practices/cases on the local, the regional en the national scale respectively, but first we illustrate the way in which new developments could be supported by the new spatial

planning act to be implemented in July 2008. Following this line the different chapters after this introduction are:

- New Spatial Planning Act
- New Planning practices and experiences: local, regional and national
- Concluding remarks and suggestions

### **New Spatial Planning Act**

The current Spatial Planning Act has been in force since 1965. During time, the Act became more and more open to criticism. The weak points of the Act manifested itself, mainly, in the contents and the implementation of the land use plans. Because of the elaborate possibilities for appeal and the lack of time limits in the decision making process, long delays during the planning process occurred. Even if no appeals were lodged the planning process from start to final approval would take about 4 years; if some interested party lodged an appeal it would take the Crown another 3 or 4 years extra to make a final decision.

By that time most of the land use plans were already out of date the moment they finally acquired legal force. This was not only a handicap for the municipalities but also a negative element in the protection of private interests. Consequently, this led to a frequent and improper use of "anticipation-procedures": a kind of short-cut procedure that led to "ad hoc" physical planning. These problems made several revisions of the 1965 Act necessary.

In a 1986 revision the procedures for the approval of a land use plan were curtailed considerably. The entire duration of the procedure was reduced to 1 year in case no objections are filed and to 3 years if objections are filed. In a more recent evaluation (2000) these changes were judged to be not sufficient. An important goal of this new revision was to provide a more efficient procedure for the implementation of investment projects.

After all these revisions the 1965 Act has become so complex that even high official institutions (*Raad van State*) call it a patchwork. The underlying philosophy has been changing as well. That is why for example professional planners and the parliament have asked for a more fundamental revision of the Act.

The new Spatial Planning Act (WRO) - to be implemented in July 2008 - contains new rules for spatial planning. These rules focus on combining goals for an efficient and transparent policy development with goals for a strict maintenance of law and order and on a more simple legal protection. Important features of the new Act are deregulation, decentralisation and a focus on development. On each of the three administrative levels of The Netherlands (national, provincial and local) three components of spatial planning will be legally framed: Structure schemes (*structuurvisie*), (Digital) Land use plans, and project decisions.

Structure schemes are strategic policy documents replacing the present formal plans: national plan, regional plan (*streekplan*) and local plan (*structuurplan*). These schemes only contain policy statements with no legally binding elements. To implement these policies, other instruments, such as the land use plan, general national (*algemene maatregel van bestuur, amvb*) or provincial (*verordening*) enactment's, or instructions (*aanwijzingen*) are made available. (Digital) land use plans should facilitate spatial developments and legal maintenance at the same time. A project decision procedure has to be followed by a revision of the particular land use plan (such a project decision is possible on each level of the three levels of scale). On the national level this provision replaces the current national projects procedure (*rijksprojectenprocedure*).

Related to this is a recent (2005) evaluation by a commission of the Dutch parliament of the deliberation deficits in the procedures of national projects as the High Speed passenger train and the Betuwe Track for goods trains. A major conclusion of this evaluation is that national projects like these should be evaluated ex ante in the context of a (national) structure vision including different alternatives.

The new WRO rules clearly facilitate on three levels of scale the (re)-combination of development perspectives and strategic projects in a more efficient and interactive way than the existing rules, although the emancipation of project planning is still not completed.

### **New planning practices**

A new National Spatial Planning Strategy (NSS) was adopted by Dutch Parliament (*Tweede Kamer, Eerste Kamer*) in early 2006. The main general objectives of this Strategy are: strengthening the international competitive position of the Netherlands, promoting strong cities and a vibrant, dynamic countryside, securing and developing important national and international spatial values, and ensuring public safety. The National Spatial Planning Strategy contains the process architecture for the local and regional governments, but the national government is seldom responsible for the results where the basic quality standards are concerned. Where national interests are at stake, guidance from the national government may be necessary. In several such cases, the national government is even responsible for the results. The national government also chooses to be selectively and directly involved in specific tasks regarding spatial development related to the National Spatial Structure, which often involves major investments. In strategic tasks related to the National Spatial Structure, the national government is in any case involved as a partner. National involvement is greatest in projects in which many elements of this structure converge or intersect, such as the Randstad conurbation.

### ***The MIRUP case and the pilots ROO (local scale)***

In 2003 the City Region Haaglanden published a publication MIRUP (*Milieu in Ruimtelijke Plannen*) focused on the integration of environmental issues in spatial planning and meant as helping hand (*handreiking*) for environmental and spatial planners at the local level. This was only one in a range of initiatives but of special interest here because the Layer approach was used as an important frame to accomplish this integration; the project was sponsored by the Directorate General for Spatial Policy. After his publication the Ministry of VROM financed a transfer of this product into a digital support system including (links to) other applications. This support system became somewhat later a website portal [www.ruimtexpmilieu.nl](http://www.ruimtexpmilieu.nl).

In 2005 an extension started focused on “planning with the ground layer” first for urban areas and later for rural areas as well. With these extensions the website has the potential to become an important portal supporting sustainable area development in the Netherlands. Plans are in progress to develop the website in a platform and routing device in a partnership of national, regional en local public and private partners. During last year and this year as well a firm connection was made with important projects/pilots in 4 cities (Rotterdam, *Stadshavens*; Arnhem, *Rijnboog*; Utrecht, *Centrumplan*; Enschede, *Usseler Es*) encountering serious constrains in use of space underground/ground layer (*ondergrond*).



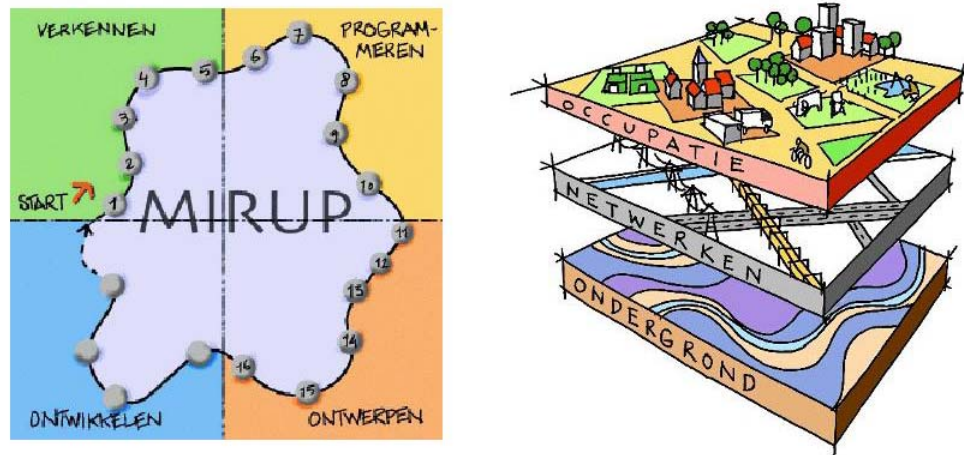


Illustration 5: Process and Layers in [www.ruimtexmilieu.nl](http://www.ruimtexmilieu.nl)

In this last stage of development the framing of expertise included in the application was confronted with the necessity to differentiate this expertise towards a visioning, a project development and a (formal) land use plan format, clearly corresponding with the different components of the new Law on Spatial planning (WRO).

#### ***The RZG Zuidplas case (regional scale)***

Zuidplaspolder a 4500 ha polder between Rotterdam, Zoetermeer and Gouda under pressure from encroaching greenhouse and other developments, is/was planned to be the next major urban extension in the southern Randstad area. A spatial vision and structure plan drawn up by an inter-authority partnership following widespread consultations, presents a calling card and point of reference for creating public private partnerships. In the original programming between 15.000 and 30.000 new homes, 300 ha business parks and 200 ha greenhouses were to be realised from 2010-2030. But today in the light of changing priorities (urban restructuring first, climate change: the polder is the lowest below sea level in the Netherlands etc.) different perspectives are needed. Against the background of the original programme the area was taken out of Green Heart (the 'inside' green belt of the Randstad Holland conurbation) and became a zone of transformation as part of the (programme of) the South Wing area and NSS programme.

The planning so far has been and still is a *pièce de résistance* in many ways and has got a lot of attention in spatial planning circles in the Netherlands (Nova Terra special, Kokkerellen in de polder; Hajer and Sijmons, *Een plan dat werkt*, 2006, Province of Zuid Holland, *Ontwikkelen op niveau 2006*; Project RZG Zuidplas, *Ontwerpen aan de Zuidplaspolder*, 2006)

The different shifts presented in this paper are "at work" in a project as RZG Zuidplas. In this project, an inventory was first made of the qualities and potentials of the area. This was achieved by surveying and designing (potential solutions) using the layer approach, and by using the results of earlier work on the Deltametropolis networks. The outcome was the so-called RZG Zuidplas Atlas (RZG Zuidplas, 2003).

The planning process was organised along three 'tracks' - Plans, Governance and Finances - from the very beginning. These tracks ran parallel to each other and were very similar to those proposed in the reviews of development planning. An interesting feature is the way in which the interaction between the tracks was organised. The idea was that the different tracks would represent language communities, who would work apart, but yet together. 'Translators' would then be employed, to co-ordinate the interaction between the tracks. Only on one occasion was direct interaction organised, during a so called 'imagination day'. On this occasion, planners and designers other than those working on the production of the Atlas were invited. This interaction was found to be very successful in building a coalition of discourses between the twenty-three (!) stakeholders/institutions.

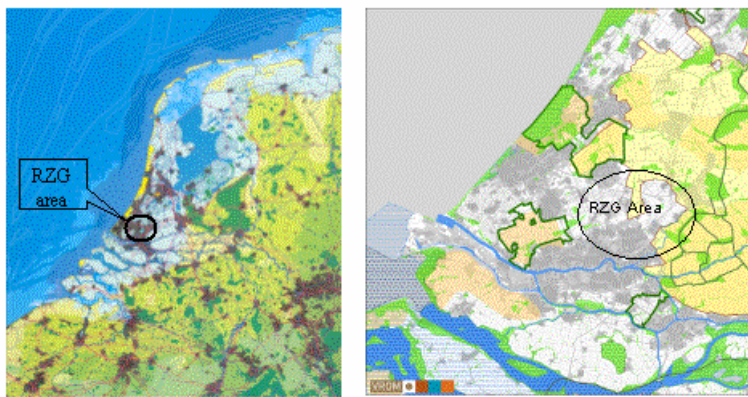


Illustration 6: Location of the RZG Zuidplas area

The RZG project is at the same time an important part of a larger plan, the so-called *Zuidvleugelprogramma* [Southern Flank Programme]. This is a portfolio of twenty projects for the Southern Flank of the Randstad (now succeeded by one Randstad Urgency programme). This Southern Flank Programme is one of four portfolios in the National Spatial Strategy. (The other portfolios are: the Northern Flank, the Green Heart of the Randstad, and the so-called Brainport area in the southeastern part of the Netherlands with Eindhoven as its core). This portfolio of projects was used as the point of departure for developing a frame of reference. The first step was to make a quick scan of related documents and available research, so that any *planning problems* could be identified. Then, to collect *input* for the frame of reference, different planning sessions were organised. Because a frame of reference compiled in this way consists of a number of component parts, the aim was to make it possible to manage the portfolio of projects in many different ways (*output*). This approach is presented in a nutshell in the next Illustration.



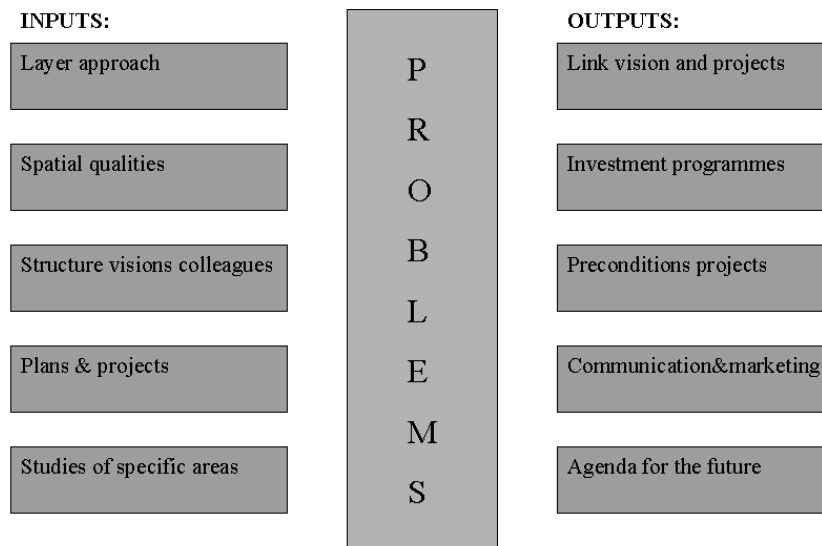


Illustration 7: Developing a frame of reference for the South Wing Area

In the actual discussions on this area important trends and feedbacks have to be taken into account.

***Towards visioning and project development “on a higher level” (national scale)***

Although infrastructure planning on the national level has a two centuries old tradition and reshaping the agricultural landscape under guidance of national government took hold in the 1950's, integrated area development projects with different functional compositions only incidentally were a result of national (government) planning efforts in The Netherlands. The origin of such projects were typical urban areas, for example those in the wake of the waterfront redevelopment work in Boston. Municipalities together with private developers were the pioneers here. Only in some cases national government has been involved, like in The Hague, the seat of Dutch government, where the national building services reshuffled its real estate stock in the 1980's and participated in some local area development projects with new government buildings (offices, courts of justice).

The central idea was that area development in the urban setting was a matter of local governments, who were well equipped to do so with their powers of land management and their specialised land departments. Almost all municipalities in The Netherlands have a land management department and many were used to buy and sell land for development. Reshaping the countryside, in contrast, was a matter for the national land development service together with farmer's organisations and a much smaller role for local and provincial governments.

Other reasons why until the late 1980's integrated area development projects were not on the national planning agenda were different national priorities:

1. Rebuilding the country from Second World War devastation's,

2. Keeping up with the growth of industrialisation and population (strongest in Europe!) with investments in infrastructure and housing
3. Diversion of investment funds to welfare payments such as housing subsidies and unemployment benefits.

A special institutional factor here is that the national planning department had little or no money for investments. Its budget was devoted to personnel and research, and only small amounts of the budget were earmarked for inter-urban recreation areas and for experiments. So there was little for developing ideas about integrated area development projects, and even less basis for developing projects. Later on however, through integrated urban development covenants with municipalities and provinces, the national planning department could organise the whole field of spending departments – traffic, agriculture, economic affairs, housing, finance – to promote new urban areas (twice in history; in the 1970's for the new town program, and in the 1990's for the so-called VINEX-program of large housing estates in the 24 urban regions).

What has changed? In the 1980's the pressures of economic competition and stronger European integration (Europa 1992) stirred up the planners world. The climate for building new perspectives seemed to become favourable, after the dreary years after the oil crises and their prolonged economic downturn. Differently from the 1950's, when national planning was mostly about balanced development of the whole country and about preserving the countryside, and from the 1960's when urban revival – city centre reconstruction and urban renewal – filled the agenda, the need to engage a wider world firmly grasped the planners minds. Stronger than before the motive of economic competition and the contribution of spatial planning to that end led to a search for new spatial forms and projects.

That move – supported by a sympathetic liberal minister and evoked by one of the planners periodical crises of self-confidence – led to a better understanding of the enlargement of the spatial scale of many activities. Large-scale traffic schemes, like the High Speed Train connecting Amsterdam with Paris, and the Betuwelijn (dedicated freight train route from Rotterdam Harbour to Germany) were concrete manifestations of that understanding. But that was, in a sense, conventional stuff: traffic planning. What could be offered by spatial planning?

The usual political drive of those years to speed up and simplify planning procedures did not escape The Netherlands. But *neglecting* planning is not fitting in Dutch culture<sup>ii</sup>. Two other ideas came up: that planning was there to enhance 'spatial quality', and that specific projects for 'top locations' could help an economy that quickly became dominantly service oriented and internationally competitive. In the 1988 national planning report (*Vierde Nota/Fourth report on Spatial Planning*) both elements were consolidated, together with the novel accommodation of large-scale new infrastructure around the so-called 'mainports' Rotterdam Harbour and Amsterdam-Schiphol Airport. Both elements together were headed as 'Spatial Development Perspectives' (*Ruimtelijke Ontwikkelings Perspectieven*) parallel to the world of the covenants mentioned in the previous section headed as 'Daily Living Environment' (*Dagelijkse Leefomgeving*)

#### *First generation key projects*

'Spatial quality' is a difficult concept, although its credentials go back to Vitruvius. In those years it was enough that striving for a *higher* quality seemed justified, and that led the basis for financial claims on national government.

The search for 'top locations' materialised in looking for major city centre redevelopment locations in or near the four major cities. This so-called '*first generation key projects*'

resulted in better quality environments for international businesses in well-connected places. Examples are the Rotterdam South Bank and the Groningen Central Station Area. Government money came mainly from the Housing department and resulted in a substantial increase in inner city apartment buildings (that were relatively new to The Netherlands where single family homes are the dominant housing form). The national planning agency had an organising role, while all projects were distributed among spending departments in order to get broad cabinet support. The identification of the locations where a mix of ideas generated by the national government and local proposals – a form of co-makership that is usual in The Netherlands. The projects were integrated in the sense that they showed a mix of functions, and that the development of infrastructure was strongly co-ordinated with real estate development. This model worked well and produced high quality environments.

#### *Second-generation national key projects*

In the late 1990's the High Speed Train to France offered the opportunity to build further on this model because six train stations had, for capacity reasons, to be rebuilt. This time, the planners' argument was that adding extra money to this operation would give higher spatial qualities in and around the stations area. Not just a better traffic area, but also redevelopment of real estate: housing, shops, offices, parking spaces, and most of all: public spaces. Extra money for 'higher quality' is not on the books of the spending departments. They have to spend their budgets efficiently and for their specific purposes, e.g. infrastructure for better traffic quality. 'Spatial quality' falls between all other (sectoral) investment categories and manifests itself in the form of an extra budget post that is nobody willing to pay for. When the private sector or local government are not willing to pay, or just unable to do so, there is justification for national government for national projects to spend an extra budget. For the six HST stations this budget was allocated to the national planning agency. For the first time as a supplement to private sector investments and sectoral budgets 'spatial quality' got its materialisation. This money came out of the state fund for economic development, which is mostly fed from the huge state income from natural gas exploitation. With this line of reasoning, spatial projects became strictly tied to economic goals, but the other way round, economists (and the finance department) recognised that investments in spatial quality projects has a positive effect on the economy<sup>iii</sup>. Here also the 'old' model of sharing responsibility with other departments (mostly Infrastructure and Finance) works well.

#### *Third generation national key projects*

After this 'second generation national key projects' around HST stations, another round of investments was made possible, mostly for smaller but nevertheless integrated projects in central city areas and, for the first time, in the countryside. And this year a 'third generation national key projects' has been decided upon, again from that unique source: natural gas<sup>iv</sup>. This generation of projects is firmly geared to promoting integrated area development projects, both redevelopment and new, both in urban and rural areas. And the motive is again: a higher spatial quality to further economic competition, although the new government likes also to stress the general effects on the quality of Dutch landscape and the vitality of the cities.

How were these third generation national key projects identified? Here we mix reality with ambition. In planning theory we are used to think in terms of a sequence: produce a – long term - vision for an area or country first, then define a program of spatial development (quantitatively and qualitatively), and then identify potential projects that realise the program. For area development project of course the problem is that national government seldom is the prime actor. Except where old or new government property is

involved, e.g. military installations or offices or jails, or where heavily subsidised activities occur, e.g. nature development, area development is a matter of accommodating market demand for housing, leisure, work etc. The 'program' is a theoretical construct to provide enough government investments (in infrastructure or nature) to support the market. Another problem is that the time it takes to go from vision to program to projects is often too long to keep it dry: projects just happen, and influence program and vision. But the practice of just giving money to project proposals that spring up 'somewhere' is not enough. National ambitions must be realised and other governments and private developers have the right to know in advance where national government is willing to step in and at what price.

So we have tried a middle ground, as a form of mixed scanning. In practice, a vision for the national territory exists in fresh form (Nota Ruimte/(Fifth) National Spatial Strategy). Thus, a selection of areas of national importance is pre-given. The program is also there, but not yet updated for the longer term (2040). For the time being, there is enough information to be sure that the selected areas experience continuing high 'spatial pressure', either from urbanisation or from agricultural decline and climate change. For most areas the national vision had already been elaborated in national program-management documents (see p. 8) containing a host of potential projects. But that is not enough to identify integrated area development projects that are eligible for the limited (€ 1 billion 2007-2014) special national budget. Here we did two things: We informed ourselves about local or provincial plans, and asked questions to upgrade the plans. You make optimal use of local intelligence, but at the same time you make local plans better because the focus on spatial quality forces them to be more precise. Advanced social cost-benefit analysis methods helped here to identify direct and indirect economic *and social* benefits.

On the other hand, we classified potential projects to find *types* of integrated area development that would each suit a particular need in the market. On that basis we hope in the future to gain more standardised insight into typical costs and benefits of these types, instead of inventing the wheel for every individual project. The types were founded on the layers approach (see p. 1). Each type is a combination of one or more elements of the ground layer or the infrastructure layer, with elements of the occupation layer. The types are:

1. *Mainports and greenports*. Connected with main logistics infrastructure for both goods and people, they represent the most internationally competitive sector of the Dutch economy. Combination of infrastructure investments with regional green facilities, leisure, offices etc. creates richer and higher quality environments.
2. *Knowledge 'valleys'*. Not specially bound to city centre locations, these 'valleys' need a certain scale to offer a competitive advantage. Cities with universities are the prime areas where not just offices but green, student housing, laboratory facilities and good access to main roads, airfields or railroads is guaranteed.
3. *Major city centres redevelopment*. Next to the HST-projects that are under construction, future extensions and intensification's of other (upgradable) railway station areas on international feeder lines are building on a familiar and successful type. Housing, offices, leisure are the main combinations.
4. *Large urban transformation areas*. Since the 1990's not only city centre locations are suitable for mixed development but also other urban locations have potential for mixed housing/leisure/office development. E.g. harbour areas outside the city centre.

5. *National landscapes and other 'green' and 'blue' areas in the reach of national urban networks.* Under the pressure of urban areas the urban landscape has to be reinvented. Mixed use can give room for recreation, a sustainable agriculture, and some housing and water storage or water safety.

The next map gives an impression.

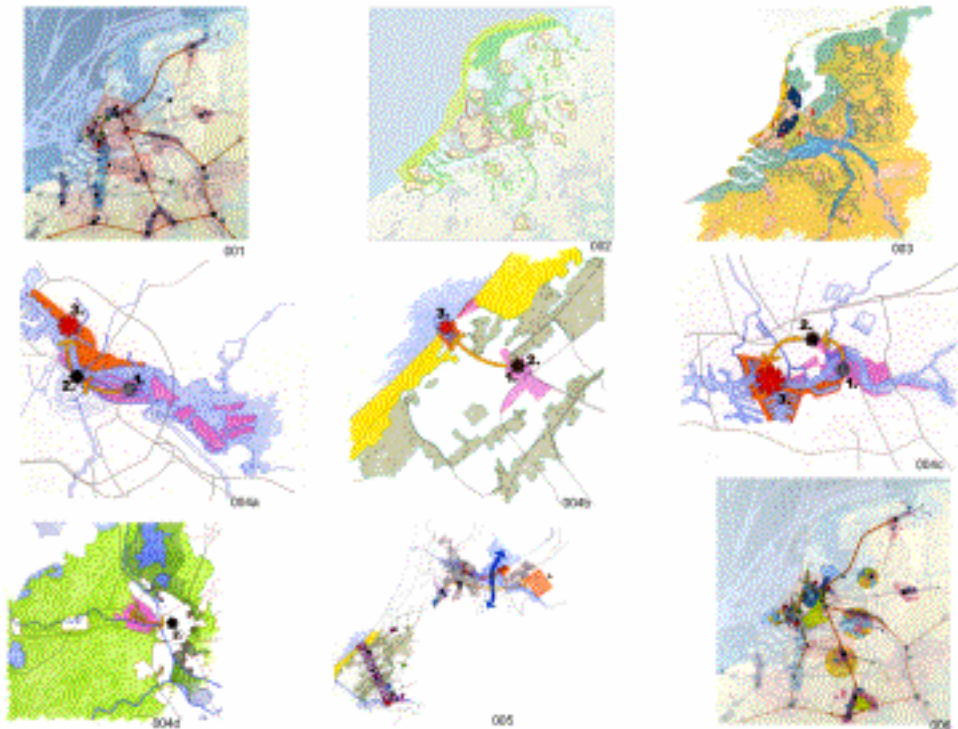


Illustration 8: Impression different types of integral area developments projects (national scale)

### Concluding remarks and suggestions

The respectable tradition of 'survey before plan', the tradition of focussing on government 'control' plans as the pinnacle of spatial development, and the traditional limitation of spatial planning to '[urban] land use' have been adrift. Research, design, financial engineering, public participation, project development are mixed. Governments play a role, but development is as much of its interest as control, so coalitions of stakeholders are more important than fixed visions and strategic plans. The 'return to nature' through ecological consciousness, environmental disasters and flooding, has disturbed the easy thinking of man as (technical) master of (all) nature for good.

The practice of project development seems to be autonomous with regard tot policy and frames of reference of planners. <sup>v</sup> To fully recognise this reality is healthy in a world of plan-believers. Investments change the world, at least more directly than plans.

However, this is not enough. Without some 'framing' projects, especially on a large scale or a strong (regional) impact, sub-optimality will be the norm. For planning content, the layers approach is a seductive frame, as mixed scanning is for the process: interactive visioning and project development.

In our search for new national key projects we found a promising way to do this at the national level. This should be further explored. Visions offer a pre-selection of important

areas, and what qualities are to be saved and what should be developed. From a national perspective, that is incorporated in the 'national spatial structure': the sea, main rivers, main transport infrastructure and major economic centres. Programs for 15-20 years lay the basis for areas where multiple or integrated land use is the way to go forward by way of projects. On the other hand, projects give a sense of what programme can be realised (new creative possibilities) and which stakeholders support them. Project proposals can on their turn change the programme and the vision. A learning cycle, rather than a top-down command-and-control process.

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<sup>i</sup> Vink and Van der Burg, New Dutch spatial planning policy creates space for development, disP 164-1/2006

<sup>ii</sup> See A. Faludi and A. van der Valk, "Rule and order", Dordrecht, 1994

<sup>iii</sup> A lot of discussion accompanies this statement. Some economists doubt that other things than infrastructure investment, or investment in environmental qualities in the narrow sense (e.g. air quality) is justified. In the wake of this budget a lot of interesting research has been done to monetarize spending on 'spatial quality elements'.

<sup>iv</sup> We let the question rest why this budgetary allocation for spatial quality projects up till now has not been part of the regular budget. The effect of these once-upon-a-time allocations is that national planners are never sure whether and when budget will be available, and the effect of that is, in its turn, that there is no planning tradition that routinely can identify and develop new project ideas.

<sup>v</sup> In a presentation in 2006 Doevendans suggested that we are confronted with a paradigm shift: Decisive factor is the possible 'span of control': with (multi level) governance this "span of control" is more related with projects than with (land-use) plans.

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