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Strategic Planning
Scenarios

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**PERI-URBAN LAND USE RELATIONSHIPS –
STRATEGIES AND SUSTAINABILITY
ASSESSMENT TOOLS FOR URBAN-RURAL
LINKAGES, INTEGRATED PROJECT, CONTRACT
NO. 036921**



D3.3.1

Analysis of regional spatial
planning and decision making
strategies and their impact on
land use in the urban fringe

**Case study of The Hague Region,
The Netherlands**



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Abstract

This report describes and analyses the efforts of regional partners to steer land use developments in the urban fringe of The Hague Region, a polycentric city region with nine municipalities in the urbanized West of The Netherlands. It summarizes trends that drive land use change and recent land use developments, and describes important governmental and private actors and their objectives and strategies with respect to the urban fringe. It focuses on the ways in which actors, and especially The Hague Region itself, influence land use in the urban fringe. Special attention is given to agriculture, which dominates land use in the urban fringe enclaves in The Hague Region. Another subject of study is recreation, as one of the main arguments used by authorities to prevent further urbanization of the urban fringe areas. Culture and identity are discussed as issues that may influence discourses and decisions. The report describes strategies for these three issues, in relation to actors, coalitions, discourses, spatial concepts and resources. This report is the first on the case study of The Hague Region. It will be followed by a report that contains assessments of the strategies.

The case study of The Hague Region is one of the seven case studies in PLUREL. The other case studies concern Montpellier (France), Greater Manchester (United Kingdom), Koper (Slovenia), Leipzig (Germany), Warsaw (Poland) and Hangzhou (China). PLUREL (Peri-urban Land Use Relations) is an integrated research project of the 6th Framework, funded by the European Union.

Keywords: urban fringe, peri-urban, land use, agriculture, recreation, immigrants, culture, identity, planning, governance, city region, The Hague region, discourse, spatial concept, strategy.

Summary

The structure of this summary is based on the research questions in the M3 Joint Analytical Framework (February 2008).

What is the general regional development situation in social, economic and physical-ecological terms? Which developments have an impact upon the urban fringe and how, in terms of sustainability?

The Hague Region is situated in the West of the Netherlands along the North Sea coast. It is one of the most urbanized areas in the country, home to nearly 1 million people, on a 410 km² area. It coincides with the territories of nine municipalities: Delft, The Hague, Leidschendam-Voorburg, Midden-Delfland, Pijnacker-Nootdorp, Rijswijk, Wassenaar, Westland and Zoetermeer. The Hague Region is a regional authority in which these municipalities cooperate.

Recent land use developments are:

- Large, concentrated housing sites on the urban fringe.
- Many new offices being built in the city of The Hague.
- Large-scale rural land acquisition by the state for recreation, nature development and water storage.
- Agricultural land use clearly divided into ‘glass’ (greenhouse horticulture) and ‘grass’ (dairy farming).
- Climate change presenting a serious planning challenge since most of the area is below sea level. Until now, the most concrete planning measure has been land purchase for water storage.

Although population growth is diminishing (< 1% per year) and expected to drop below 0,5% around 2015 (CBS 2009), the number of households in The Hague Region is expected to grow, mainly due to the shrinking number of persons per household. The proportion of inhabitants of foreign (especially non-European) origin is growing, especially in the cities.

The Hague Region has some important traditional man-made landscapes (meadows, rural estates) and nature reserves (dunes, marshes). So far, the countryside has been strictly protected from urbanization by planning instruments. The buffer zone policy, dating from the 1950s, has been very successful. More recently, however, conservation in the strictest sense has given way to the philosophy of *‘Conservation through development’*, leading to more flexible planning instruments.

Greenhouse horticulture is an economically profitable sector, and pressure to expand will remain high. Meanwhile, areas dominated by meadows have become so scarce that there is now political support for protection measures. The very high land prices are making it difficult for young farmers to start or expand a farm. With the average age of farmers

rising, it is feared that agricultural land use will no longer be safeguarded in parts of the urban fringe. On the other hand, the dairy farming sector is still economically viable.

This report examines the following urban fringe areas in more detail:

- Duin, Horst en Weide, the area between the urban centres of The Hague, Leiden and Zoetermeer. This is an area with dunes, forests, rural estates and meadows.
- Land van Wijk en Wouden, the area between Leiden, Zoetermeer and Alphen aan de Rijn (overlapping partly with the previous). This is an area of meadow.
- ‘Around Pijnacker’, a fragmented area with parks, greenhouses, recreational facilities and meadows.
- Midden-Delfland, the area between Westland, Rotterdam and Delft, which is characterized by meadows, recreational areas and traditional villages.
- Westland, an area of greenhouse horticulture.
- Vlietzone, the area between Delft and Rijswijk. This is a very fragmented area, intersected by roads, with meadows (or their remnants), estates, golf courses, a waterway and greenhouses.

What stakeholders can be distinguished within the region in relation to sustainable urban–rural linkages? What are their interests? Which of these stakeholders are active (actors), and which ones are passive?

As co-operative body of municipalities, the formal powers and tasks of the city region with respect to planning are limited. The municipalities have planning autonomy, but the provincial authorities have the formal authority to influence the municipal plans. The city region draws up a regional structure plan (RSP) in consultation with the municipalities. In the case of The Hague Region, the provincial authorities agreed to incorporate the RSP in the provincial plans. The provincial authorities also implement the rural development programme. The state (Ministries of Planning, Housing and the Environment (VROM) and of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality (LNV)) operates at greater distance, although state funding provides much of the budget for The Hague Region. The regional water boards represent an additional democratic government layer, focusing on the functional (and especially in this region critical) tasks of water management.

The Hague Region participates in several administrative networks. Examples of these are the *Zuidvleugel* ('South Wing') network, and until recently the Regio Randstad network, which have no formal powers, but act as 'hubs' in wider networks of politicians and officials, developing policy and enabling lobbying for certain objectives and projects. On a European scale, The Hague Region (through Regio Randstad) is actively participating in PURPLE, a network of regions.

Important private actors are companies, institutes, property developers, farmers, nature conservation organizations and environmental groups. All of these groups have non-governmental bodies to represent their interests, which are lobbying actively. Several area-based civil society organizations are active in the urban fringe areas in The Hague Region, or parts of them. Attempts are being made to connect discourses and spatial concepts to several of these areas in order to emphasize their importance. Less active lobbyists include recreationists and, more generally, city-dwellers. The growing

population of ethnic minorities in particular does not appear to take part in the discussions about meaningful green open space in and around the cities.

The main goals for The Hague Region are international competitiveness and – to boost this – a favourable climate for the establishment of business and international institutions. The green open landscape, which offers many opportunities for recreation, is seen as an important factor to make the region attractive for international companies and institutions and their employees. The characteristic agricultural landscape of the region is regarded as having become scarce, and further urbanization is viewed as undesirable. The Hague Region and the South Wing part of the Randstad conurbation aim to implement 80% of their construction projects within the current urban fabric (infill policy). This is to be combined with improvements to public transport and the network of cycle tracks, while access by road is also to be improved.

What are the perceptions of the different stakeholders of the current developments in the urban fringe?

The green urban fringe areas are regarded as valuable and worth preserving because of their potential value to city-dwellers. Farmers are increasingly seen as ‘stewards of the landscape’. However, the areas are also described as poorly accessible and poorly equipped for recreation. Even property developers acknowledge the value of green space, especially as a backdrop for their housing projects. Nevertheless, the fringe is increasingly perceived as ‘cluttered’ by roads and urban sprawl (especially industrial buildings).

What are the main spatial planning and governance strategies that influence the urban fringe? Why are strategies adopted: what are the problem perceptions, expectations and discourses behind these strategies? And how are they reacted upon by the different municipalities and other local actors? What were the circumstances and interactions in policy networks leading to their adoption and further development?

The issues we studied in The Hague Region are agriculture, culture/ identity and recreation. For these issues, governance strategies were described.

The most important strategies aimed at **agriculture in the urban fringe** are summarized in the table below:

Strategy	Discourses	Coalitions
Stimulating intensification	World market, entrepreneurship, efficiency, capitalism, farmers need to be economically independent, maximized food production	Large farms, LTO ¹ (to some extent), conservative/right wing political parties, politics in rural communities
Facilitating increased farm sizes	Efficiency, capitalism, farmers need to be economically independent, extensive farms also need to be big.	Medium-size farms, LTO, ANVs ² (to some extent)

¹ LTO= Farmers' and horticulturalists' organization

² ANV= Agri-environmental Association or Environmental Co-operative

Strategy	Discourses	Coalitions
Multipurpose farming	Diversification, urban–rural links, society-driven, demand from society, services to society, ‘Green and blue’ services, on-farm healthcare facilities, regional products	ANVs, area-based civil society groups, most governments, recreation sector, nature conservation organizations, health insurers, etc.
‘Green and Blue Services’	Payment for environmental services by farmers, farmers as developers and stewards of the landscape, ‘cows in the meadow’, cultural heritage, traditional landscape, extensification, sometimes organic, countryside stewardship, voluntary measures, urban–rural links, Farming for Nature, alternative to land purchase, private law agreements such as servitude.	ANVs, area-based civil society groups, most governments, recreation sector, nature conservation organizations, water boards, some environmental groups
Promotion of regional products/ branding	Regional identity, urban–rural links, ‘slow food’, knowing where your food comes from, food strategy.	ANVs, LTO, area-based civil society groups, specific customer groups, Ministry of Agriculture
Land Purchase	Buffer between cities, connectivity, conservation, ecological values, landscape sequences, land banking, enforcing desirable land use, recreational areas	Nature conservation organizations, recreation board, provincial authorities, most environmental groups
Zoning	Agricultural structure, ‘agricultural assessment’, agricultural land should remain in farmers’ hands	LTO

Green and Blue (ecological and water-related) Services (or local agri-environmental schemes (AES)) were studied more closely, especially the initiatives in Midden-Delfland (Midden Delfland Green Fund) and the area near Pijnacker (Farming for Nature). The ‘green and blue services’ strategy aims at rewarding farmers for their achievements in managing and improving the traditional man-made landscape. The first of these initiatives came into being after a fund had been created by a number of municipalities from the revenues of housing projects. A local agri-environmental association (ANV) was asked to work out a local AES. Farming for Nature was an initiative by a farmer, a volunteer conservationist and a research institute, which was adopted by the regional authorities and led to the foundation of an area-based civil society group. Among the governmental actors there is support for the concept of green and blue services, and many parties have contributed financially to one or more initiatives. However, with respect to the Midden Delfland area, it is doubtful whether this strategy can solve the areas biggest problem: the high land prices.

Another strategy adopted by the Hague Region is that referred to as **Culture and Green Landscapes**. Cultural and ecological values are being combined by The Hague Region in a new discourse **to develop commitment for the green urban fringe areas**. Cultural aspects may appeal to new groups. This strategy stresses the cultural history of the urban fringe areas, such as the rural estates with their large mansions and gardens, but also the cultural heritage in the meadow landscape and the water system. Identity is

important in this governance strategy: the city region is looking for aspects that make the region unique. Examples of this strategy – which is still developing – are the projects called Green Rings and The Hague School Outdoors. The Green Rings are intended to provide physical and mental links between city and countryside, for instance by developing cycle routes featuring various cultural highlights in the region. An example of the themes being used is ‘market’, since markets used to be the places where agricultural produce was bought and sold, and many of the old routes and markets can still be seen. The Hague School Outdoors is an outdoor exhibition of billboards showing reproductions of landscape paintings from The Hague School (dating from the early twentieth century). The goal of the exhibition was to make people think about what has changed and what needs to be preserved for the painters of the future. In this respect, it is a real governance strategy, raising awareness and trying to involve people in public discussions.

It is useful to make a distinction between identity of place and marketing/ image building. For example, the identity of the greenhouse area in The Hague Region, called the ‘Westland’, is the result of several decades of horticulture by a group of people showing strong cohesion in terms of profession, religion and social structure. The current ‘Greenport’ strategy is trying to strengthen the economic mainstay of the region, the greenhouse industry. At the same time it builds on the commitment of this close-knit community.

The ‘green landscape and culture’ governance strategy aims to:

- strengthen the *regional identity* of the city region;
- strengthen and express the urban–rural links;
- increase the commitment of urban residents to the surrounding countryside;
- strengthen the recreational routes;
- strengthen the economic capacity of the rural areas in the city region.

The 2008 budget for The Hague Region only allocates personnel resources, and provides no funding for green open space projects. This means that the portfolio holder for green open space, leisure and tourism has to depend on the support of various trade and industry sectors in The Hague Region, local, national and provincial authorities and the water board for investments in green projects. The main strategy he is using is that of ***raising political support for the development of green open space in The Hague Region.*** The portfolio holder and his office are trying to mainstream green open space by linking it to the main strategic issues for the region, like attractiveness to international businesses and institutions related to the status of The Hague as a City of Peace, Justice and Safety, and that of Delft as a Technology and Innovation centre. The region’s green spaces policy, spearheaded by the portfolio holder for green open space, combines different policy arrangements:

- The use of discourses that appeal to residents and business: (*Groene*) *Wereldstad aan Zee* ((Green) Metropolis by the seaside. The adjective Green was dropped because it made the slogan too long).
- *Promotion* of its green open spaces (using the Hague School of Painters to promote the meadowlands and related aspects of the cultural history of The Hague Region as an example);

- Organizing a *network* by collaborating with various parties on issues relating to green open space: various authorities (horizontally at the same level and vertically between government levels), and different sectors, in order to join forces in *alliances*; this network also enables the Hague Region to stimulate financial investments in green open space by other parties, since the region itself has only limited financial resources.

Strategy	Discourses	Coalitions
Linking green open space to a strategic issue of major economic importance for The Hague Region, which is The Hague as a City of Peace, Justice and Safety.	Green Metropolis by the seaside; green open space as important factor for the 'settlement climate'	International institutions and business, Delft municipality, Zoetermeer, other municipalities of the region
Targeting citizens as both users and advocates of the urban fringe.	'Duin, Horst and Weide', an area of outstanding spatial quality and a natural landscape gradient	Municipalities of Wassenaar, Leidschendam-Voorburg, Den Haag, Voorschoten

In the context of the drive to increase the region's attractiveness to expatriates, a survey was undertaken to identify expatriates' wishes regarding green spaces. Expatriates do find green open space important when they are looking for a place to live. When asked what they considered important in their residential environment (on a 1-5 scale) their answers showed that they attached value to (in order of importance):

- safety (4.6);
- the presence of a neighbourhood park (4.4),
- living in a quiet green street or having a city park (4.2)
- natural areas (4.1)
- the countryside (3.8)

Other social groups of recreationists exist in the Hague Region. The accommodation of their recreational wishes is not of a similar strategic importance to the climate of international establishment as is the accommodation of the recreational wishes of expatriates. Therefore it is less probable that the economic sector (business and governments) would be interested to (co-) invest in the development of green open space for these groups. The population of the Hague Region includes a large proportion of immigrants. They currently make up approximately one third of the regional population. In the city of The Hague, they are even expected to constitute 50% of the population by 2015, but no longer definition wise, since the new generation will not be defined as immigrants. The findings of interviews and studies which have compared the current group of immigrants with the average Dutch adult population, as well as considerations of improving the balance between different social groups, suggest that investments are needed to promote urban green space among this group, and that their specific preferences should be taken into consideration in developing green space policies.

Introduction

Objectives of PLUREL case studies

This report is one of the PLUREL case study reports on 'Governance and Spatial Planning Strategies' in six European urban regions: Warsaw, Montpellier, Manchester, Leipzig, Koper and The Hague Region (Haaglanden). A comparison outside Europe is also being made with Hangzhou, China. Each of the research teams, in cooperation with regional authorities, studied the unique governance and planning strategies in their region. They analysed the official policies as well as their results and outcomes, and the influence of a wider range of actors. This analysis forms the basis for an assessment of the different regional strategies in terms of their physical, political, social and economic structures and dynamics. The case studies are being used by other Modules of the PLUREL project, to inform the modelling and policy analysis. Finally, the different strategies and their assessments will be disseminated through good practice guidance handbooks and workshops in 2010.

Urban fringe land use issues

In order to bring real-world experience to the Module 3 research, the regional stakeholders in each of the case studies identified four major issues related to land use:

- land pressure due to housing and business development in the urban fringe
- agriculture under pressure in the urban fringe
- high-value nature areas in the urban fringe being threatened
- integration of leisure and tourism activity in the urban fringe

Strategies: about actors and their means of influence

The many actors – policy makers and other stakeholders – respond to these issues not only through formal policies but through coalitions, resources, rules of the game and discourses. The focus on 'strategies' includes this wider view of '*a deliberate course of actions that an actor has taken/takes, comprising a succession of decisions and actions to achieve goals and objectives*'. The strategies identified in the case study reports concern governance and spatial planning – for instance the patrimonial structure of farming in France, the experiments with partnerships in the UK, or the re-invention of Warsaw as a 'global city'. Governance has been defined for the study of cases in PLUREL as '*multi-level cooperation between governments and social parties*' (JAF glossary 3.7). Spatial planning is '*the search for and implementation of an optimal adaptation between geography and society*' (JAF glossary 1.1a).

Methodology and content based on a Joint Analytical Framework

The case studies follow a common 'Joint Analytical Framework' (JAF), which was developed on the basis of research proposals from the national research teams and consultations. The reports first describe the urban region, following the boundaries of the relevant administrative unit (*Stadsgewest, Agglomération*, etc.). They then summarize the land-use history, the current land use situation and major strategic issues for each of the case study regions, followed by a description of the official government and spatial planning system. The third chapter of each report describes a number of planning and governance strategies in more detail, uncovering the interactions between the different actors involved, what matters to them, and how they influence the urban–rural

interactions and the fringe. For some strategies this might be done in an ex-ante analysis, others are analysed ex-post. The effects in terms of sustainable development of the urban fringe are the subject of the second round of case study reports, developed in cooperation with the other PLUREL modules.

Definition of the urban fringe

A key notion in the concept of '*urban fringe*' is its location in the periphery of the built-up urban area. It is also referred to by the expression '*peri-urban area*', of French origin (*péri-urbain*). This can be either an area at the outer limits (seen from the urban perspective, motivating the word 'fringe') that extends into larger open countryside, such as arable lands or other green areas, as in Warsaw, Koper and Hangzhou; or it can extend into the urban fabric of another city or agglomeration, as is the case in The Hague Region, Manchester or Leipzig. This definition of the urban fringe is a spatial/physical definition that is workable for all case study areas. The functional definition of a 'rural–urban region' can be based on employment patterns or a one-hour journey from urban centres. In the more densely populated areas of Europe, the fringe territory can then extend right across larger agglomerations.

Several types of dynamics, i.e. developments resulting from urban influence, characterize the urban fringe especially in economic and social terms but also in environmental terms:

- recreational initiatives and forms of land use by urban dwellers;
- increased traffic flows to and from the urban area;
- overflow of urban uses and infrastructure that are incompatible with high density residence because of air pollution, noise and safety risks, or that are planned outside the urban area because of lower land prices, such as water storage, car dumpsites, waste disposal, housing for urban workers or the urban rich, motocross sites.

A distinctive feature is that the urban fringe is not judged by its own intrinsic values but merely as a solution to urban problems and as a cheap source of land. At times it is seen as a location of great contrasts, housing both very wealthy and very deprived communities. PLUREL was financed by the European Commission because several FP5 research projects requested attention for the urban fringe as an area with specific qualities and issues which often covers several administrative areas. The case studies research the attempts of six European regions to ensure sustainable redevelopment of their urban fringes, and they identify a new kind of policy agenda.

Responses to the urban fringe agenda

Ideally, the urban fringe should become an area of high quality with a more independent role than merely that of a spill-over area. Past efforts to draw an administrative dividing line between the urban areas and their green surroundings – as was attempted by the former Dutch Minister for Housing and Spatial Development, Jan Pronk, in the national spatial plan – can be seen as an attempt to achieve this and to restrain, for instance, the financial pressure of urban land markets. Various approaches are possible, such as assigning to the fringe and the green infrastructure the status of a municipality, or assigning land ownership and stewardship to a community land trust.

More sustainable development of the urban fringe into an area of high quality that serves the residents of both urban, fringe and rural areas is a concern of all regional authorities involved in PLUREL, and the forms of governance and spatial planning strategies contributing to this are the focus of the present case study.

1 Land use, spatial development and turning points

The Hague Region is situated in the West of the Netherlands along the North Sea coast. It is one of the most urbanized areas in the country, home to nearly 1 million people, in a 410 km² area. It covers parts of the territories of 9 municipalities: Delft, The Hague, Leidschendam-Voorburg, Midden-Delfland, Pijnacker-Nootdorp, Rijswijk, Wassenaar, Westland and Zoetermeer.

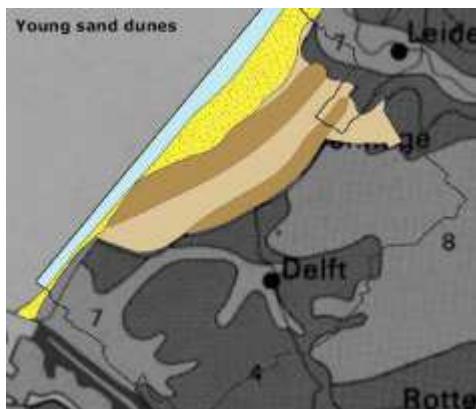
This chapter describes the history of land use in the area, recent land use developments and the most important urban fringe areas.

1.1 History of land use

People and settlement

Soil composition and differences in elevation are decisive factors in the settlement of people in prehistoric periods, as well as for the development of The Hague Region. After the last Ice Age, sea water levels rose rapidly (

Figure 1). This created waterlogged situations which caused large-scale peat exploitation. A large increase in sandy depositions created a beach ridge seawards of the peat and clay area. This ridge slowly grew in a westerly direction, creating a pattern of parallel beach ridges. These are called the ‘old dunes’. These dunes were favourite places for human settlement. The beach ridges were already inhabited during the Iron Age³, but there is evidence of even earlier settlements in the Neolithic. ⁴ The first permanent settlements were established by the Romans along the river Rhine, which at that time ran largely



north of its present course and flowed into the North Sea near Katwijk. For a long time, this was the northern border, or Limes, of the Roman Empire. Villages like Rijswijk, Voorburg and Leidschendam and the city of The Hague are all situated on the old dunes. The beach ridges are still clearly visible in the street pattern of The Hague. The younger dunes were barely inhabited and mainly used for hunting and foraging.

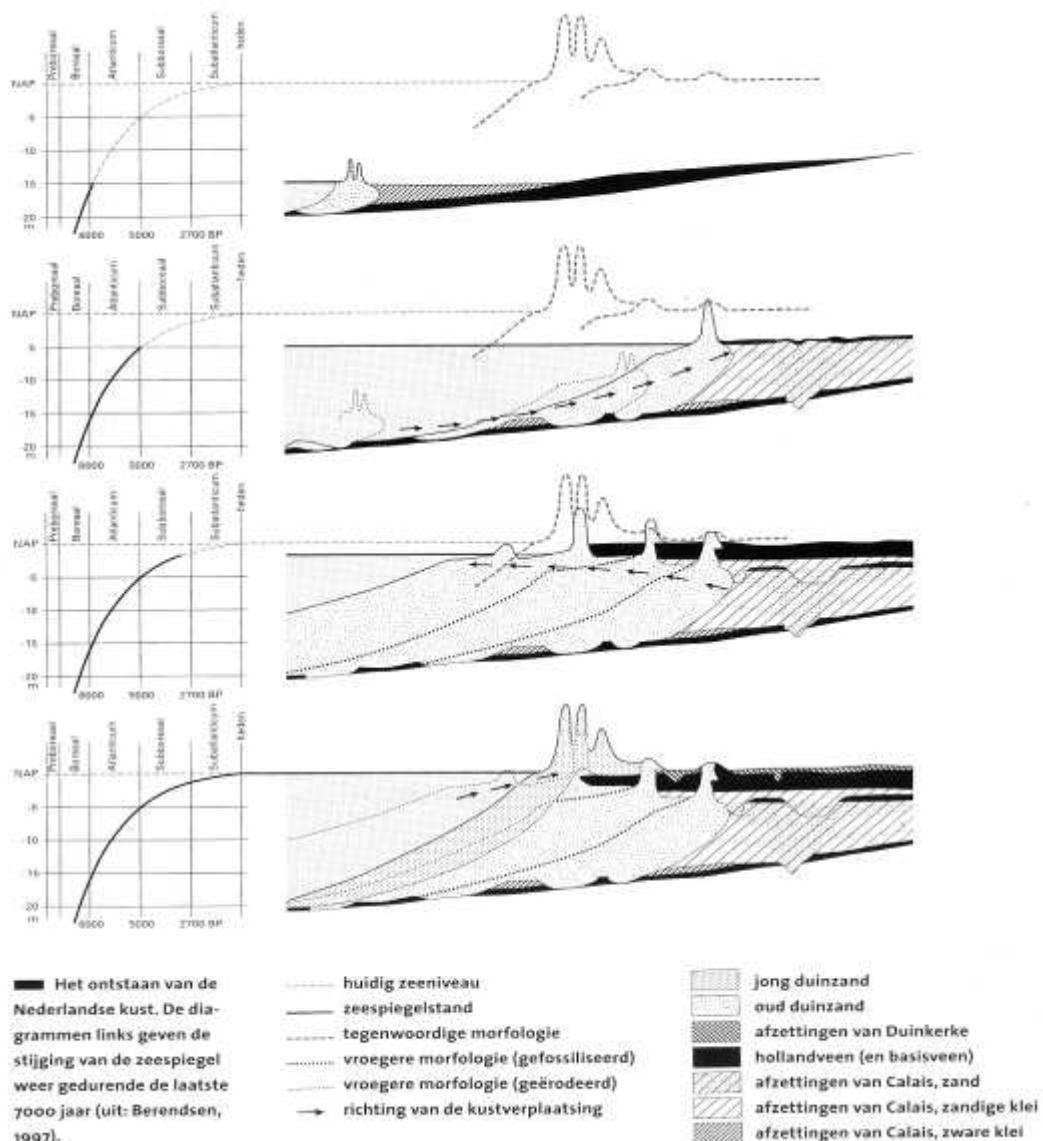
Figure 1: Young sand dunes. Source: The Hague Region

Another preferred place for settlement was along the riverbanks and the tidal creeks. Starting in the 9th and 10th centuries, people constructed dikes to protect their homes. These were not always solid enough, so many floods resulted. Another important aspect

³ Ca. 800 BC - o

⁴ 5300 – 2000 BC

of the embankment process was its influence on the hinterland; the peat areas became drier and more accessible.



The diagrams on the left show the rising of the sea water level during the last 7000 years (from Barends, Baas et al. 2005 p.42). Legend (top to bottom, left to right): (1st row) present sea level; sea level; present morphology; past morphology; direction of coastal movement; (2nd row) young dunes; old dunes; clay; Dunkirk strata; peat; Calais strata, sand; Calais strata, sandy clay; Calais strata, heavy clay.

Figure 2: Development of the Dutch coast.

Royal seat

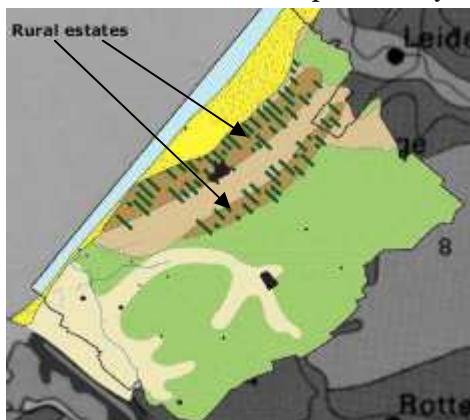
In 1585, the seat of national government was located in The Hague, which attracted many rich people to the area. The other aspect that made The Hague attractive is that of its links with the Dutch royal family, dating back to 1248 when Count William II settled there. Many royal palaces in and around The Hague are still in use, and residents of the city express positive feelings about living close to the Royal Seat (the city is often referred to as 'the Residence').

Infrastructure development

At the start of the 18th century, the city's infrastructure was opened up by four big arterial roads in the four main directions. One leads to the fishing village of Scheveningen (being used for fish transport, recreational purposes, etc.), one to Rijswijk, one to Loosduinen and one to Wassenaar. This prestigious infrastructure network served mostly the rich people. The water network was of real national importance at that time. The two main waterways (Haagsche Vliet and Delftsche Vliet) connected the area with the rest of the Netherlands, serving the transport of goods and trade.

Estates

During the 17th (the Dutch Golden Age) and 18th centuries, rich or noble people constructed beautiful country houses as their summer homes. These estates were preferably not situated facing the sea, but were built on the old dunes or along the brooks. The houses are built in impressive styles and the country estates cover large areas of parks



and forest. The surrounding formal gardens are characterized by rectangular and symmetrical elements divided according to classic proportions (4:3). It is interesting that most of these estates still exist today. Even in the middle of the urban fabric, they represent historical green spaces hardly affected by the never-ending wave of changes. Even today, the division between wealthy houses on sandy soils and public housing on the peat soils is still visible.

Figure 3: Rural estates laid out on the sandy ridges.

Agriculture

Cultivation first started in the 10th century. There were some farms in the young dunes, e.g. in the area called Meijendel, but their yields were always low. After the construction of dikes, people drained the peat areas and cut trees. The resulting mineralization of the peat created reasonable arable lands, but also gradually lowered the ground level. People also discovered the means and tools to control and reclaim this area. The subsiding ground levels created more waterlogged conditions, which later made the land less suitable for arable farming. Cattle breeding became dominant.

Major changes resulted from a highly organized reclamation project, initiated mostly by the Count of Holland and the Bishop of Utrecht. The count and the bishop owned and governed large parts of the peatland areas and were responsible for the reclamation of these areas by selling parts to various new landowners. Large peat areas were excavated down to the underlying clay layer. Peat that was not excavated shrunk and oxidized, resulting in dramatic lowering of the ground level. This required the use of artificial drainage systems, which lowered the ground level even further (Figure 4). As a result, many areas are nowadays up to 5m below sea level, while many old peat brooks remain at sea level to provide a natural means of transporting the water to the sea. This situation has led to a complex system of mills, pumps and dikes to transport the water from the lower polders to the higher canals and rivers and eventually to the sea.



Figure 4: The traditional Dutch polders were made with the help of wind energy: the windmills pumped up the water into the canal system, sometimes in a series such as here at Stompwijk, when the difference was too much for one windmill. As a result, much of the land is below the present-day sea level. Nowadays the land is kept dry by modern pumps. Photo: Sander Klaver.

For a long time, the estuary of the river Maas was situated near the present city of Rotterdam, making it one of the areas along the coast with hardly any dunes, and hence a suitable site for the future megaport. The area was reclaimed rather late, due to the fact that suitable sites for human settlement were rare. The proximity of cities later stimulated more intensive forms of agriculture in this area, which finally resulted in the largest greenhouses complex of the Netherlands in the 'Westland' area. Technological progress and the presence of nearby Schiphol airport gave the 'Westland' a very strong position, especially in terms of the international trade in horticultural products, such as flowers.

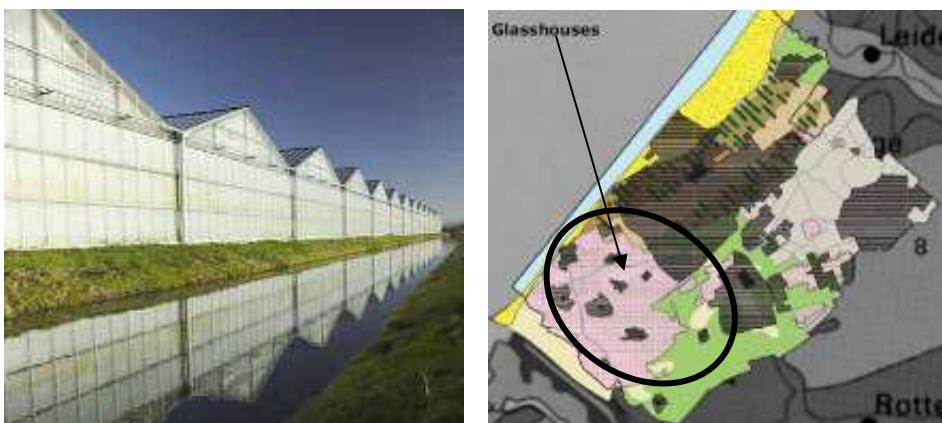


Figure 5: Westland greenhouse area (source: The Hague Region)

A huge influence was the development of flower bulb cultivation, mainly between 1875 and 1925. It required sandy soils with a water table 50-60 cm below the surface. Large areas were excavated to the right depth to create the right circumstances for this branch of agriculture. The excavated sand served the building process of houses and roads at that time.

City expansion and its influence on the surrounding areas

Between 1700 and 1800, the city of The Hague grew from 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants, and differences between rich and poor people also increased. At the same time, agricultural activities were booming, following the motto of the economists of the time, that agriculture is prosperity.

From 1850 onwards, tourism and seaside recreation developed. People went to the seaside for the supposedly healthy effect of sun and sea wind. A large sea hotel was constructed in 1828 in the dunes at Scheveningen, later on replaced by the well-known Kurhaus. The nearness of The Hague as a city of international importance attracted many people to the seaside, and soon Scheveningen also provided other recreational opportunities like a theatre, a circus building and a long pier, giving people a chance to experience the 'open sea'.

Two railway stations constructed around 1870, and the first motorway in 1920, offered transport to Utrecht and Amsterdam. By 1920, The Hague had a population of 350,000, and the city was beginning to expand considerably, at first in a south-easterly direction. Later on, the urban fabric of the towns of Rijswijk, Voorburg and Leidschendam more or less merged into that of the city of The Hague.

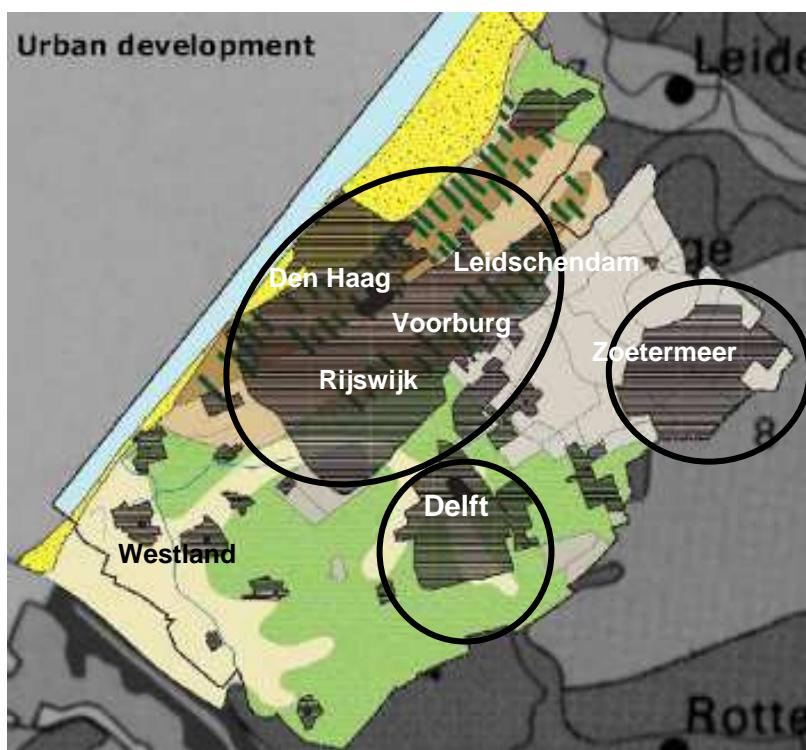


Figure 6: Urban development. Source: The Hague Region

1.2 Recent land use developments

Extensive yet concentrated housing sites

One development that has had a big impact on land use in The Hague Region was the decision in the 1994 National Housing Memorandum to concentrate city expansion in a number of large housing sites. In 1995, The Hague Region agreed to build a total of 42,500 new houses in these so-called Vinex sites, 75% of which had actually been built by 2002 (Voortgang Verstedelijking Vinex 2003, Jaarlijkse voortgangsrapportage Vinex-uitvoeringsconvenanten 1995 – 2005, Ministerie VROM Den Haag, 2003). Vinex policy urbanized a number of large green sites in The Hague Region, the most prominent of which were ‘Wateringse Veld’ (in the south) and ‘Ypenburg’ (in the east).

Office building in the city centre

Several new office towers have been built in the centre of the city of The Hague, especially near the Central Station. Partly used for government institutions, these offices have provided an impulse to provide more office space accessible by public transport. Some of these office buildings span the A12 motorway. Expansion has been in both vertical directions, as several roads and large parking facilities were constructed underground.



Figure 7: The skyline of The Hague has changed considerably (Photo: Mefeafer)

Large-scale rural land acquisition by the state

The so-called Green Heart planning concept was developed in the mid-20th century. The Green Heart was intended as a large open space amidst the cities of The Hague, Rotterdam, Utrecht and Amsterdam, which together form the so-called Randstad conurbation. A buffer zone policy was adopted which gave special status to designated areas. It entailed the purchase by the state of as many land titles to the designated areas as possible. The Hague Region includes the major parts of two such former buffer zones

(see Figure 8 and Figure 27). This land acquisition drive has made the state a powerful player in these areas, deciding how these lands should be used. The buffer zone policy was also accompanied by planning instruments and regulations. It has been assessed as highly effective (Bervaes et al., 2001), since urbanization has been low in buffer zone areas (Van Rij et al., 2008).

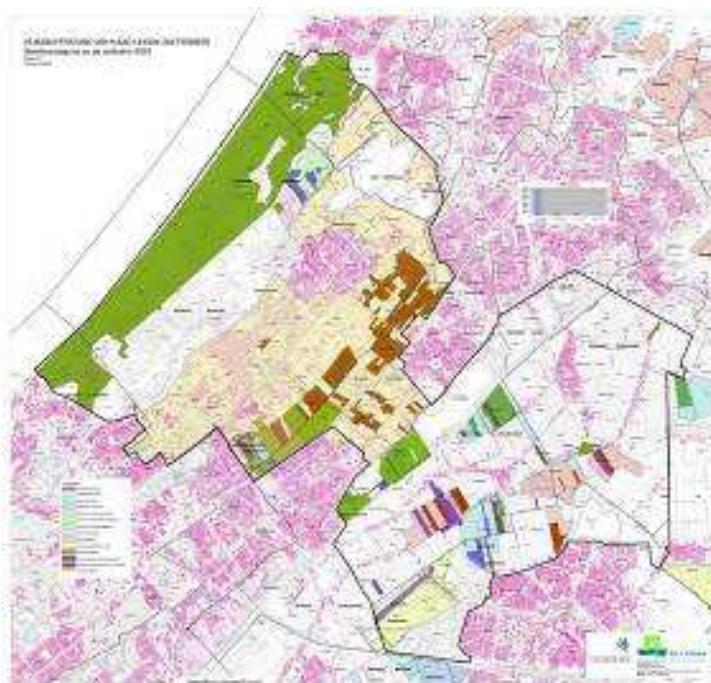


Figure 8: The Den Haag – Leiden – Zoetermeer buffer zone. The coloured areas were purchased by the state or designated for a special management regime. Source: Bervaes et al., 2001. See also Figure 27 (Midden Delfland buffer zone)

Agriculture in The Hague Region: glass and grass

Although dairy farming was the origin of the traditional Dutch meadow landscape, agricultural land is now regarded as scarce in The Hague Region. Only around 24% of the surface area is still covered by grassland (2003; CBS, 2007). In statistical overviews about the region, lands covered by greenhouses (14%) are regarded as being in agricultural use, whereas in policy development and in the perception of the majority of the interviewees, the greenhouse areas are seen as industrial areas for food production. The Westland area features the largest concentration of greenhouses in the Netherlands (Figure 9). It has been designated as the main ‘Greenport’ in the Netherlands and a hotspot for innovation in the ‘agrocluster’ (Greenports Nederland 2007). About 43% of the total area of greenhouses in the Netherlands is located in The Hague Region (CBS, 2007). Apart from the Westland area, there are two smaller but still substantial greenhouse areas in the municipality of Pijnacker-Nootdorp, called ‘Oostland’ (see Figure 13).

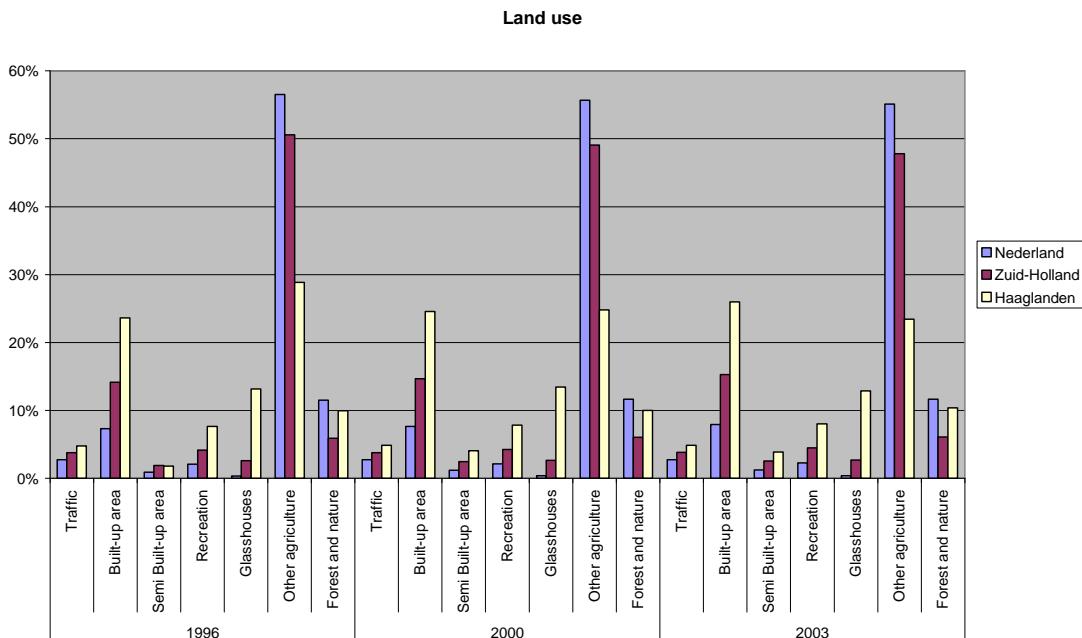


Figure 9: Land use in Netherlands, South-Holland province and The Hague Region in 1996, 2000 and 2003. The graphs do not add up to 100%; the remaining areas are water (CBS 2007).

The distinction between ‘glass’ and ‘grass’ is very pronounced with respect to:

- market chains and urban–rural relationships
- the geographical and political layout of the area
- discourses and policy development

The products of the greenhouse enterprises are mainly vegetables, flowers and seedlings (trees). The national domestic market is important, but products are also exported to all continents, the export ratio of Westland being 107.7 in 2006 (KvK, 2008). The large flower and vegetable auction halls, for instance that in ’s Gravezande, are the hubs of this market. The port of Rotterdam is nearby and the greenhouse sector uses a complex logistic chain. The sector has traditionally been a major consumer of energy, but recent developments and innovations are converting the sector into a net producer of energy.

The ‘grass’ area, by contrast, is dominated by dairy farms, which mainly produce for the milk factories. The milk is processed into fresh products, such as pasteurized milk, cheese and butter, which are mainly sold on the domestic market. However, the export market is also important: Dutch milk powder and dairy products are sold all over the world (4 billion Euros in 2005, CBS).

There is currently a powerful lobby for the conservation of both the ‘grass’ and ‘glass’ landscape components, both of which are feeling the pressure of construction. However, building on grassland is much cheaper. Furthermore, projects to develop new natural habitats and recreational facilities categorically take place at the cost of grassland. The

'grass' areas seem the most vulnerable to development, but even the economic weight of the agribusiness in Westland can not fully counter the forces of construction pressure.

The planning processes are aiming for a further separation of the landscape types. In several areas, smaller, free-standing greenhouses are being removed and converted into grassland (Midden Delfland), or a combination of housing, grassland and natural habitats (Oude Leede, Duivenvoorde Corridor). Development of new greenhouses is permitted in restricted zones at Westland, Pijnacker and near Stompwijk, but most of the space for compensating measures is to be found in the redevelopment of the Zuidplaspolder, just outside The Hague Region. Many greenhouse owners in the Westland area are seeking expansion options outside the province, mainly in the provinces of North Holland, Limburg, Brabant and Zeeland.

The Regional Structure Plan for The Hague Region has adopted a zoning strategy that aims to achieve protection status for both the 'grass' and the 'glass' areas. However, planning-related policy development seems to be more interested in the 'grass' area than the 'glass' area, according to an official of The Hague Region, because the problems in the 'grass' area are more urgent, since it is more vulnerable to land use changes. The Hague Region is searching for ways to preserve the qualities of the landscape and at the same time facilitate economic viability for the area. The 'grass' areas also have greater potential for urban–rural relationships. The meadow landscapes are more attractive and offer more opportunities and infrastructure for leisure and recreation. In addition, the farms in the meadow areas are more likely to develop products for the local market and to start amenities like cheese counters or shops selling regional products. The Hague Region would like to see the areas become so important to the city, that city-dwellers will be willing to defend them, according to the responsible administrator.



Figure 10: Most of The Hague Region area is below sea level. Exceptions are the dunes and parts of the cities, which were built on higher ground. Zoetermeer is a new town, established in the middle of the reclaimed polders (dark blue).

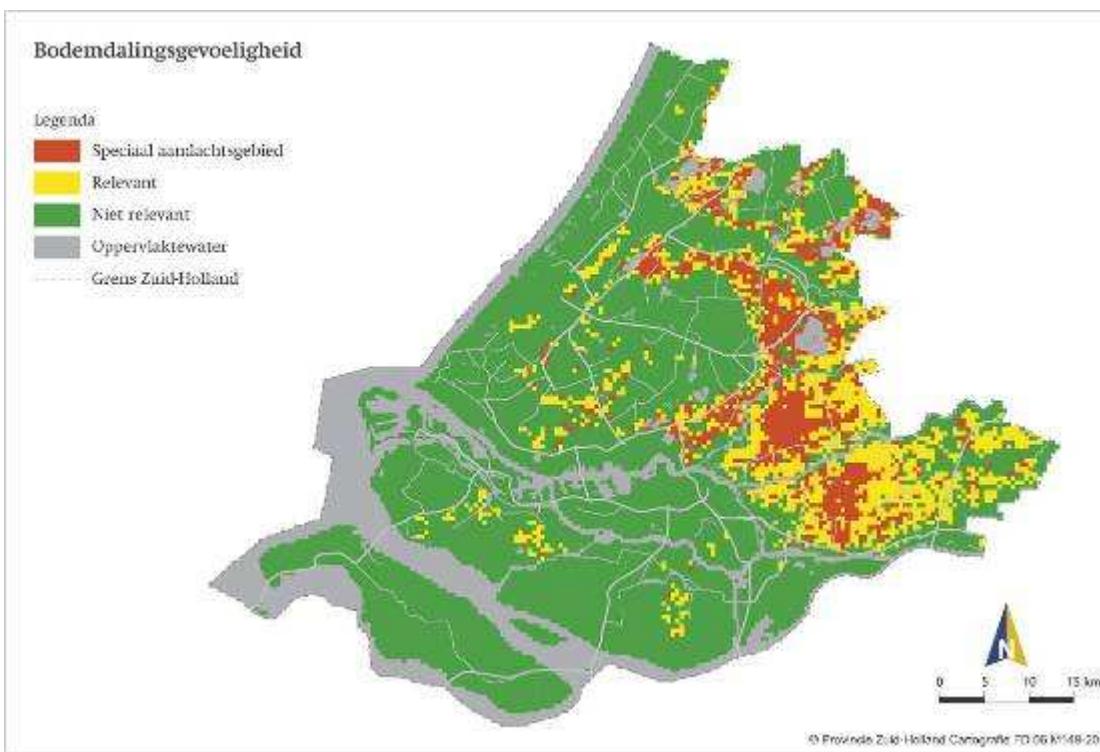


Figure 11: Vulnerability to land level subsidence in South Holland province. Grey: water. Green: not relevant. Yellow: relevant. Red: area in need of special attention. Source: Provincie Zuid-Holland

Climate change

The Hague Region is one of the lowest-lying areas in Europe. Most of the land surface is below sea level (see Figure 10). The land is still subsiding, although the most vulnerable part in the province of South-Holland is situated around Gouda, outside The Hague Region (Figure 11). The soil subsidence is due to mineralization of peat, which is a result of drainage. The subsiding land has been a self-reinforcing problem since the Middle Ages (and before), when reclamation and drainage of the peat areas intensified. The sinking soil level led to higher water levels, which forced the farmers to improve the drainage by means of ditches, dikes, polders and windmills, which in turn led to further mineralization and shrinkage of the peat layer. The system also means that agriculture in the peat areas is contributing to climate change. It is estimated that 5% of the Dutch national carbon dioxide emissions result from peat mineralization (Kuikman et al., 2004).

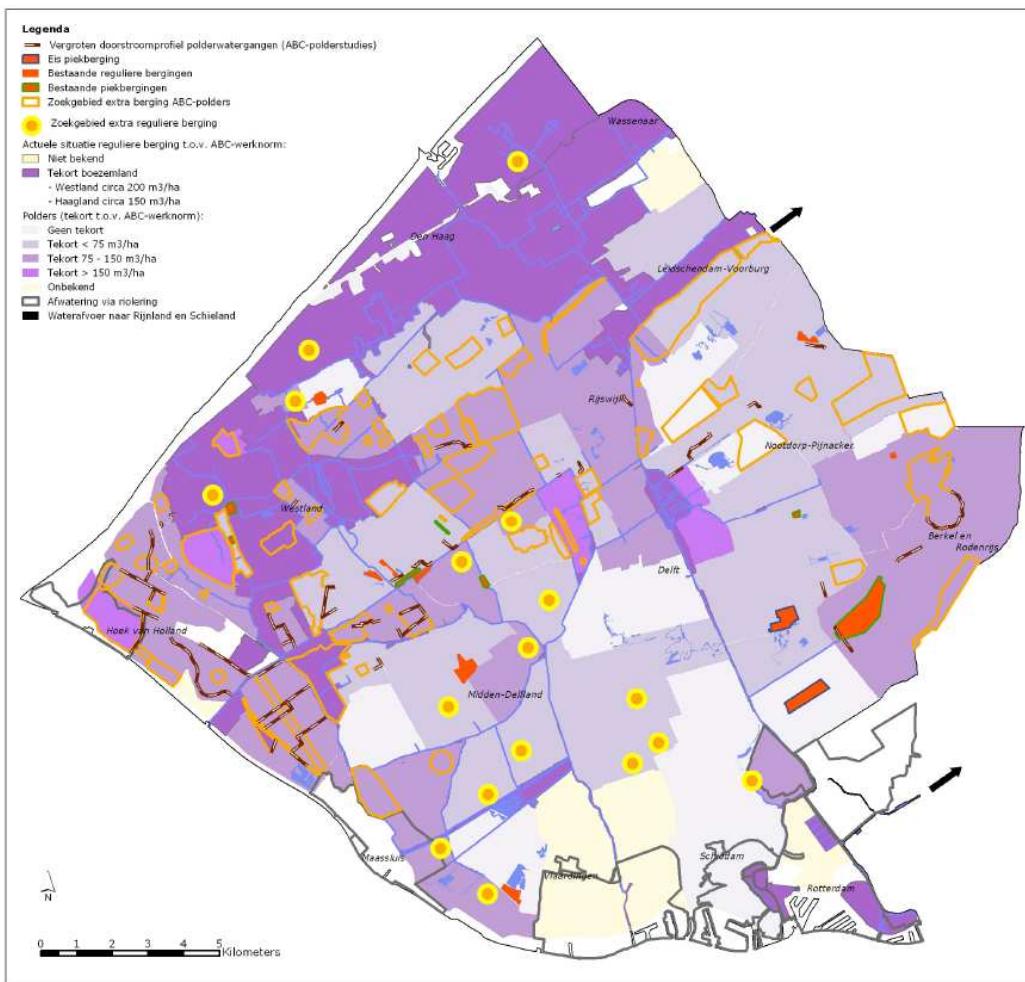


Figure 12: Current water situation (the more purple, the greater the need for extra storage capacity), current measures (red) and proposed measures for storage of excess water (orange and dots). Source: Hoogheemraadschap van Delfland.

As Figure 12 shows, water problems are more serious in the urban and greenhouse areas than in the meadow areas. Overall, the capacity for ‘removing and storing’ is too low. One of the options that are being explored in the context of a project called *Waterkader Haaglanden* (water framework for The Hague Region), is a trade in water storage capacity between ‘the city’ and the rural areas. For instance, an urban property developer could buy off the obligation to store water by financing the creation of storage capacity on agricultural land.

Climate change is a growing threat to farming in The Hague Region, because of the rising sea level. It appears increasingly difficult to dispose of the excess water from the subsiding agricultural land. The problem is aggravated because agricultural land is being considered as potential storage space for excess water in situations of high tide, flooding rivers and excessive rainfall. The Driemanspolder between Leidschendam and Zoetermeer has been purchased for this purpose by the state.

1.3 Land use, trends and main strategic issues

The following map shows current land use in The Hague Region (2004).

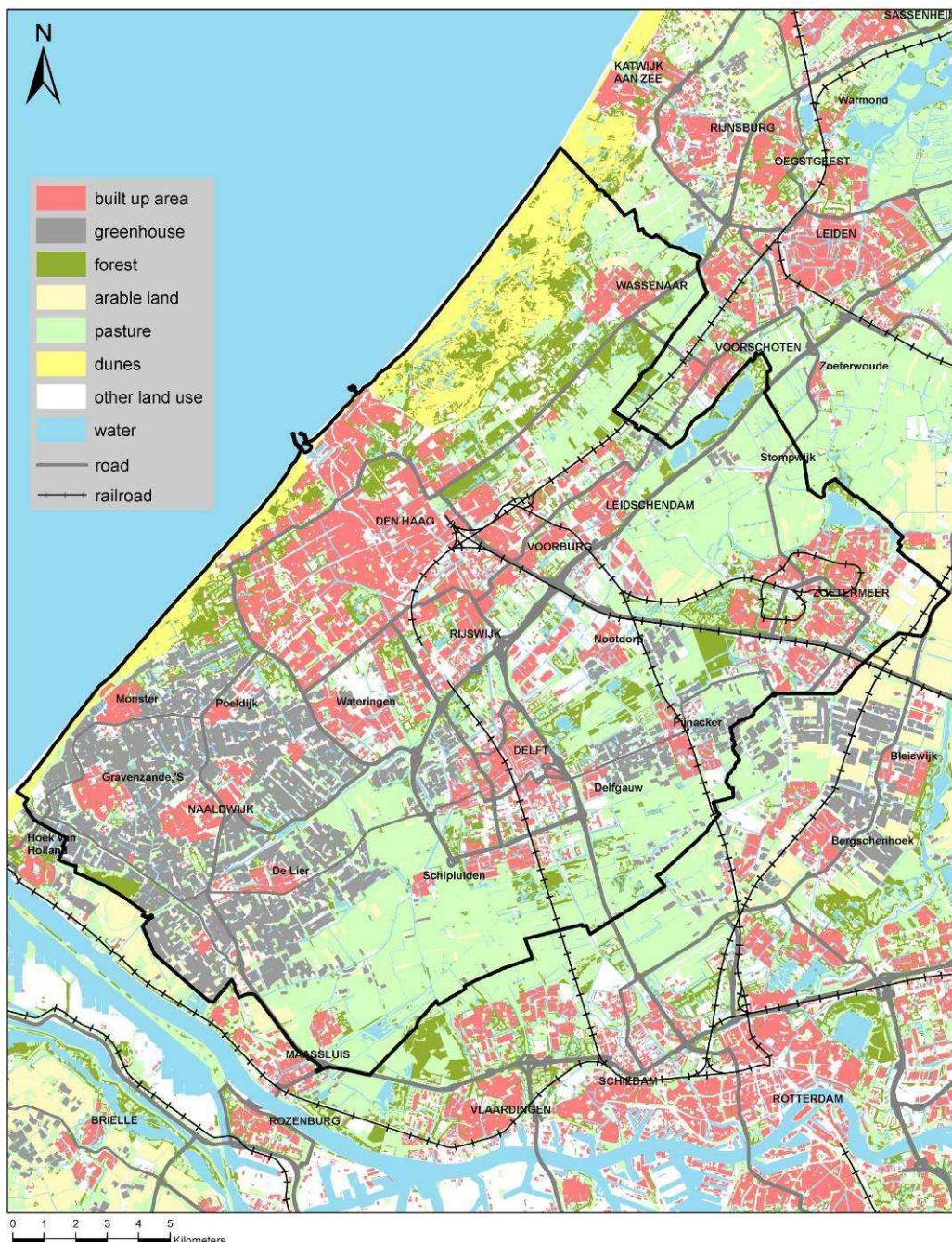


Figure 13: Land use in The Hague Region (2004)

Table 1 offers an impression of The Hague Region and its land use, and the differences between its municipalities, in numbers and statistics. In some cases, the figures refer to what are known as the COROP regions (=CR) of The Hague (The Hague, Leidschendam, Rijswijk, Wassenaar, Zoetermeer, Pijnacker-Nootdorp) and Delft (Delft, Midden-Delfland, Westland).
 Table 1: The Hague Region in figures

	The Hague Region total	The Hague	Delft	Leidschendam	Midden-Delfland	Rijswijk	Wassenaar	Zoetermeer	Westland	Pijnacker- Nootdorp
Social / demography										
Population (x1000; 1-1-2007)	993	474	95	73	18	47	26	118	99	43
Population growth (over 2006; per 1000 inhabitants)	1,0	-3.5	3.0	-3.9	5.8	-2.4	-0.5	8.9	5.5	25.8
Pop. growth: natural/migration (per 1000; in 2005)	3/3	4/3	2/-2	0/-9	6/16	-1/-4	-4/6	4/6	4/1	10/35
Area (km2)	451	98	24	36	49	14	63	91	37	39
No. of households (x1000; 1-1-2007)	459	240	50	35	7	24	11	49	38	16
Household density (over 2006; dwellings per km2)	1,259	2,797	1,870	1,073	139	1,702	230	1,440	485	416
Single family households (2006; %)	43	49	52	40	24	42	35	30	24	21
Average house value (in 2006; x1000 Euros)	191	167	173	218	271	174	514	185	234	247
Net housing demand growth (growth of number of houses between 1980 and 2007)	128,625	46,318	12,906	8,327	2,807	3,931	2,266	28,543	13,972	9,555
Income inequality – gini index (2000)		0.308						0.303		
Education levels (of working people % low, %middle, %high)	23/ 38/39	22/ 38/39	21/ 30/49	18/ 47/44	31/ 37/31	21/ 37/41	20/ 36/44	21/ 42/37	30/ 46/24	18/ 40/42
Health / mortality levels (percent, 2007)	0.84	0.89	0.77	1.02	0.38	1.36	1.06	0.63	0.75	0.51
Economic										
Employment (x1000; 1-1-2006)	434.9	208.0	40.5	30.9	8.1	21.3	10.2	54.7	43.7	17.5

	The Hague Region total	The Hague	Delft	Leidschendam	Midden-Delfland	Rijswijk	Wassenaar	Zoetermeer	Westland	Pijnacker- Nootdorp
Number of enterprises (in 2006; x1000)	58.3	23.3	4.0	13.0	0.9	2.3	1.4	4.4	7.0	2.0
Manufacturing / services ratio (added value, 2006)	0.20	0.14 (CR)	0.45 (CR)							
Primary (agriculture / forestry) employment ratio (2006)	0.04	0.01 (CR)	0.14 (CR)							
Net unemployment (2006)	5.9	7.1	6.5	6.6	2.4	4.5	4.7	5.4	2.9	1.7
GDP (market prices) per person (2007)	26,944									
Exports ratio (2006)	107.4									
Environmental										
CO2 production per person (x 1000 kg, Netherlands, 2005)	11.2									
Household waste (in 2003; kg per person)	468 (av.)	442	474	-	-	522	608	485	-	553
Land use (in 2004, %)										
Urban	17.2	34.7	24.2	14.6	3.0	24.9	4.3	21.6	12.0	7.8
Arable land	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.6	2.9	0.0	1.1	8.4	1.4	0.5
Greenhouses	10.5	1.0	1.3	1.5	5.9	3.3	0.0	0.1	42.5	11.6
Meadow	29.5	14.1	23.8	50.4	74.2	25.2	26.6	29.4	13.5	47.3
Water	8.3	6.9	13.3	13.1	7.4	9.2	5.6	11.5	7.0	9.8
Forest	10.7	13.4	16.6	7.4	2.3	14.5	23.0	11.7	3.6	8.8
Nature	6.3	6.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	31.0	0.0	3.1	0.0
Other	15.7	23.6	20.8	12.3	4.5	22.7	8.4	17.2	16.9	14.3
Urban form & infrastructure										
Transport demand km per person per day (South Holland, 2003)	30									
% public / private transport ⁵ (number of movements / km, South Holland, 2003)	0.07/ 0.16									
Cars (in 2007; per 1000 inh.)	390	355	325	440	432	554	525	420	459	412

⁵ Including walking and cycling

	The Hague Region total	The Hague	Delft	Leidschendam	Midden-Delfland	Rijswijk	Wassenaar	Zoetermeer	Westland	Pijnacker-Nootdorp
Private transport growth trend % (km per person per day, between 1994 and 2003, South Holland)	103									
Rate of urbanization of land use (% on average per year 1996-2003)	1.98	2.09	0.43	2.08	1.67 (Schipholuiden)	0.67	0.32	0.95	6.82 (Wateringen)	3.89
Population density: urban / peri-urban / rural-urban areas (# people x 1000/km ²)	2.5	4.8	4.0	2.0	0.4	3.6	0.4	1.3	2.8	1.1

A number of trends can be distinguished that are driving land use change in The Hague Region:

- Although population growth is decreasing and expected to stabilize at 0,3% per year around 2025 (CBS 2009), the number of households in The Hague Region is expected to grow by 58,000 between 2006 and 2020 (The Hague Region, 2006). This is mainly explained by the shrinking number of persons per household.
- The proportion of inhabitants from non-European origin is growing, especially in the cities.
- Land purchases for nature conservation and recreational facilities seem to have peaked. A relatively new phenomenon is land purchase for water storage. Ecological and water-related ('Green and Blue') services are increasingly seen as alternative (see Section 3.1.4).
- Exchange mechanisms, like 'red for green' (allowing additional housing construction in exchange for private investments in the landscape) and 'space for space' (allowing additional housing in exchange for demolishing unused farm buildings and isolated greenhouses) are popular.
- The concept of 'new country estates' is popular, allowing modern mansions to be built on former farmland, with the provision that the estate should be to some extent publicly accessible.
- Greenhouse horticulture is an economically profitable sector (Greenports Nederland 2007). The pressure to expand will remain high, especially when the new energy-generating potential of greenhouses becomes operational.
- Meadow areas have become scarce enough to raise political support for protection measures.
- The 'invasion' of residents not engaged in agricultural activities tends to change the appearance of the agricultural landscape (non-traditional buildings, horse keeping ('horsification'), horticulture).
- The very high land values make it very difficult for young farmers to start a farm. The average age of farmers is rising.

The following discourses are influential:

- Conservation in the strict sense of the term has given way to the philosophy of '*Conservation through development*' (see Section 3.2), leading to more flexible planning instruments (see Section 2.1.5).
- The 'right-to-roam' movement is growing, demanding access by means of trails and greenways in the agricultural landscape. It is often opposed by land users who fear damage to their land.
- The awareness that the city cannot be ignored is growing among farmers.
- There is a growing awareness that it would be extremely costly to maintain the current state of the landscape if all farmers should move out.

The strategic issues that dominate the planning debate in The Hague Region are:

- Coastal protection. With predicted rise in sea level, the partly natural and partly artificial barriers protecting the land from the sea will be insufficient. In The Hague Region, but even more so in the neighbouring Rotterdam Region, population densities and real estate values are extremely high, whereas the land is far below sea level (up to 7 m).
- Storm water storage. In addition to dealing with the water coming from the sea, there is a problem of storing water from precipitation. With forecasts of heavy rainfall occurring more frequently, whilst surfaces are increasingly being sealed by infrastructure and buildings, solutions have to be found for storing excess water when precipitation exceeds drainage capacities.
- Traffic congestion. The motorways around The Hague Region (especially the A4) are among the most heavily congested in the country (www.VID.nl accessed August 2009). It is of great economic importance to improve this situation. An additional motorway is expected to be built, and plans for an improved rail transit system are being implemented, although not without difficulties.
- Availability of open space. With densities rising, the fear of a desert of stone and concrete colours much of the debate about land use. Ongoing urbanization is regarded as one of the main threats to the quality of life in the area (Zuidvleugel, 2006).
- Quality of houses, service level and public space.

Figure 14 shows the 'new map of The Hague Region', based on the 'new map of The Netherlands' (NIROV 2009). It shows the upcoming land use changes which have already been decided on by local, provincial or state authorities.

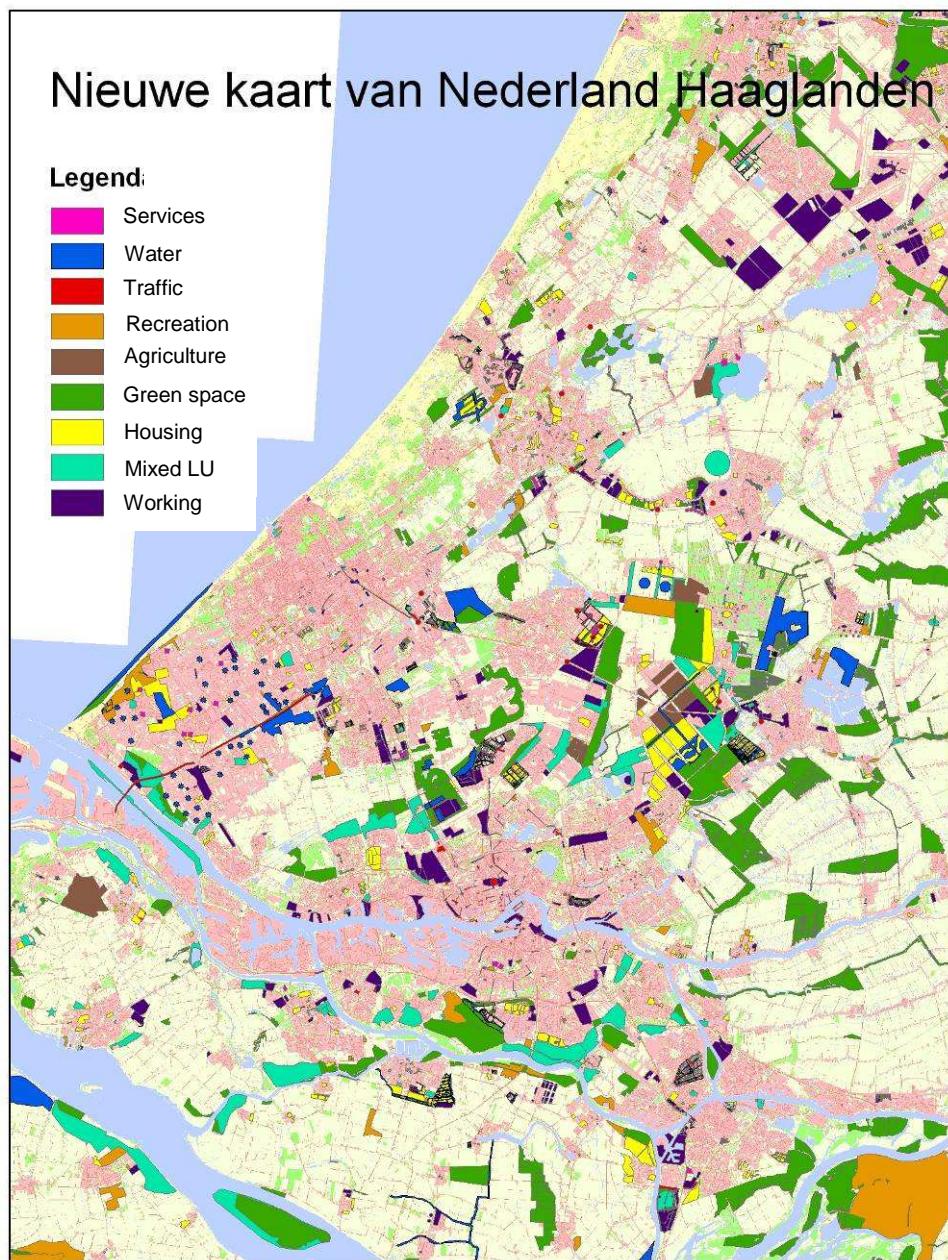


Figure 14: New map of The Hague Region (NIROV, 2009)

1.4 **Urban fringe areas in The Hague Region**

During the interviews, different interpretations of ‘peri-urban’ and ‘urban fringe’ were expressed. Some interpreted ‘urban fringe’ as the sharp line between ‘urbanized’ and ‘open’. Due to the culture and practice of planning in the Netherlands until the 1990s, this boundary can be quite sharp and can in many places clearly be perceived or at least be distinguished on the map. However, others would describe urban fringes in The Hague

Region as ‘messy’, due to the many functions that are found there, such as sports fields, city parks, industrial buildings and motorways (this corresponds with the observation that Dutch planning has abandoned the dogma of strict separation between urban and rural, as described in e.g. OECD, 2008). One interviewee (province official) linked the perception of the urban fringe to the way people experience it by entering or leaving the city through the corridors of railways and motorways. Many interviewees noted the absence of ‘real’ rural areas: *‘Everywhere in The Hague Region you can experience the influence of the city’*. And: *‘The whole of The Hague Region is peri-urban’*.

No clear zone – with a width of a certain number of kilometres – could be distinguished that would form the urban fringe area. Instead, actors tend to refer to the smaller and larger green landscape enclaves that are found in between the urbanized areas (and can therefore be regarded as embedded peri-urban areas, OECD 2008), and to the coast.

This section describes the open, green urban fringe areas, as well as the Westland greenhouse area and the coast (Figure 15). For the purpose of our PLUREL research, we consider these to be embedded cases, for which we will study the interaction between the different actors in more detail. Chapter 2 introduces the most important players and their policies, before describing the actors of the embedded cases and their coalitions.

Duin, Horst en Weide

This is the enclave just northeast of The Hague. It includes the Meijendel dune reserve along the seashore, an area with lush historic estates around the town of Wassenaar, and the meadows around Stompwijk. It has seen a surprisingly low urbanization rate over the last decades, and offers outdoor recreationists a great variety of landscapes. However, according to the alderman responsible for planning at Leidschendam-Voorburg, Mr. Marcel Houtzager, too many small-scale redevelopments have been tolerated in the *Weide* area around Stompwijk in the past, especially industry that grew from agricultural activities into enterprises now considered unsuitable for the landscape (Long-term structural design plan for Leidschendam and Voorburg, 2007).

The area consists of the following municipalities (or parts of them): Wassenaar, Katwijk, Voorschoten and Leidschendam-Voorburg. (Katwijk and Voorschoten are situated north of The Hague Region and belong to the Holland Rijnland Region).

Land van Wijk en Wouden

Wijk en Wouden is a meadow area between Leiden, Zoetermeer and Alphen aan de Rijn. It is the extreme south-western part of the Green Heart (see Figure 34). It is mainly characterized by dairy farms, small villages and the small meadow nature reserve De Wilck. It is intensively used for recreation by the residents of the surrounding cities, mainly by bicycle. To the south, the Bentwoud area has been purchased by the government and is being redeveloped as a large-scale nature reserve for recreation purposes. The area consists of the following municipalities (or parts of them): Alphen aan den Rijn, Leiden, Leiderdorp, Leidschendam-Voorburg, Rijnwoude, Zoetermeer and Zoeterwoude. The area is situated within the borders of the province of South Holland, but is part of three city regions: The Hague Region, Holland Rijnland and Rijnstreek.

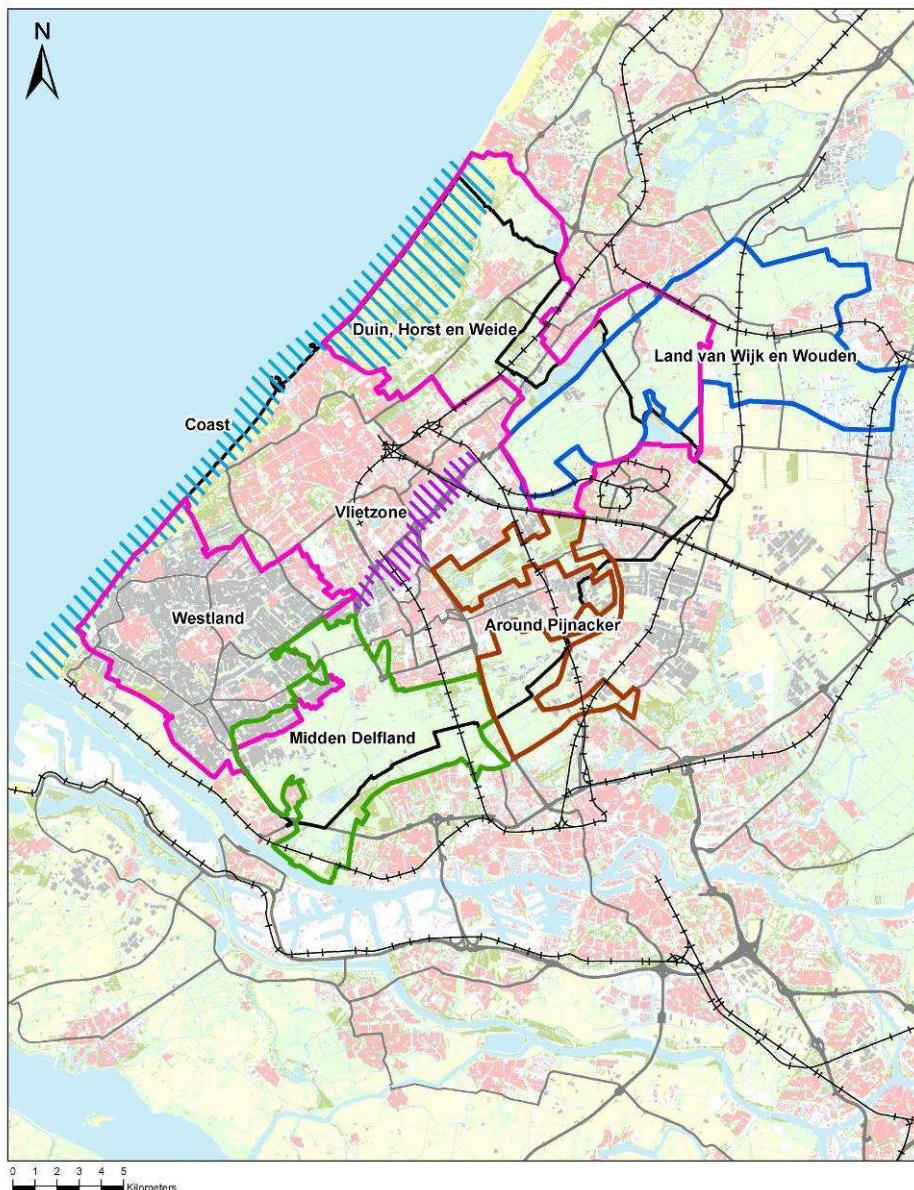


Figure 15: The urban fringe areas in The Hague Region. The black line is the border of the region.

Around Pijnacker

In the triangle formed by Rotterdam, Delft and Zoetermeer lies the municipality of Pijnacker-Nootdorp, the territory of which is quite fragmented in terms of land use. Various types of infrastructure, greenhouse horticulture, housing and industry surround the bits of open space left. The 'green' area consists of a mosaic of parks, forests, recreational lakes, marshland and meadows. The concept of the 'Green-Blue Garland' (a strip of ecologically valuable areas and water bodies connecting Midden-Delfland and the

Land van Wijk en Wouden; see Figure 23) passes through this area, which has already been marginalized. More loss of open space is to be expected on the south side of Pijnacker. The 'larger' landscape units in this area are Oude Leede and De Balij/Bieslandse Bos, including the Biesland polder. Although the currently agricultural landscape of Oude Leede borders on Midden Delfland, it is subject to greater dynamics. There are definite plans for road construction and housing and plans for water management projects, as well as plans to establish part of the National Ecological Network (some 100 ha). The area 'around Pijnacker' is mainly situated within the municipality of Pijnacker-Nootdorp, but small parts belong to the municipalities of Delft, Zoetermeer, The Hague and Lansingerland (east of The Hague Region).

Midden-Delfland

This is the area of meadows south of The Hague, which forms a buffer between The Hague and the northern fringes of Rotterdam, Schiedam, Westland and Delft. It is an open meadow landscape, used intensively for recreation (especially cycling) during the weekends, although recreational facilities in the agricultural part of the area are limited. The urban fringes with Rotterdam and Delft are designed as recreation areas. The municipality of Midden Delfland includes the main part of this area, while other parts are situated within the borders of Rotterdam and Schiedam (Rotterdam Region). The buffer zone policy (since 1958) and the related Reconstruction Act (since 1977) have been crucial for the preservation of the open landscape (see Section 2.1.4).

Westland

The Westland area is famous for its huge greenhouses, a highly sophisticated and capital-intensive type of horticulture. Although it is sometimes mapped as agricultural land use, the landscape is in fact not open but full of buildings related to horticulture. Midden-Delfland and Westland were explicitly set apart as 'grass' versus 'glass' at the time when the original patchwork of local governments was reorganized in 2000. Locals nonetheless do appreciate the greenhouse-dominated landscape (see also Section 3.3). The area more or less coincides with the municipality of Westland.

Vlietzone

The Vlietzone is the very narrow area still separating Rijswijk and Delft. The area is intersected by highways and railways. It offers functions such as parks, greenhouses, golf courses, office buildings and meadows. The waterway called 'De Vliet' is an important landscape feature: this old river used to be one of the most important transport routes between Delft, The Hague and Leiden (at the time when water was more important for transport than roads). There are plans to redevelop the area, combining recreation and nature with industrial functions. One of the golf courses has to make way for industrial development, which has to be relocated from the Binckhorst area near the centre of The Hague, because of the development of a high-quality office project. The golf course is now looking for another location in the region, and a site has been proposed just south of Wassenaar, which is protected for its natural, heritage and landscape features... This case thus shows a clear continuous chain of relocations.

The Coast

The coast is one of the most important assets of The Hague Region in terms of recreation and leisure. The title of the long-term structural design plan (*Structuurvisie*) of the city of The Hague, 'Wérelstad aan zee' ('Metropolis by the seaside') reflects this importance. The city's international website (www.denhaag.com) recommends The Hague for its museums, cultural events and the beach. Millions of people visit the beach each year, with Scheveningen and Kijkduin as the main resorts. Sports and leisure activities include surfing and sailing.

The dunes are vital for the protection of the region (which is mainly below sea level) against the sea and are becoming even more important with rising sea levels. North of The Hague, the Meijendel dune area is a nature reserve that is managed by the South Holland water works. Drinking water production has protected the area from housing developments. It has evolved into a Natura 2000 site with outstanding ecological qualities and many characteristic dune species. It is quite intensively used for recreation, mainly walking and biking.

The dunes in the south of the area, however, along Westland, are narrow and increasingly threatened as the beaches are eroded by tides and currents. Plans are being developed to create artificial dunes in the sea along the Westland shore, which should combine 'coastal defence' with ecological objectives.

The coast is part of the municipalities of Westland, Den Haag and Wassenaar.

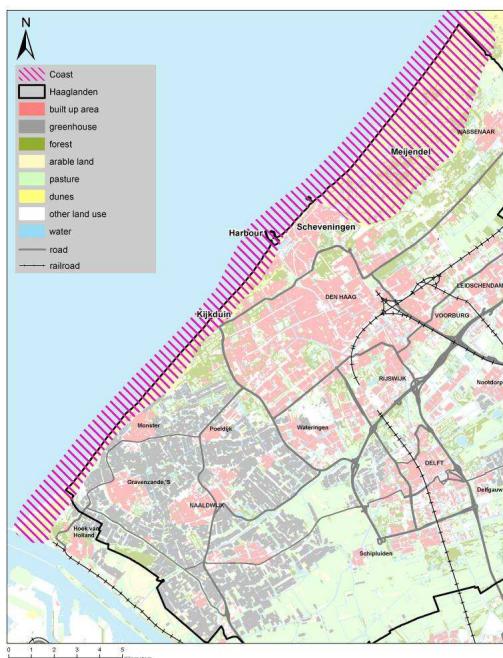


Figure 16: The Coast

2 Actors and their objectives

By Terry van Dijk and Judith Westerink

2.1 Relevant government institutions and their policy developments

2.1.1 Municipalities: planning autonomy

In the Dutch spatial planning system, the municipality is the main institution that designs and implements the zoning plans that legally bind people in their land-use decisions.

Municipalities are required to make zoning plans for urban and for rural land use. Zoning uses detailed categories, even gardens, parking space, public parks, roads etc.

The municipality is also the institution that monitors compliance of land use with the plan and may impose fines for non-compliance, and even demolish structures that are not allowed according to the plan. The inspectors of the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment carry out assessments of municipalities on a regular basis, to investigate whether they respect the rules of the Spatial Planning Act. Zoning plans are legally required to be updated every 10 years. There are, however, no consequences for municipalities that do not meet this requirement. A considerable proportion of the zoning plans is much older than 10 years. Until recently (see Section 2.1.5), only minor sections of many zoning plans were in fact updated ('partial revision'), typically in response to citizens or investors proposing non-compliant projects (such as an apartment building on a site that used to be a petrol station). This means that zoning plans are continuously being debated and adapted. Municipalities are highly autonomous in this respect, although higher tiers of government – in particular the provincial authorities – can interfere under specific circumstances. Recent changes in legislation (see Section 2.1.5) mean that part of the autonomy has been delegated to the provincial authorities, allowing these authorities to make zoning plans as well.

The state imposes housing targets on the municipalities, in some cases via the provincial authorities (see Section 2.1.4). Large cities can make use of state subsidies such as ISV (investment budget for urban renewal) for the co-financing of redevelopments within city boundaries. Furthermore, municipalities, having very limited possibilities to raise taxes themselves, receive the bulk of their budgets from the state, based on (mainly) numbers of inhabitants and households (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations)⁶. These incentives, combined with the financial benefits from redevelopment projects obtained through the municipal land development companies (OECD 2008), promote a building-oriented attitude among municipal authorities. ISV can also be used for green projects in cities, however. The final budget of ISV2, based on the applications submitted by municipalities, amounts to 941.7 M€ for redevelopment projects and 23.8 M€ for green space projects (VROM).

Since regional green space projects must increasingly be financed by local governments (ILG agreements between the state and provinces, 2007), the local and regional

⁶ Municipal taxes amount to 5% of all taxes raised in The Netherlands (CBS 2009). For a comparison of taxation systems in Europe and their influence on planning, a PLUREL publication is in preparation (I. Tosics, D2.2.2)

governments are looking for private funding. The city of The Hague, for instance, is involving private parties in the maintenance of green space. In cases like expensive housing projects, specific solutions can be applied, such as the ‘red for green’ compensation. ‘Red for green’ is used in the Netherlands as an umbrella term for financing mechanisms by which green space projects are paid from the revenues of construction projects. These payments are negotiated on top of the obligatory compensation payments for building on land with ecological values. The new Land Exploitation Act (see Section 2.1.5) is expected to enlarge the opportunities for using this approach.

In 2000 and 2004, the municipalities in the south-western corner of The Hague Region were largely rearranged and converged into two new municipalities. The ‘glass municipalities’ were merged and became the Westland municipality, while the ‘grass municipalities’ became the municipality of Midden-Delfland (see also Section 2.3.4).

The urban fringe of The Hague Region includes six green landscape enclaves (see Section 1.4), each located on one or more municipal territories. Thus, the municipality – being the sole authority to enact zoning under the present law – has a decisive influence on what happens in the enclaves. There are also municipalities that hardly have any open space within their own territory, for instance The Hague, Delft and Rijswijk. Their residents use the city parks (which are relatively few in number) and open space in adjacent municipalities. Ironically, the desire to preserve the landscapes in the enclaves encourages infill projects that further decrease opportunities to enjoy urban green spaces within the city. Wassenaar is worried about the green buffer at its northern border and developed the concept of the ‘Green Brush’ to underline the importance of this green buffer to link the coast with the Green Heart area.

Several planning developments outside the borders of The Hague Region are of interest to The Hague Region case study. Areas of particular importance are the *Zuidplaspolder* (to the east) and *Valkenburg* airport (to the north), because of the plans for housing there. The Hague Region is worried about competition with the expensive housing development in *Westlandse Zoom* (Regional Structure Plan). *Zuidplaspolder* will include the development of greenhouses, mainly for entrepreneurs from Westland.

2.1.2 *City regions: concertation*

Throughout the Netherlands, there is a patchwork of initiatives for cooperation between cities, to address supra-municipal challenges. Mobility and open space provision are important issues in such city networks. Although formal designations have evolved over time, the current Spatial Planning Memorandum mentions six official ‘national city networks’. Outside this official national set, there are regional, more spontaneous city networks. These city networks are not necessarily official bodies and never have specific powers to enforce zoning. They do distribute financial resources and have the character of executive concertation and cooperation platforms.

Bearing some resemblance to the national city networks, there are seven formal city regions (WGR+). In these WGR+ regions (*Wet Gemeenschappelijke Regelingen* or the

Joint Regulations Act, 1984, WGR+ dating from 2005) municipalities are obliged to work together on the issues of planning, housing, land policy, environment, economic development and traffic. The Hague Region is one of the four city regions inside the Randstad Holland city network (together with Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Utrecht) that belong to these seven regions. In addition to the formal tasks stipulated in the Act, city regions may have some of the discretionary powers of its municipalities and provinces transferred to them. This has led to differences between regions. Annex 2 summarizes the formal tasks and discretionary powers of The Hague Region.

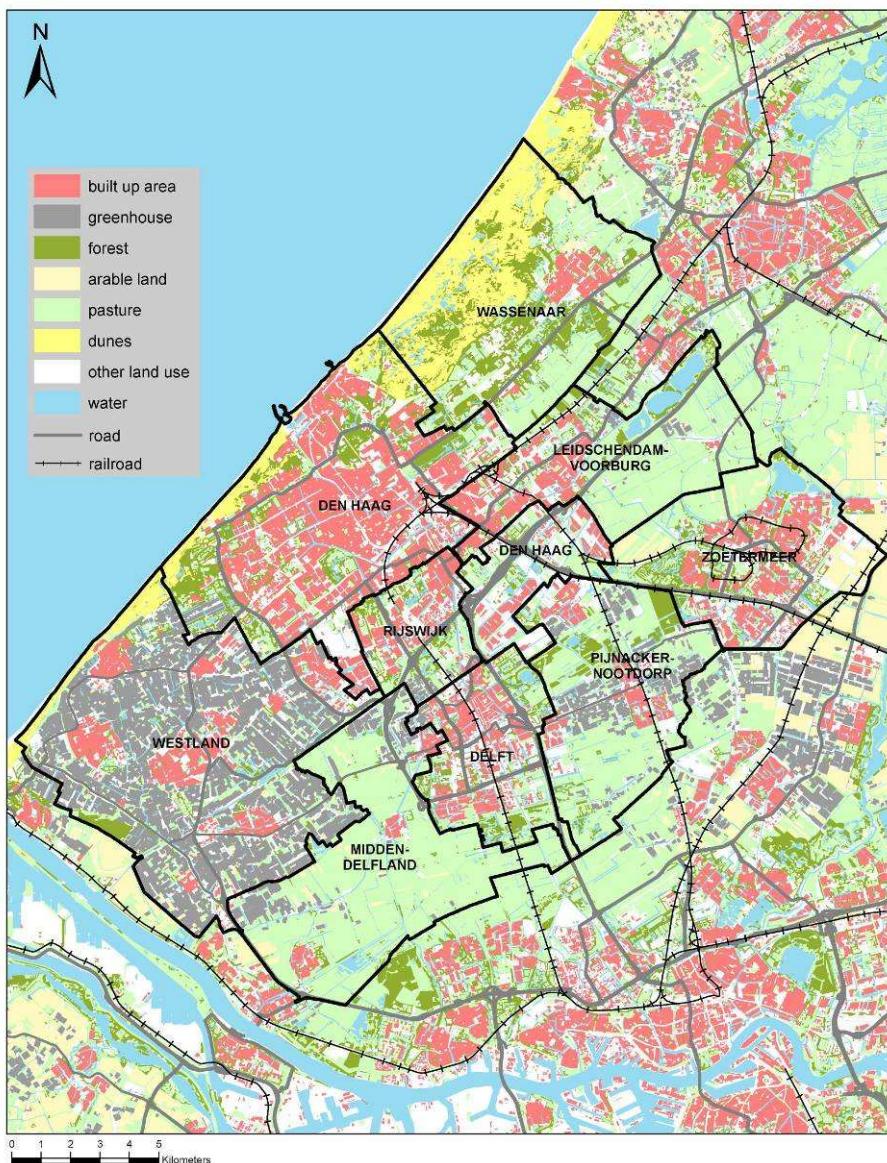


Figure 17: The municipalities of The Hague Region.

City regions have an important task in organising public transport: they are the authorities giving out concessions to public transportation companies. All WGR+ city regions make regional spatial plans that municipalities until recently had to respect in their zoning. There is no official enforcement power in city regions with respect to planning, but instead an intensive concertation for awareness and commitment. The way that city regions are organised, is a clear example of governance, since they work together intensively with lower and higher tiers and with private parties.

The Hague Region is home to nearly 1 million people, in a 410 km² area. It coincides with the territories of nine municipalities: Delft, The Hague, Leidschendam-Voorburg, Midden-Delfland, Pijnacker-Nootdorp, Rijswijk, Wassenaar, Westland and Zoetermeer (see Figure 17). Its governing board consists of a total of 61 delegated municipal officials, 9 of whom make up the executive committee for operational decisions. The Mayor of The Hague chairs both the board and the executive committee.

Attractiveness to international firms and institutions

The main goal for The Hague Region as part of the Randstad Holland city network is to strengthen its international competitive position among other city regions in Europe and the world (Regional Structure Plan and other policy documents). Vienna and Geneva in particular are seen as competitors in terms of attracting international organizations and institutions related to The Hague's status as a 'City of Peace, Justice and Safety' ('The International City', 'World Legal Capital'). Together with knowledge and innovation (the town of Delft with its university of technology), Greenport (Westland-Oostland with its agrologistics) and leisure and tourism (Zoetermeer with its sports facilities, the historical city centres, the coast and the open Dutch landscapes), these form the four pillars that The Hague Region endeavours to develop further. Several strategic policy documents at different government levels refer to the green areas as an important factor determining the region's climate as regards attracting companies and private persons. This 'settlement climate' emerges as one of the main goals of The Hague, The Hague Region and the Randstad Holland conurbation, in the light of the competitive position of Randstad Holland (or the South Wing of Randstad of which The Hague Region is a part, see Figure 20 in Section 2.2). Hence, The Hague Region strives to remain attractive for both work and housing. Residential attractiveness is interpreted by The Hague Region as sufficient housing in different categories (especially the more expensive green environments), sufficient cultural, leisure and sports facilities and good internal and external accessibility (Regional Structure Plan, 2008). However, sufficient green space of the right quality is also seen as important for the attractiveness of the region (see Section 3.3).

Curiously, the quantity and quality of green areas and green elements in public space are hardly a factor in benchmarking studies regarding the competitive position of the Randstad conurbation (e.g. Manshanden et al., 2006). Nevertheless, there is a widespread conviction in The Hague Region and Randstad that high-quality green areas have economic spin-offs. The view is that an attractive environment is a factor when companies, organizations and private persons consider whether to stay in or move into the area. In this view, the green areas primarily have a function for sports, leisure and recreation and for attractive views when travelling within the region. Attractive green

spaces are thought to benefit related business projects, such as restaurants and boat rentals. See section 3.3.2. for further research on this matter.

The policy developed by The Hague Region with respect to peri-urban areas under pressure from the cities is formulated in its Regional Structure Plan and its 'Visie Groen Haaglanden' (long-term strategic planning for green areas in The Hague Region). Table 2 is based on our analysis of the Regional Structure Plan for The Hague Region in 2020, published in April 2008. The column showing the actors has been added by the authors.

'Network thinking' is important in the Regional Structure Plan. The chapter '*Well-functioning city network*' includes the network of green areas and water bodies, the transport network and their consequences for urbanization. The region aims to concentrate housing and industries in the existing residential and industrial areas. One of the main strategies to conserve green open space is the South Wing objective of meeting 80% of the building target within the existing urban boundaries (Zuidvleugel, 2006), by means of a more intensive use of existing residential and industrial areas, multilayered constructions, multifunctional land use and concentrating residential and business development around public transport facilities. Between 2006 and 2020, the number of households in The Hague Region is expected to grow by 58,000 (The Hague Region, 2006). The municipalities have definite plans to build 64,000 homes in this period. In addition to this, between 1,500 and 2,000 old houses need to be replaced each year.

Table 2: Summary of The Hague Region Regional Structure Plan 2020

Issue	Goal	Strategy	Instruments	Relevant actors
Economy	Economic and demographic growth, international competition, Randstad in top 5 of Europe's city regions.	Profiling and branding: good climate for settling of companies, institutes and highly educated expats. Profile: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International centre for peace, justice and safety (The Hague, Wassenaar) • Knowledge, innovation and technology (Delft) • Greenport (Westland-Oostland) • Tourism (Zoetermeer, Delft, The Hague) 	Construction of high-quality housing projects Good cultural and sports facilities Good internal and external accessibility	Diplomats, scientists, companies, institutes, etc. Property developers University Delft Greenhouse sector
Climate	Lower contribution to climate change	Reduce energy consumption Increase use of sustainable energy sources	Technological innovation	Greenhouse sector Energy sector Residents University Delft

Issue	Goal	Strategy	Instruments	Relevant actors
	Reduce flooding hazard	'Removing, retaining, storing' Improve coastline	Zoning water plans Reconstruction of waterways	Water board State water authority (RWS) Farmers Property developers
Housing	Strong and appealing regional structure	80% of construction within ' zones intended for building'	Zoning Multifunctional and multilayered intensive land use, especially around public transport hotspots	Municipalities Property developers Public transport companies Residents
	Social cohesion	Differentiation of housing stock in neighbourhoods	Mixed land use (housing/working) Restructuring neighbourhoods	Municipalities Property developers Residents
Transport	Good internal and external accessibility	Stimulate use of public transport Stimulate use of bicycle Influence mobility behaviour Stimulate cleaner vehicles Improve accessibility by car	New roads Improve public transport network Increase PT frequency Improve bicycle routing network Taxes	Residents and employees Public transport companies Municipalities
Quality of life	Attractive environment to live in	Quality of public space 'around the corner'	Good maintenance of squares, parks and public green spaces	Residents Municipalities
Rural areas	Conserve and develop open green space	Enable farmers to continue to manage rural areas Develop park landscapes in urban fringe Increase support for conservation by recreation	Zoning Ecological and water services Purchase and management Improve accessibility, link with cultural heritage Green Fund for projects	Farmers Recreation board Landscape managing organizations Residents

The RSP formulates ten 'policy actions' for the period 2008-2012:

Three area development projects 'for a strong Randstad Holland':

1. International City: international zone/ World Forum The Hague
2. International City: Binckhorst The Hague (restructuring old industrial area near the city centre)
3. Knowledge, innovation and technology: technical innovative compound Delft

Seven projects 'for a competing South Wing':

4. Greenport Westland-Oostland
5. Tourism, recreation and leisure
6. Climate proof and climate neutral region
7. Sustainable mobility
8. Regional green structure
9. Reconstruction and more intensive use of urban neighbourhoods
10. Reconstruction and more intensive use of business sites.

The regional policy focuses on reinforcing the total ‘green and blue’ (i.e. green countryside and water-related) structure and, where possible, to create connections between areas to strengthen a complete regional ‘green and blue’ network. Within the regional network, four main categories are being distinguished:

1. original natural areas (mainly the dunes, but also some marshlands)
2. recreational areas bordering the cities (urban fringe parks)
3. green corridors (urban-rural, between green areas)
4. open agricultural areas for cattle breeding (belonging to Dutch heritage, archaeological and historical landscape)

In the long-term strategic planning for green areas in The Hague Region (2007), the green areas are referred to as the ‘gold of the area’. They stand for ‘breathing space’. Ten *ambitions* have been formulated:

1. Space: robust systems, large areas. Midden Delfland and Duin, Horst and Weiden as large green spaces. Investing in six connections and corridors.
2. Conservation: legal protection, e.g. by zoning plans.
3. Nature in and around the city: close network of ecological links reaching far into the city.
4. Climate-proof water system: water as visible element in spatial identity. Combination of water storage, recreational use and ecological goals. Integrated coastal redevelopment.
5. Cultural heritage: promotion and protection of country estates.
6. Innovative urban–rural consistency: towards a symbiotic urban–rural relationship. The city should develop a responsible attitude towards the rural landscapes. Multifunctional agriculture, regional products and green and blue services⁷.
7. Proximity through better connections: green areas and waterways linking the cities and rural areas and being used for land- and water-based recreation. Using the historical water connections; developing a cycling network connected to cultural and historical highlights⁸.
8. A closer connection between ‘coast’ and ‘polder’ for ecology and recreation (awareness of being close to the sea and to the meadow areas). Redeveloping two connecting areas: Duin, Horst and Weide⁹ and Westlandse Zoom.
9. Investing in safe and attractive fringe parks: improve accessibility and opportunities for daily use by different groups (e.g. age groups) in society¹⁰.
10. Green partners: cooperation with other government tiers, private sector and civil society.

The more recent Regional Structure Plan announces the following four Regional Parks: Midden-Delfland/ Oude Leede, Pijnacker, Duin, Horst en Weide and Coast. The ‘green ambitions’ are visualised in Figure 18.

⁷ This is one of the strategies studied in this report. For a definition see Section 3.1.5

⁸ This strategy, combining culture and landscape, is described in Section 3.2

⁹ This spatial concept is described in Section 2.3.1

¹⁰ The recreational preference of important groups of residents is described in Section 3.3.

Kaart Ambities 2030 Groen Haaglanden

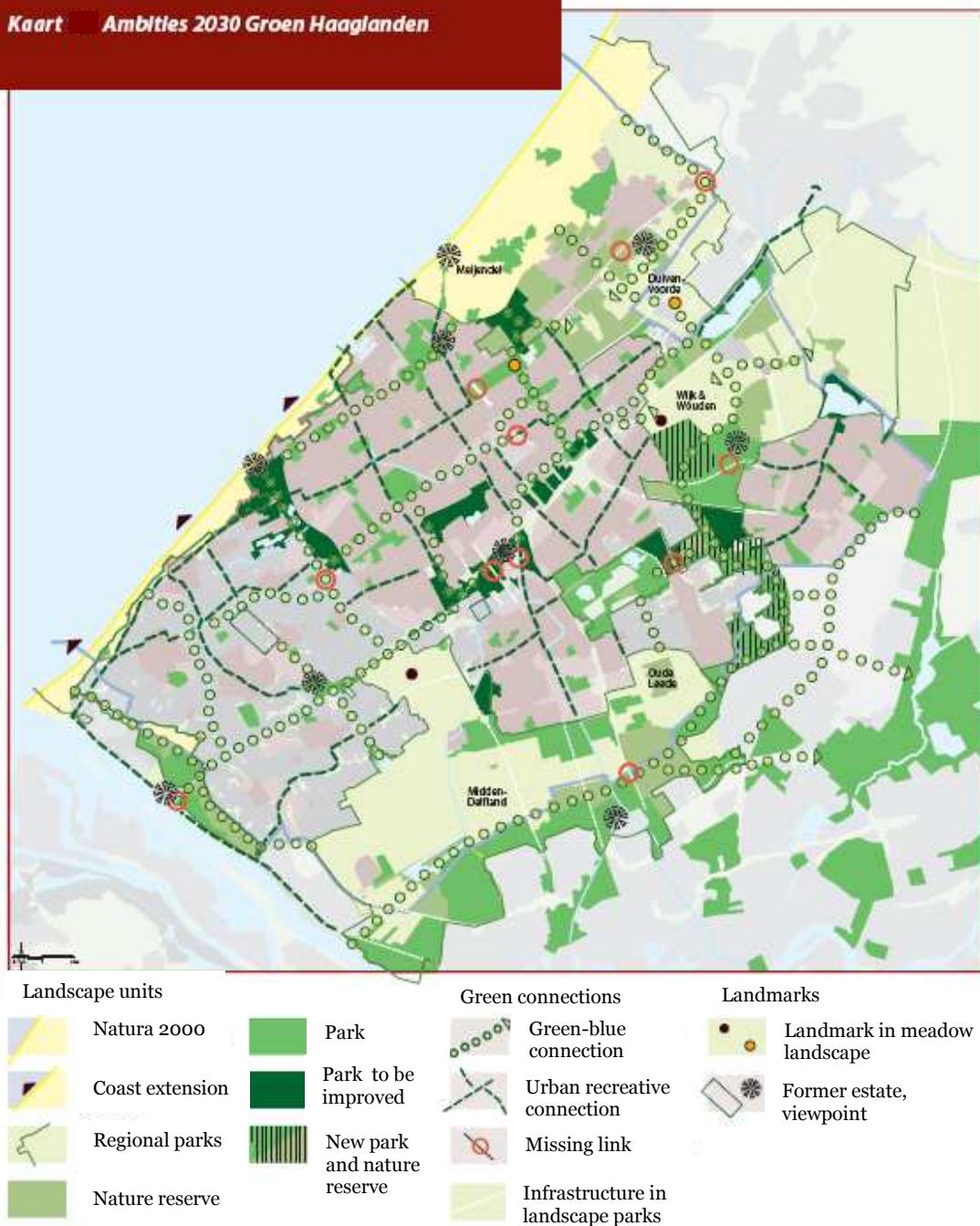


Figure 18: Ambitions 2030 'The Hague Green Region'. Source: RSP, 2008.

2.1.3*Provincial authorities: developing frameworks for municipal policy*

The provincial authorities also develop spatial plans, but these were until recently not binding to citizens. The provincial plans do, however, set limits to the municipal zoning plans, when the latter come up for renewal. Both full revisions and partial revisions of zoning plans are tested for their compliance with the provincial plan before they become official.

When new provincial plans are designed that project land use not accommodated by municipal zoning, the provincial authorities try to persuade the municipality to change its zoning accordingly. Formally, this provincial request can be legally enforced, but in reality this enforcement is never applied, not even when a municipality frustrates a provincial plan for a long time.

Also, the provinces are responsible for implementing rural policy and for drawing up the rural development plan. The Hague Region is part of the Province of South-Holland, which has a spatial plan called *Streekplan*.

2.1.4*Ministries: the general outline*

The ministries develop policies for preferred spatial development that only indirectly trickle down to the level of the zoning plan. Several ministries influence land use: the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM), the Ministry of Transport and Water Management (VWS), the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality (LNV) and the Ministry of Economic Affairs (EZ). Their policies are integrated in the National Policy Documents on Spatial Planning. The most vital parts of national spatial plans are formalized in so-called key planning decisions (PKB). These key planning decisions from the national plans must be respected by the provincial authorities in their provincial plans. An example of such a key planning decision is the decision establishing the Green Heart regulations. Based on the key planning decisions, the ministry of VROM draws up agreements with provincial authorities, city regions and municipalities about housing targets. In the case of The Hague Region, for instance, the city region and other partners within the South Wing of the Randstad conurbation agreed that The Hague Region would build 34,000 homes between 2005 and 2010, out of a total of 95,620 for the whole South Wing (VROM).

The Netherlands has a tradition of protecting its countryside from urban influences. Well-known examples are the concepts of Randstad and the Green Heart, a ring of cities surrounding a preserved and protected green agricultural area. The 'Buffer Zone' policy (1956) has been very effective in The Hague Region in protecting the remaining open landscapes (Midden-Delfland and Den Haag/ Leiden/ Zoetermeer) (Bervaes et al, 2001). This national buffer zone policy was designed to prevent cities merging into each other and to provide these cities with sufficient green space for recreation. In the 1980s, ecology became an important objective for the buffer zones. At first, the zones were kept open with the help of planning instruments. Later, the government started to purchase land in these buffer zones. Large parts of Midden Delfland and the Duivenvoordse polder in the The Hague / Leiden / Zoetermeer area are government-owned as a result of this. Zoning

and land purchase were accompanied by government investments in process facilitation. To protect the open agricultural landscape of Midden-Delfland against urbanization, a Reconstruction Act was designed (1977), mainly aimed at land consolidation favouring agriculture and at land redevelopment for nature and recreation. The Reconstruction act was implemented by an area committee, which was given considerable responsibilities. The Act led to the foundation of several civil society groups. Although the Reconstruction Act will be repealed in 2008, there is still debate about the buffer zones. The National Spatial Strategy (Nota Ruimte, 2005) shifts the responsibility for the national buffer zones to the provincial authorities, which intend to respect the buffer zone principle and to transform the areas into Regional Parks (Streekplan, 2003). However, it is unclear how the new Spatial Planning Act (Wet op de Ruimtelijke Ordening, 2008) could give these areas a legal status. The Landscape Agenda (November 2008) of the Ministries of LNV and VROM maintains the buffer zones and even introduces plans for expanding existing ones (such as Midden-Delfland) and for establishing new buffer zones.

2.1.5 Recent revision of the system

As of 1 July 2008, a new law on planning has come into force (Wet Ruimtelijke Ordening or Spatial Planning Act). The new law changes the hierarchy of planning decisions outlined above. Each level has to develop long-term structural design plans (called *structuurvisie* or ‘structural vision’ in Dutch), which under the new law do not have to be developed in a chronologically top-down process: e.g. municipalities no longer have to wait for provincial design plan before developing their own. The municipalities even get more autonomy in this situation, because the provincial authorities no longer have to approve all municipal zoning plans. At the same time, however, provincial authorities and ministers do have more instruments to intervene in municipal zoning plans, when they do not facilitate the previously defined objectives of higher tiers. Furthermore, the government and provincial authorities can draw up zoning plans themselves. The possibility of intervention is designed to create more intensive anticipatory interaction between tiers of government. At the same time, however, interventions from above are a sensitive issue, which will make provincial authorities hesitate to use it too often. The overall principle is: make the decisions at the lowest level possible (subsidiarity principle). There is no longer an obligation for city regions to make a structure plan. This means that city regions have become even more dependent on concertation to reach their goals¹¹.

The Land Exploitation Act, which is part of the new Spatial Planning Act, introduces the ‘land exploitation plan’ as a new public instrument. This plan sets out the financial commitments of the different parties involved in the redevelopment of designated construction sites. The Land Exploitation Act also enables proportional division of redevelopment costs over property developers and land owners. This instrument might facilitate bargaining processes between municipalities and property developers and the establishment of package deals that may be more integrative than the traditional land use plans. Some expect the exploitation plan to facilitate the ‘red for green’ approach discussed above (Kamphorst et al. 2008).

¹¹ The Regional Structure Plan of The Hague Region was effectuated just before the new law came into force.

The principle to make decisions at the lowest level possible pervades the entire policy spectrum. For instance, the tasks of the provincial authorities for rural areas have been specified since 2007. The national government has shifted many tasks and funds for the rural areas to the provincial authorities (*WILG*: Rural Planning Act), including the national agri-environmental scheme called *Programma Beheer*. To some extent, the provinces have the authority to develop their own policy on this issue. Another example is the buffer zone policy (2.1.4).

2.1.6 Water boards

Water boards in the Netherlands have a long history. The predecessor of Delfland district water board was founded in 1289 and its building is – apart from the church – the oldest stone building in the town of Delft. The borders of the districts managed by the water boards are defined by water systems (a number of watersheds) and do not coincide with borders of municipalities or provinces. Although the district of the Delfland water board almost completely overlaps with The Hague Region, the far north of The Hague Region is part of the Rijnland water board district and the far south of Delfland is part of Rotterdam Region.

The 27 water boards in the Netherlands are democratic local authorities with their own taxes and regulations, but with a functional task aimed at water management. Traditionally, they were responsible for protection against flooding, through maintenance of dikes and dams and water level control. More recently, water quality has been added to their tasks.

The main water management issues in The Hague Region are coastal protection and storm water drainage. Urbanization and greenhouse construction are diminishing the available surface area for rainwater infiltration, causing problems in times of heavy rainfall. The policy of the water boards can be summarized as ‘removing, retaining and storing’:

- Removing: transporting excess water to larger waterways and the sea. The pumping systems and waterways need to have sufficient capacity.
- Retaining: less drainage, allowing higher water tables. This has a restrictive impact on the farming system but is favourable for the development of ecological values.
- Storing: in situations of high ‘supply’ of water through rainfall, temporary flooding of specially designated lands is allowed.

Temporary water storage means that areas have to be found where water levels can be allowed to rise without damage. The Delfland water board is expected to identify such areas.

The obligation to ‘retain’ and to ‘store’ is allocated to certain areas, both urban and rural. Construction development projects are generally expected to solve the water problem within the project area. However, ‘retaining’ and ‘storing’ is often done on agricultural land. In some cases, the agricultural land is purchased and converted into, for instance, wetlands (‘retaining’) or calamity polders (‘storing’). If they are not purchased,

agreements with farmers are considered in the form of water-related services (see Section 3.1.5), for which the farmers are paid. The storage obligation also applies to the greenhouse areas, leading to storage facilities with a major impact on landscape quality. Designating rural and urban areas for water storage also affects their use and appearance.

The Hague Region and Delfland water board are collaborating in *Waterkader Haaglanden*. This innovation programme is financed by the national government for the development of knowledge and technical solutions for ‘city, glass and grass’. The innovation program has designated Midden Delfland as a ‘grass pilot area’. The development of water-related ('blue') services is part of this pilot project.



Figure 19: District covered by Delfland water board (source: Hoogheemraadschap van Delfland).

2.2 Non-formal and private regional actors

In addition to the government institutions discussed in Section 2.1, a number of other actors can be identified that influence developments in the urban fringe of The Hague Region in the governance process. An analysis of the interplay between these actors in the urban fringe of The Hague Region demonstrates that – except for the city region and the Delfland water board – few actors are active throughout the entire area. We interviewed some of the actors that do have a more diffuse sphere of operation throughout The Hague Region. We found that their objectives for open space are general and only indirectly trickle down to the concrete local decisions.

There are a number of **administrative platforms** operating in the region, which exceed the level of The Hague Region. They are diverse in terms of aspirations and powers, and

typically look for an aggregated line of policy. They include *Zuidvleugel* ('South Wing', see Figure 20) and until recently Regio Randstad¹², which have no formal powers, but do act as 'hubs' in networks of politicians and officials, developing policy and facilitating lobbying activities for certain objectives and projects. They were found to emphasize the importance of multiple functions of green space and some opportunities for development to keep agriculture viable and village communities 'healthy' as well. The question remains whether their policy views actually prevail when local decisions are being made.

Through the South-Holland provincial authorities and the former Regio Randstad platform, The Hague Region also takes part in the European platform of city regions PURPLE, which tries to influence European rural policy.



Figure 20: The eight partners in the South Wing of the Randstad conurbation: the cities of Rotterdam and The Hague, the city regions of Holland Rijnland, The Hague Region, Midden Holland, Drechtsteden and Rotterdam Region, and the Province of South-Holland (source: Platform Zuidvleugel)

We found that the **commercial construction companies** can be pro-active. They do not wait for governments to provide room for urban expansion in their zoning plans. Instead, they monitor municipal debates in search of early signs of policies that entail real estate development. When such signs are detected, the larger commercial builders in particular tend to offer their advice to politicians to jointly design building plans that are both viable and in line with policy intentions. They thus mainly interact with municipalities (less so with the city region authorities), in an early stage of policy development. This strategy is now supported by the new Land Exploitation Act (see Section 2.1.5) that has come into force. The interviewed parties expressed awareness of

¹² Regio Randstad ended as a formal platform in 2008.

the added (commercial) value of green space for redevelopment projects. This corresponds with the findings of Westerink et al. (2007), who interviewed developers of construction projects in green areas, as well as the involvement of the members of the property developers' interest group NEPROM in the *Green Heart Pact*¹³.

The regional **farmers' organization** LTO is a lobby group of farmers supporting farmers' interests. They typically take part in specific debates on planning issues that affect open space. The **Milieufederatie Zuid-Holland** is a conservationist and environmental NGO, part of the national network of provincial NGOs. Milieufederatie Zuid-Holland is also part of the *Green Heart Pact*.

The table below gives an overview of the most important actors in The Hague Region. The interviewed actors are underlined.

¹³ A coalition of seven interest organisations with common ideas about the future of the Green Heart area (www.toekomstgroenehart.nl)

Table 3: Overview of major actors in The Hague Region

Land Use Issue	Business	Interest organizations	Governments	Civil society
Pressure on land for housing and industrial developments	Housing corporations (AM Wonen, Vestia, Vesteda) Banks and investors (ABP, BNG) Employers (Bedrijfsvenschap Plaspolepolder, Industrieschap Forepark, Royal Dutch SHELL plc, Siemens,)	Economic lobby (NEPROM, Bouwend Nederland, Kamer van Koophandel The Hague Region, MKB Nederland, Vereniging Maaslandse Ondernemers, VNO/NCW (West)) Social housing (Vereniging Sociale Verhuurders The Hague Region)	Ministry of Housing, Planning and Environment (VROM) Municipalities: (<u>Den Haag</u> , <u>Delft</u> , <u>Westland</u> , <u>Zoetermeer</u> , <u>Wassenaar</u> , <u>Pijnacker-Nootdorp</u> , <u>Rijswijk</u> , <u>Leidschendam-Voorburg</u>) Platforms: <u>Regio Randstad Holland</u> , <u>Zuidleugel</u>	Neighbourhood committees
Recreation and tourism	Recreation industry (Duinrell, Dutch Water Dreams, Madurodam, hotels, restaurants, boat rentals etc.)	Recreation non-profit (ANWB, Staatsbosbeheer regio West) Trade association (RECRON) Chamber of Commerce	Municipalities <u>South-Holland provincial authorities</u> <u>The Hague Region</u> Recreation boards (Midden-Delfland, Rottermeren)	Environmental cooperatives (Santvoorde, Wijk & Wouden)
Agricultural land use	Employers (Flora Holland, Greenery) Food industry (Milk cooperatives, etc) Agricultural suppliers Farmers	Agricultural interest organizations (Agrarische Commissie Wassenaar, LTO Noord; Glaskracht, Stichting Kavelruil) Environmental cooperatives (Agrarische Natuurverenigingen Vockestaart, Santvoorde, Wijk & Wouden) Networks (Farming for Nature)	Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality (LNV) South-Holland provincial authorities The Hague Region Municipalities (<u>Midden-Delfland</u> , <u>Westland</u> , <u>Pijnacker-Nootdorp</u> , <u>Wassenaar</u> , <u>Leidschendam-Voorburg</u>) Reconstructiecommissie Midden Delfland <u>Area Committee Land van Wijk en Wouden</u>	Civil society initiatives (Actiecomité Vrienden van Stompwijk, Belangenvereniging Omwonenden Trekvliet, Golfvereniging Leeuwenbergh, Houdt Vlieland Groen, Midden-Delfland vereniging, Stichting Duivenvoorde en Stichting Horst, Stichting Milieugroep, Leeuwenbergh-Westvlietweg, Stichting Mooi Voorburg, 't Land van Wijk en Wouden)

Land Use Issue	Business	Interest organizations	Governments	Civil society
Valuable natural areas at risk		Land managing organizations (Natuurmonumenten (district Zuid-Holland), <u>Staatsbosbeheer Regio West</u> , Zuid-Hollands Landschap, Zuid-Hollandse Milieufederatie, Duinwaterbedrijf Zuid-Holland) Environmental organizations <u>Algemene Vereniging voor Natuurbescherming</u> , Haags Milieucentrum, <u>Initiatiefgroep natuurbeheer Delft</u> , KNNV, IVN, NMP Pijnacker)	Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality (LNV) South-Holland provincial authorities	
Traffic	Public transport (Connexxion, HTM, RET, NS Vastgoed, NS regio Randstad Zuid, ProRail)	Mobility (ANWB, <u>Fietsersbond afdeling Delft</u> , Veilig Verkeer Nederland (district Zuid-Holland), Vereniging Reizigers Openbaar Vervoer)	The Hague Region Rijkswaterstaat Ministry of Transport and Water management Municipalities	
Water	Drinking water, energy, etc. (Casema, Duinwaterbedrijf Zuid-Holland, Eneco The Hague Region, Gastransport Services district west, Gasunie West, KPN, Tennet)		Water boards <u>Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland</u> , <u>Hoogheemraadschap van Delfland</u> Ministry of Transport and Water management The Hague Region South-Holland provincial authorities	

2.3 **Actors, discourses, spatial concepts and coalitions around urban fringe areas in The Hague Region**

There is a broad consensus among the interviewees that open landscapes have become scarce and need to be protected against further urbanization. Coalitions and discourses have evolved around several urban fringe areas. For each of the six landscape enclaves introduced in Section 1.4, we will describe¹⁴:

- the actors that can be placed within the coalition of the open landscape discourse;
- the risk of urbanization;
- the role of the city region board.

For a proper understanding of the processes described below, it is important to remember that for the cities (see Section 2.1, Municipalities), The Hague Region as well as the provincial government represent potential platforms to help preserve the landscapes beyond their city boundaries, over which they obviously do not have direct control but which are valuable for the quality of life of their residents. Despite these platforms, the *presence of many actors does not lead to decisiveness*. An official from the municipality of The Hague: '*There are too many loose actions. My heartfelt cry: unite!*'. A concrete opportunity for the enclosed cities to promote open space is by contributing to one of the area-linked 'Green Funds', to which some of these cities already are major contributors.

2.3.1 *Duin, Horst en Weide*

Coalition supporting the open landscape discourse

Much of this area is already well-protected against urbanization, by means of national laws to preserve nature and coastal defences, as well as laws preserving cultural heritage. The part of the area that consists mostly of meadows, however, does not enjoy much protection from such legislation, but partly resides under the special buffer zone regime. The Den Haag-Leiden-Zoetermeer buffer zone was one of the buffers that were supposed to separate the constituent towns of the Randstad ring of cities.

The so-called '*Duivenvoorde Corridor*' is the narrowest section of the buffer zone area. A Pact has been drafted to keep this 'Corridor' open, being a (voluntary) *cooperative agreement* between the municipalities of Wassenaar, Leidschendam-Voorburg and Voorschoten (the latter is outside The Hague Region, in Holland Rijnland Region). Its brief is to lobby and generate *administrative consensus* about this area. This '*Pact van Duivenvoorde*' identifies specific key projects that help to preserve and improve the qualities of this landscape. The municipality of Wassenaar is the central player in terms of local government, and has opted for a clearly 'conserving' course, although it wants to be creative in terms of identifying forms of redevelopment that would benefit the area: '*it should not become an open air museum*'. The Pact, however, does not include plans for any expansion of urban centres.

¹⁴ With respect to the coast, we did not find such explicit discourses and coalitions, maybe because the coast has so far faced relatively modest land use changes.

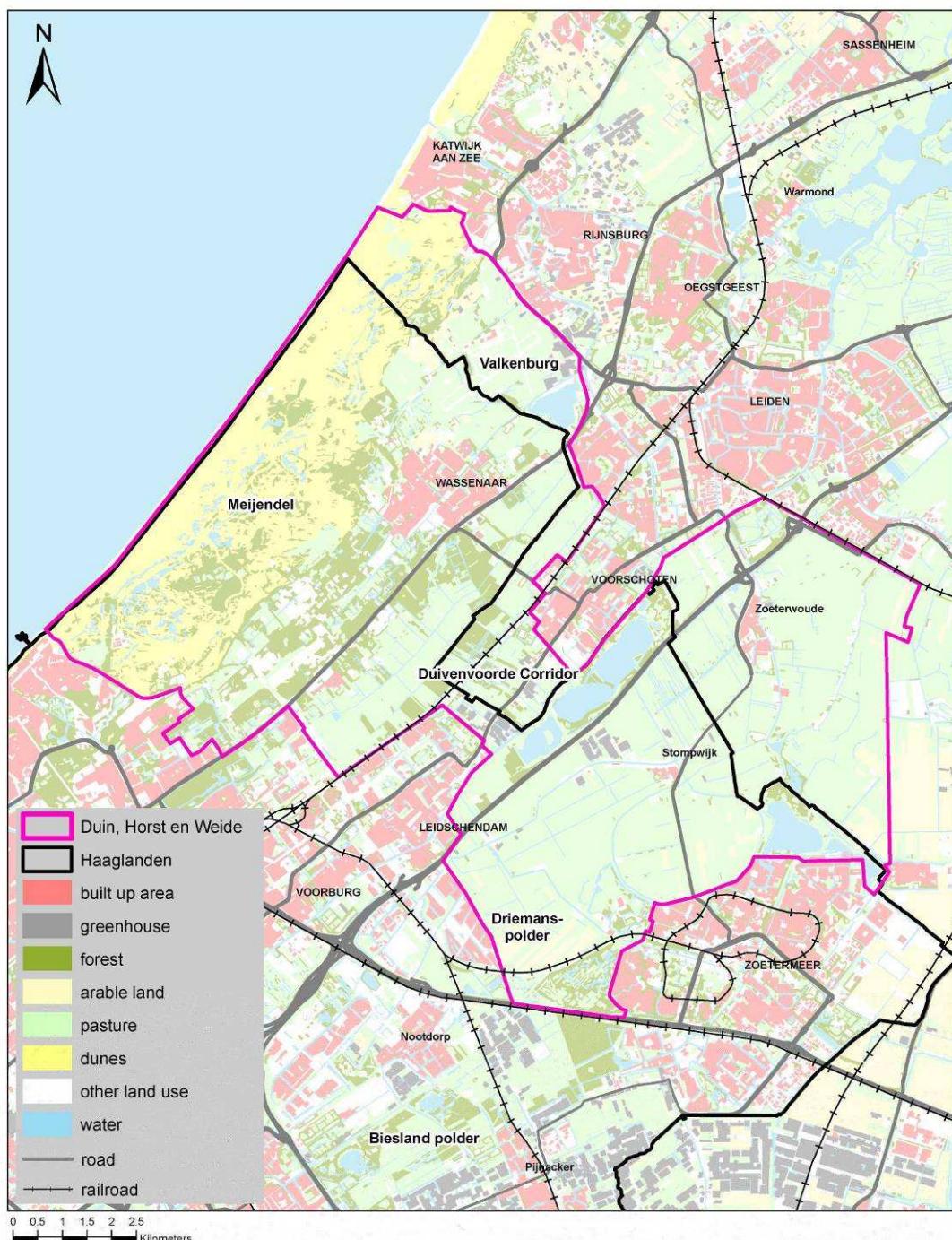


Figure 21: Duin, Horst en Weide

Risk of urbanization

The urbanization pressure on Duin, Horst en Weide is considerable and growing, mainly coming from the North (the town of Leiden, which is outside The Hague Region). A former military airport (*Valkenburg*) is being used for new housing projects, thus threatening the Wassenaar concept of the '*Green Brush*', the buffer between the towns of Wassenaar and Rijnsburg. Ironically, preserving the bulb fields further north tends to push urbanization southward, into this Duin, Horst and Weide area. The development of a new road, sand excavation and the widening of the A4 motorway also threaten to further fragment the area.

Formerly permitted greenhouse horticulture and some storage buildings are scattered over the axis Leidschendam-Voorschoten, fragmenting the already narrow Duivenvoorde corridor. Improving the quality of the area means undoing part of this development. Since land purchase is a very costly instrument to achieve this, the *development of private estates* is being stimulated. The revenues are used to remove greenhouses and other undesirable buildings. There is a danger that this housing development will damage the landscape even further, although attempts are being made to prevent this by placing restrictions on the estate development (construction as a percentage of the estate area). This is enforced through the zoning plan.

Much of the land here is owned by nature conservation organizations, but leased by farmers. The regulations imposed by the owners with regard to drainage or meadow bird protection differ from the farmers' views on managing agricultural land. It is not easy to secure the vitality of agricultural production and integrate objectives of recreation and biodiversity at the same time.

Role of city region board

The interview with an official of Wassenaar municipality suggests that the actors here are rather positive about having The Hague Region on their side. Since the regional plan is in line with the municipalities' views here, and since the Wassenaar municipality feels it would not be able to withstand urbanization alone, they feel The Hague Region is an important ally for local policy. Importantly, the responsible alderman of de municipality of Leidschendam-Voorburg is at the same time the responsible administrator with The Hague Region. The Hague Region aims to develop Duin, Horst en Weide into a Regional Park (RSP).

Duin, Horst en Weide as a spatial concept

Duin, Horst en Weide is being redeveloped as a concept by the municipalities which have signed the '*Pact van Duivenvoorde*' and by the regions of The Hague and Holland Rijnland. It involves the same area as the buffer zone and is based on the spatial sequence of dunes (Duin), country estates plus small-scale meadows with woody elements on sandy ridges (Horst) and large-scale, open meadow areas (Weide). The area represents one of the last examples of this traditional sequence or gradient in the Netherlands. Connectivity is a key element in the concept, both ecologically and for recreational purposes. Central to the concept of Duin, Horst en Weide is the opportunity for urban people to cycle 'from Zoetermeer to the sea' through a sequence of green landscapes with aspects of cultural heritage, nature and agriculture. The area should be made accessible to city dwellers. All



kinds of amenities should be developed for recreation, mainly signposted routes, but also overnight facilities and cultural heritage activities. Water-based recreation and route development are key aspects, next to facilities for cycling and walking. The Hague Region is aiming to develop Duin, Horst and Weide into a Regional Park with a protection status that would fill the vacuum left by the demise of the buffer zone policy (which is, according to the Landscape Agenda of LNV and VROM (2008), to be prolonged after all). Through its link between cultural history and landscape, the concept is strongly connected to the *Belvedere strategy* (see Section 3.2).

The ‘Weide’ part of the area is the most western part of ‘Land van Wijk en Woude’ (see the next section). The two spatial concepts and their related discourses seem to be competing for attention and support at the administrative level.

2.3.2 *Land van Wijk en Wouden*

Coalition supporting the open landscape discourse

Land van Wijk and Woudten is an initiative of farmers and other residents that started in 1999, asking for more attention to be paid to the developments in their area, which is mainly a meadow area surrounded by cities. In 2000, the provincial authorities supported the initiative by establishing an area committee. This led to a regional process, resulting in an Integrated Area Vision (2001), an Implementation Programme (2003) and a Programme Office (2003). A key role is being played by the area committee (*gebiedscommissie*), which seeks to promote and protect the entire area as one unit, with

1. agricultural production as the main land use type that gives the area its identity and ensures an attractive landscape, but needs to acquire a better economic basis;
2. important values for urban residents that should be enhanced, by targeted landscape maintenance and better access for city dwellers. The promotion of recreation is directly linked to the preservation of this landscape.

The area committee is a platform including 7 municipalities, the provincial authorities, the district water board and a number of NGOs (agri-environmental associations, the LTO farmers' organization, a large nature conservation organization and a foundation pursuing the preservation of open polder landscapes). This composition ensures intensive interaction between cities and rural interests. The area committee currently has two staff members (paid by the governmental participants) and a concrete implementation programme. The activities include the promotion of public footpaths, ecological and water-related services by farmers and area promotion. Ecological and water-related ('green and blue') services are considered a promising option to sustain agricultural production in this area. A Green Fund, holding the money to be distributed in exchange for certain services to the landscape, is currently being established. Land banking is another instrument that the area committee intends to use in the future (see Section 3.1.4).

Risk of urbanization

The main threat to the area comes from the towns of Leiden and Zoetermeer, which may try to nibble at the edges of the open area by building into it. Plans to build a Chinese theme park in the Driemanspolder were abandoned in 2001, partly due to a lobbying campaign by Friends of the Earth. However, Zoetermeer is planning additional public transport stations along its northern fringe, potentially attracting urbanization. This is very likely as Zoetermeer has fully developed all of its territory except for this north-western part.

Role of city region board

This area in particular suffers from being divided up over many jurisdictions, making it hard to build a stable coalition with governments that affect this area. Since the formal boundaries of The Hague Region include only a part of the Land van Wijk en Wouden area, this administrative body is just one of many bodies involved. It is not clear whether The Hague Region is prepared to contribute to the area committee's green fund. In fact, the Region has plans for its own green fund. Although Land van Wijk en Wouden is perceived as a landscape unit by the people using and appreciating it, it does not coincide with the jurisdictional structure.

Land van Wijk en Wouden as a spatial concept

Land van Wijk en Wouden is described as an open agricultural area between cities. The area is part of the policy development around the *Groenblauwe Slinger* ('Green Blue Garland', see Figure 23), which is a concept in the South Wing part of the Randstad conurbation, and *is a priority area for the provincial authorities, but is not considered as an important landscape unit in The Hague Region policy development*. Instead, The Hague Region refers to it as 'the northern meadow areas of The Hague Region' or 'Duin, Horst and Weide' (see the previous section). The main reason for this, according to The Hague Region, is the *lack of decisiveness* of the large administrative steering committee Land van Wijk en Wouden. In the long term, the smaller administrative steering committee for the Regional Park should look for cooperation with Land van Wijk en Wouden (interview with The Hague Region administrator).

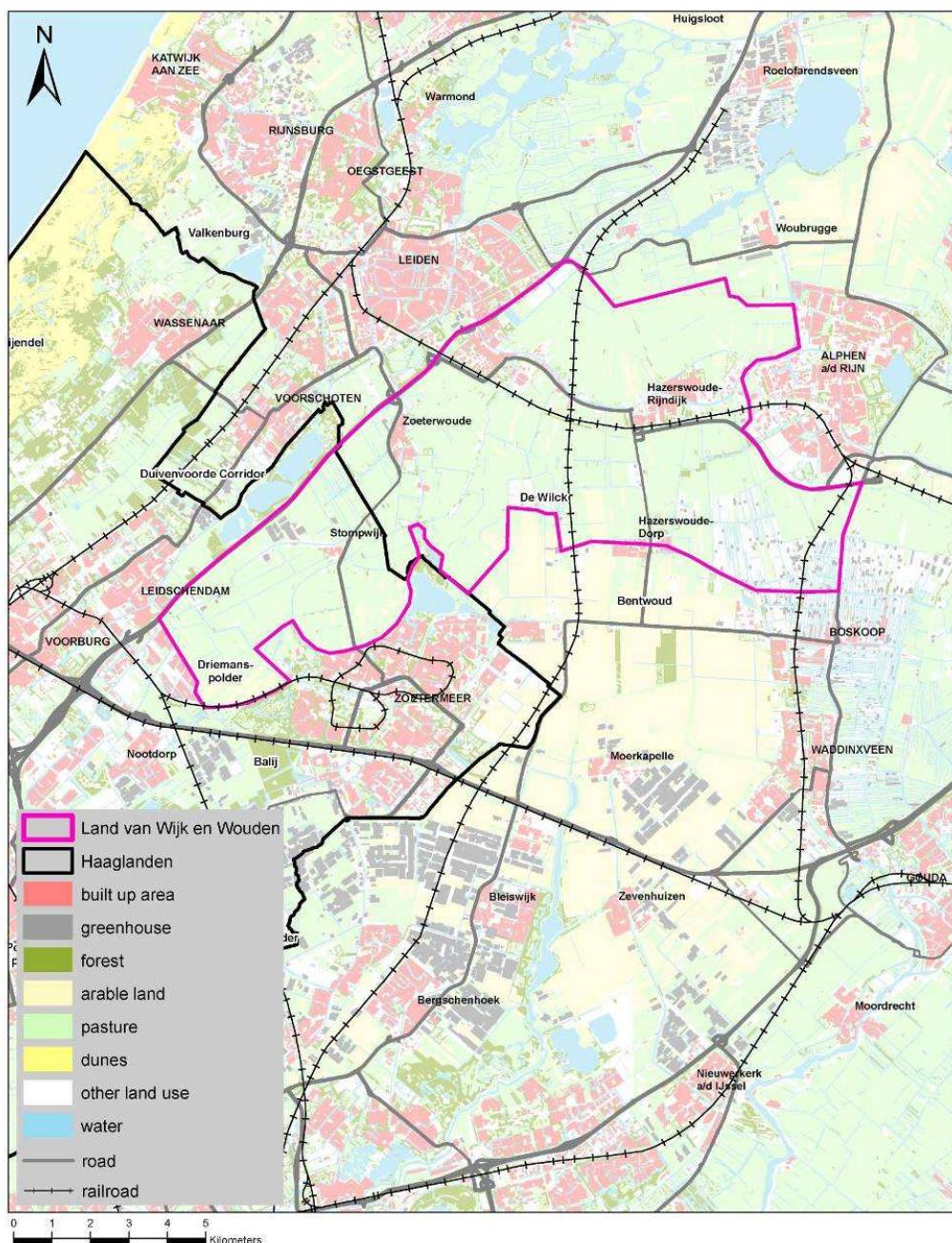


Figure 22: Land van Wijk en Wouden

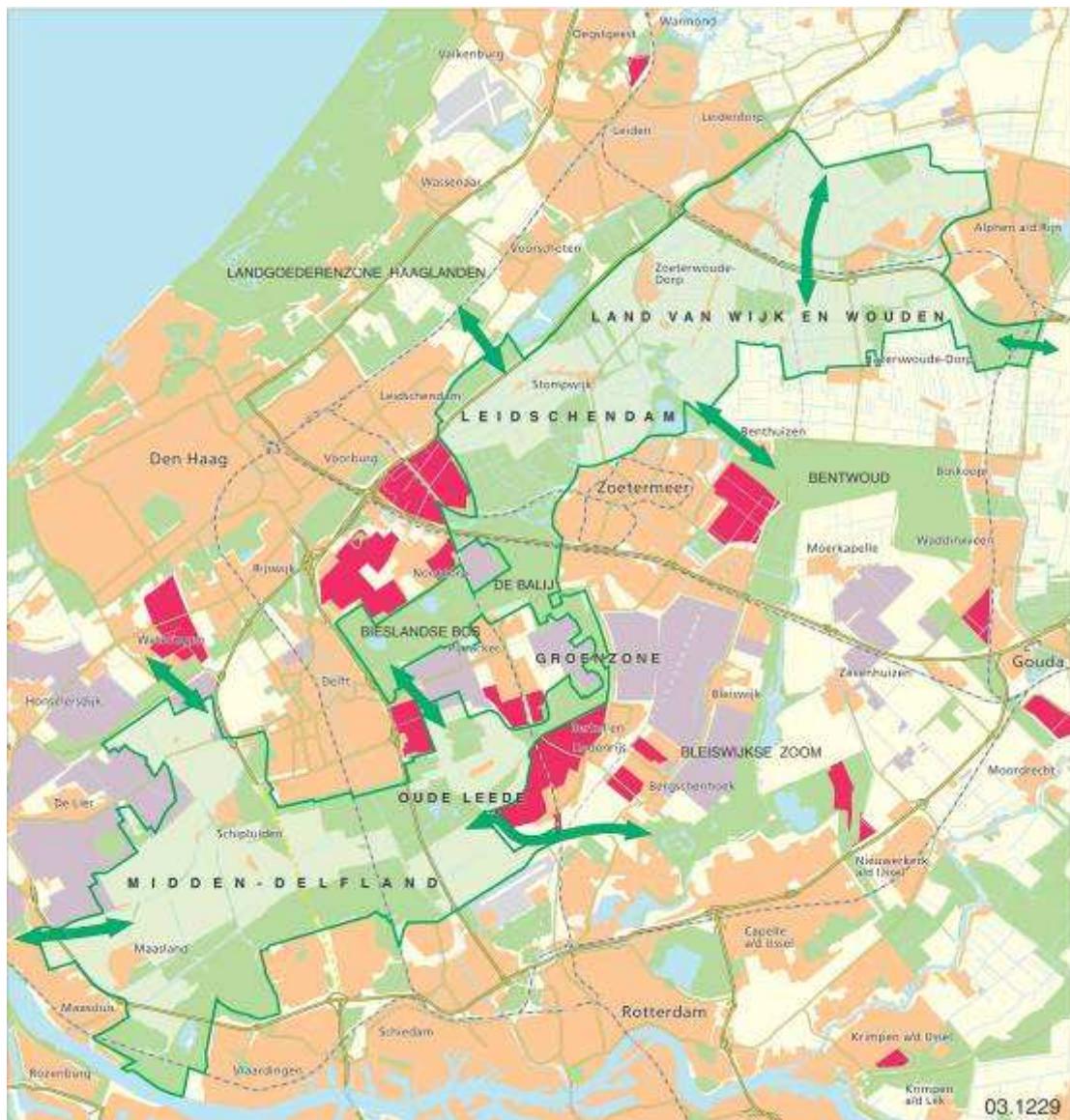


Figure 23: The spatial concept of the Green Blue Garland (Groenblauwe Slinger; source: South-Holland provincial authorities)

The table below compares the spatial concepts embodied by these two areas.

Table 4: Comparison of the spatial concepts of the Land van Wijk en Wouden and Duin, Horst en Weide areas

Comparison of the concepts	Land van Wijk en Wouden	Duin, Horst en Weide
Spatial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Uniform’ landscape entity • Agricultural landscape • Part of the Green Heart 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sequence of landscapes • Connectivity • Recreational landscape • Replacing buffer zone
Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concept accepted by Provincial authorities, South Wing administrative platform, and participating municipalities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concept accepted by The Hague Region and Duivenvoorde municipalities
Governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bottom-up • How to get commitment from city-dwellers to resist urbanization? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Top-down¹⁵, but searching for suitable governance model • How to get commitment from city-dwellers to resist urbanization?
Discourses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farmers are key stakeholders • How can ‘urban’ support ‘rural’? • Without farmers, the landscape will disappear 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City-dwellers are key stakeholders • How can ‘rural’ fulfil the needs of ‘urban’? • Without linking up with the city, farmers will disappear
Identity of inhabitants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farmers and villagers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farmers, villagers, horticulturalists, ‘rich and famous’, nobility, politicians, expatriates



Figure 24: Land van Wijk en Wouden (left, source: area committee) and Dun, Horst en Weide (right, source: The Hague Region).

¹⁵ In this context: from regional / municipal government (administrative level) down to inhabitants and private sector

2.3.3 Around Pijnacker

Coalition supporting the open landscape discourse

This area has two sub-enclaves, each with their own specific actors and strategies. Northwest of Pijnacker lies the Biesland polder, an enclave that is managed by one farmer. The *Vrienden van Biesland* (Friends of Biesland) foundation focuses on this area. The Farming for Nature concept is being applied here (see Section 3.2.5 and Buizer 2008), and has proved quite successful, so this green enclave is expected to be preserved for the time being. The enclave geographically connects to the recreational forests west of Zoetermeer and east of Delft.

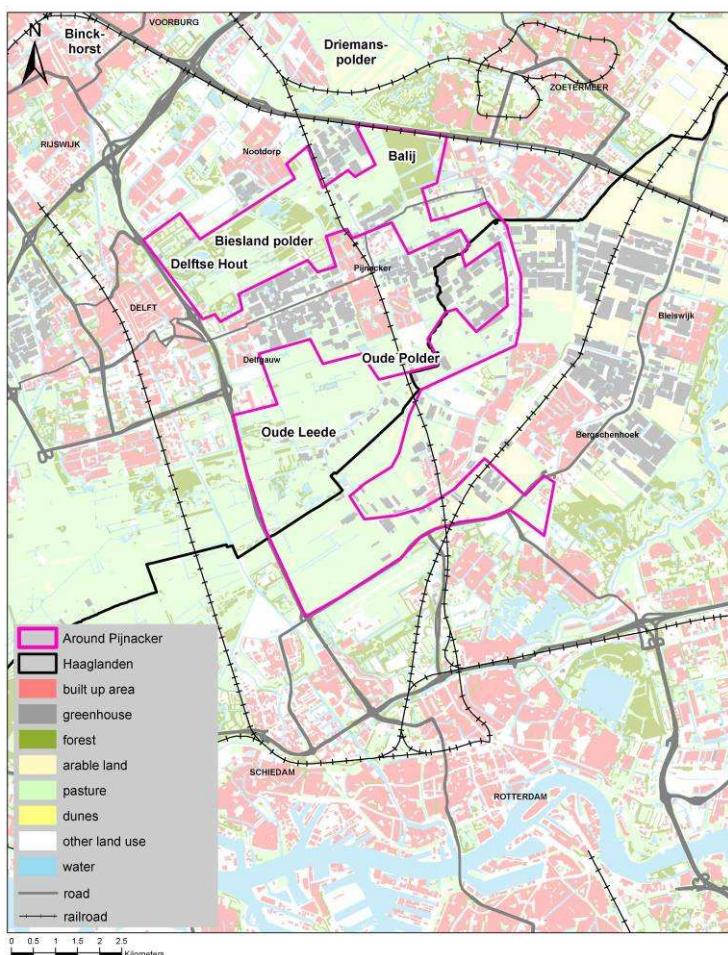


Figure 25: Around Pijnacker

The other enclave, to the south, is *Oude Leede*. Fifteen farmers are left here, only a few of whom are actually commercial full-time farmers. Since the area is now part of '*Mooi and Vitaal Delfland*' (see the next section), the interest in this area might grow and it may be easier to implement rural projects.

The local environmental pressure group NMP (*Vereniging voor Natuur- en Milieubescherming Pijnacker*) tries to influence policy making in the municipality of Pijnacker-Nootdorp on issues such as urbanization, nature and the environment. Their current strategy is concertation, although at times they choose to take legal steps. For instance, NMP started a legal procedure in 2006 when they considered that the promised measures to compensate for new construction sites by developing new conservation areas had been unsatisfactorily implemented.

Risk of urbanization

Some of the largest current urbanisation projects in the region take place in the municipality of Pijnacker – Nootdorp. Although sympathizing with the *Vrienden van Biesland* foundation and financially supporting the Farming for Nature project, the municipality is carrying out a considerable expansion of the urban area into the Oude Polder, South of Pijnacker, including improved road accessibility. Part of this 7.500 houses expansion project (called *Keizershof*) is projected on sites that are currently under greenhouse horticulture.

Role of city region board

The Hague Region is actively involved in the Farming for Nature initiative. The Hague Region aims to develop a Regional Park around Pijnacker (Regional Structural Plan 2008). The implications of this status remain to be investigated further by The Hague Region and the municipality.

2.3.4 Midden-Delfland

Coalition supporting the open landscape discourse

This area has a particularly strong set of actors who are in favour of preserving open space. The pro-landscape discourse here is strong, diverse and highly institutionalized. Several local authorities (municipalities, city region), as well as societies promoting countryside stewardship by farmers ('*Vockestaert*'), agricultural interest groups (LTO), several platforms promoting awareness (e.g. 'Midden Delfland Association') and the recreation board (*Recreatieschap*) all adhere to the same vision: keeping Midden-Delfland green and open and valuable for agricultural production, biodiversity and outdoor recreation. Within this vision, they have different focal points, which however do not conflict.

A central role is played by the municipality of Midden-Delfland (whose territory only partly covers the open landscape enclave). This municipality is special as it does not have a central major city, instead being composed of several villages. Moreover, at the time of its creation *it was given the explicit task by the provincial authorities to keep the area open* (interview with official Midden-Delfland municipality). It does so by having a non-building policy itself, by convincing surrounding cities to refrain from expanding into the area, and by promoting landscape quality in collaboration with compliant actors. Another important player was until recently the *Reconstruction Committee*, which was formally in charge of the land consolidation project between 1977 and 2009, based on the Midden Delfland Reconstruction Act. In this way, the Reconstruction Committee had an explicit

role in planning in this area (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations: ZBO-register).

The open meadow landscape has been embraced as a ‘unique selling point’ by the municipality of Midden-Delfland, using slogans such as ‘cows in the meadow’ and ‘the open view’ (Midden-Delfland 2005). The area branding efforts, in combination with the buffer zone policy and the formation of the Midden Delfland municipality, have thus far been very effective in the conservation of this landscape.

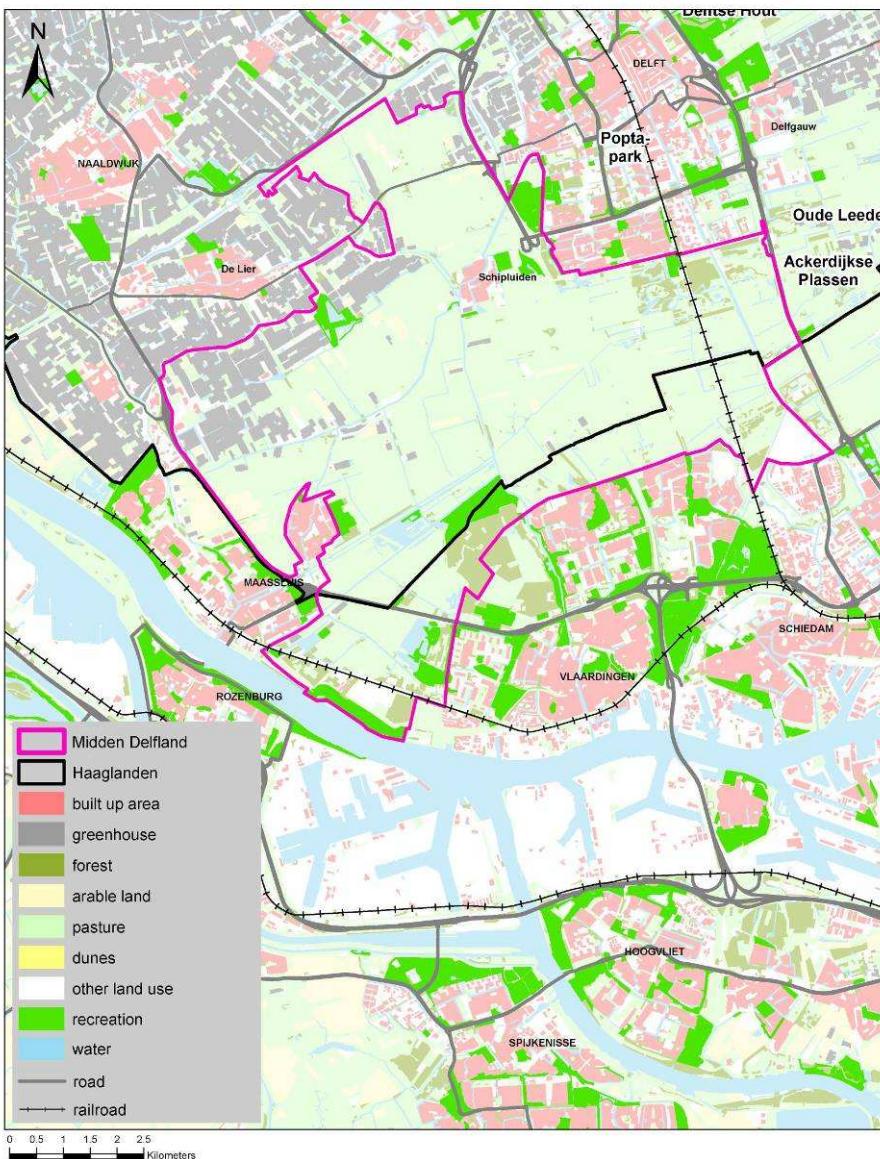


Figure 26: Midden-Delfland

Risk of urbanization

The future of the area's special qualities is related to agricultural land use; it is a landscape that needs continuous maintenance to retain its amenities. The 'stewards of the landscape' (mainly the farmers) depend on the size of the area and its continuity.

Continuity keeps land speculation out and gives the farmers the confidence to invest in their farms. The stability of the last few decades may change as the special law that ruled out urbanization in Midden-Delfland (the 1977 Reconstruction Act, see Section 2.1.4) will partly be repealed and the formerly powerful Reconstruction Committee will lose its function. The question is whether the coalition will hold out against urbanization pressures. Surrounding municipalities may try to nibble at the edges of the open area by extending construction projects into it, thereby unintentionally promoting land speculation and damaging confidence among farmers.

The question is whether the current network will hold out against urbanization, and the interviews revealed that the actors feel the need for a new 'director' with the authority to coordinate this network. The municipality of Midden-Delfland might become such a 'director', but the recreational board also has aspirations to play this part (interview officer Recreation board).

Table 5: Role of Midden-Delfland actors

Actor Objective	Gemeente M.D. (gov)	Vockestaert (NGO)	Recreatieschap (recreational board)	Civil society organizations	LTO (farmers' org., NGO)	Surrounding municipalities and city region
Restricting land conversion and speculation	Non-building policy, development of land banking concept			Support	Support	Non-building policy
Raising biodiversity and landscape values	Landscape Development Plan, Midden Delfland Green Fund	Promoting ways to combine nature and farming		Support		
Providing recreational opportunities			Providing proper maintenance of facilities	Support and information		Facilitating (Green Gates)
Area branding	Policy development and lobbying			Development and information		
Keeping agriculture economically viable		Managing Midden Delfland Green Fund ¹⁶			Support and lobbying	Contribution to Green Fund

The urgency of the situation is also felt by the national government, and the area has recently been designated as one of the urgent projects for the Randstad conurbation,

¹⁶ See Section 3.1.5

entitled *Mooi en Vitaal Delfland* (Beautiful and Viable Delfland). In fact, this project includes a larger area than the buffer zone (see Figure 27). Apparently, other areas, such as the area around Pijnacker, are 'linked up' with Midden Delfland in order to share in its success (this was confirmed by The Hague Region officials). There are also plans for a successor to the Reconstruction Committee ('*Hof van Delfland*'). The Landscape Agenda (LNV and VROM 2008) confirms the expansion of the buffer zone (and maintains the current buffer zone status). So far, however, there is insufficient funding for all the plans related to the *Mooi en Vitaal Delfland* project.

Definite development plans include a high-voltage power line and the A4 motorway from Delft to Schiedam.

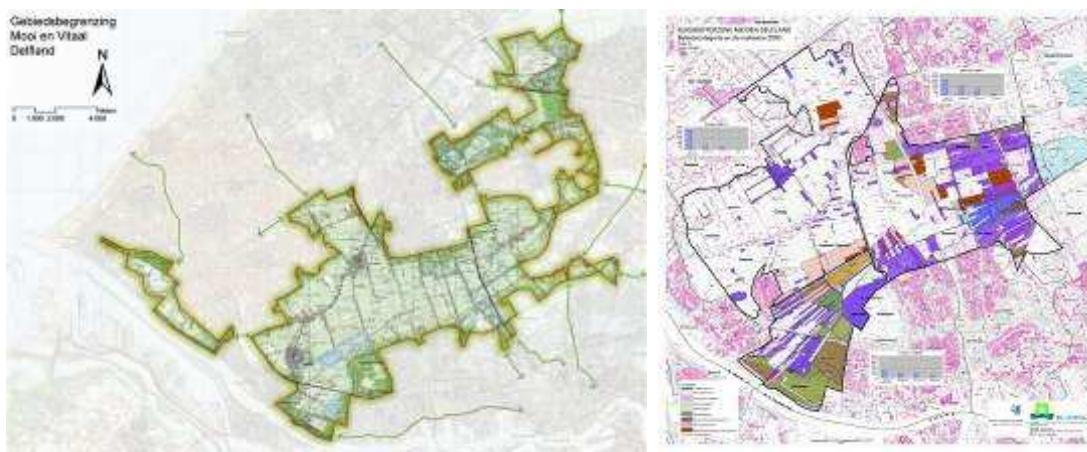


Figure 27: *Mooi and Vitaal Delfland* compared to the *Reconstruction area Midden Delfland* (sources: Projectteam *Mooi en Vitaal Delfland*, 2007; Bervaes et al, 2001).

Role of city region board

The sense of identity and the pro-green coalition are so strong in this area that input by The Hague Region is felt to be of little additional value (interview official Midden Delfland municipality). The actors have managed to construct a solid network that would not benefit from a higher level of planning. In addition, Midden-Delfland is not entirely included in The Hague Region because the border between the city regions of The Hague and Rotterdam runs right through the area. Because of this territorial split, neither of these city regions has the authority to make decisions for the whole of Midden-Delfland, which automatically limits their role. In the concertation process around the *Mooi and Vitaal Delfland* project, The Hague Region is actively trying to give shape to the idea of a Regional Park. The Regional Structure Plan refers to this Regional Park as one of the four proposed parks.

2.3.5 *Westland*

Coalition supporting the Greenport discourse

The Greenport concept, which involves pursuing a strong national and international position for greenhouse horticulture in the Westland area, is widely accepted by various tiers of government. It even has national priority and a special investment budget to keep it in good shape. There are no civil initiatives to promote other options for land use,

probably due to the residents' close ties with the horticultural sector (see also Section 3.2). The municipality is looking for combinations of water storage and green spaces (the latter as a result or by-product of the former).

Plans for alternative land use are being drawn up for both the south-eastern border (*Zwethzone*) and the northern border (*Westlandse Zoom*) of Westland. The *Zwethzone* is a fragmented area that is being redeveloped for outdoor recreation (70 ha) with both ecological and water-related types of recreation, as well as nature development and water storage. It would be an important asset to all surrounding cities (especially Rijswijk and The Hague) as well as a buffer between the greenhouses and the open landscape of the neighbouring Midden-Delfland area. The provincial authorities, the city region, the district water board and the municipalities (Westland, The Hague, Midden-Delfland and Rijswijk) cooperate and have signed an agreement. The Ministry of Agriculture is paying half of the development costs, on condition that the development is completed by 2010. The project is currently in its implementation phase.

The *Westlandse Zoom* is a 'red-for-green plan', i.e. a plan permitting some growth of housing from the Hague into the Westland area, replacing greenhouses, in which private gardens should provide a green link between Midden Delfland and the coast. Because of land prices, the houses are projected to come in the highest price categories. The first phase is being developed. A local international school has been moved to this side of the city of The Hague to lower the threshold for home buyers from higher income groups. An environmental group in The Hague (AVN) expects a very limited benefit from this private green space for the public, because of the recent tendency towards heavy fencing.

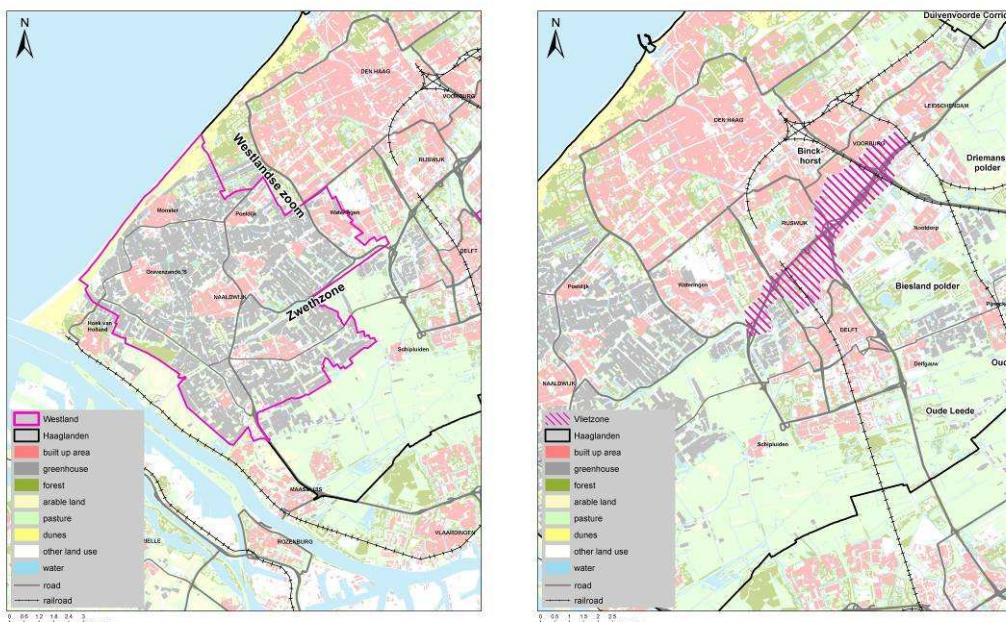


Figure 28 and Figure 29: Westland and Vlietzone

Risk of urbanization

Traffic congestion is a problem, and a new road to the south should relieve this pressure (Regional Structural Plan). Westland represents a strong economic power, which has until recently been able to resist urbanization pressure. In the short term, housing projects mainly cater for the local population. However, although the *Westlandse Zoom* is envisaged as a green buffer between The Hague and Westland, it does mean that The Hague is in a way expanding into Westland.

Role of city region board

The Hague Region has adopted the views of Westland and national policy in its own policy: the economic importance of greenhouse horticulture justifies powerful policies to facilitate its growth, while respecting sustainability. Initial higher ambitions with respect to green spaces have been downgraded for reasons of financial viability.

2.3.6 Vlietzone

Coalition supporting the open landscape discourse

The municipality of The Hague is an important ‘driving actor’ behind the urbanization plans for Vlietzone. After some years of intensive debate, facilitated by actors like the *Haags Milieucentrum* (The Hague environmental centre), it seems that there are few actors left opposing the development plans. Among them are some political parties, a local residents’ action group (*Brug te ver...*) established specifically for this purpose, and local environmental groups, such as the *Algemene Vereniging voor Natuurbescherming* nature conservation society. However, most of the normally ‘pro-green’ actors seem to have accepted the plans, because the development of new natural habitats and cycling routes is also envisaged. Some parts of the area already have a low landscape quality, and the attractive parts are poorly accessible: the overall outcome of the plans is therefore seen as an improvement.

Risk of urbanization

The greenhouse area north of the town of Delft is being transformed into a residential area. There are plans for 6.500 new homes in Vlietzone, as well as a public swimming pool and an office area. Furthermore, there are plans for new roads and especially a new tunnel for a motorway leading directly to the city centre of The Hague. The entrance to the tunnel might be located in Vlietzone.

Role of the city region board

The plans for Vlietzone are part of the Regional Structure Plan. The Hague Region was one of the actors actively resisting the (previously even larger) urbanization ambitions of The Hague.

3 Regional governance and spatial planning strategies and their impact on the urban fringe

3.1 Strategies to strengthen agricultural land use in the urban fringe

by Judith Westerink

A substantial part of the green landscape enclaves in The Hague Region owes its amenities to agricultural use – it is the typical Dutch polder landscape with its open grassland. This polder landscape forms the essence of Midden Delfland, Land van Wijk en Wouden and large parts of the area around Pijnacker. Agricultural land is regarded as scarce in The Hague Region. Only 24% of the surface area is still grassland (2003; CBS, 2007). If this historical green landscape is to be preserved, there has to be a basis for continued farming.

A special platform called ‘Meadow areas in The Hague Region’ has been operational since the beginning of 2005. It gives representatives of urban and rural organizations and municipalities an opportunity to exchange ideas and experiences and discuss the regional and municipal policies regarding urban – peri-urban relationships. The platform is organised and chaired by The Hague Region.

3.1.1 Economic trends in agriculture in the Netherlands and in The Hague Region

The number of farmers in the Netherlands has been declining for some decades, with the steepest declines at times of veterinary crises, although the total area of agricultural land is hardly decreasing. The number of smaller farms is decreasing while the number of larger farms is increasing. The general increase in the size of the farms is clear from the total number of cows per farm. The numbers of farms with fewer than 10, fewer than 20 and fewer than 30 cows have dropped dramatically, from 37,700, 42,400 and 22,800, respectively, in 1970 to 900, 1000 and 1600, respectively, in 2006 (LEI, 2007). The average number of plots per farm is increasing, but more slowly so in the west of the Netherlands than in the rest of the country.

Table 6: Farm size (CBS, 2008)

2007	Netherlands	South-Holland	Midden-Delfland
Average farm size (ha)	27 (# = 76,741)	-	-
Meadow-based farms, average farm size (ha)	15.0 (# = 54,645)	19.6 (# = 3,725)	25.6 (# = 107)

The trends are towards *expansion and intensification*. The increase in the number of cows per farm shows up in the landscape. The pastureland immediately surrounding the stable can only carry a limited number of cows. In addition, there is a limit to the distance that dairy cows can walk to the meadow, because milking is normally done in the stable.

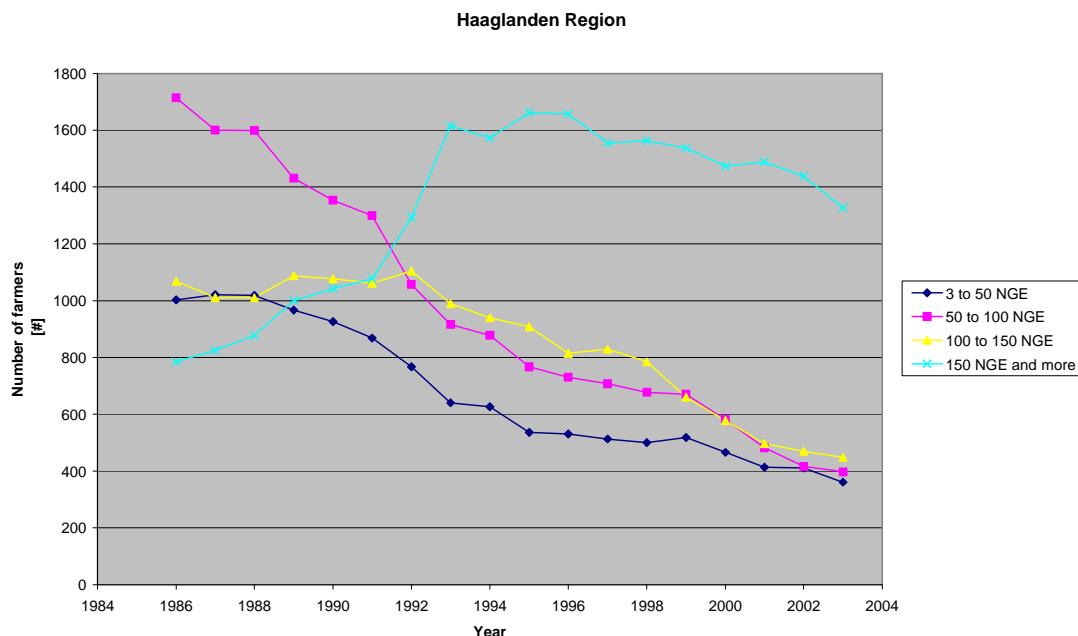


Figure 30: The development of farm size in The Hague Region 1964-2004

As livestock numbers on a farm increase, it becomes necessary to bring the grass to the cows instead of bringing the cows to the grass. The ratio of 24h meadow grazing : grazing in the daytime : 24h stable has dropped from 48:45:8 in 1997 to 34:46:20 in 2006.

The disappearance of cows from the landscape has led to protests from civil society and policy developers. ‘Cows in the meadow’ has become an issue, for instance in the Midden Delfland long-term design plan, as well as an issue to be used in branding. Some of the largest dairy trademarks in the Netherlands have introduced ‘meadow milk’, which is promoted as healthier than ‘stable milk’.

The number of horses in the Netherlands is rapidly increasing. Between 1985 and 2006, the number of horses has doubled, from 28,300 to 57,300 (LEI, 2007). Between 1985 and 1994, the number of the large sheep farms (>50 and >100 sheep per farm) rose considerably. Although the number fell again after 1994, it is still far above the number of holdings in 1985. Both horses and sheep are a familiar sight in The Hague Region landscape nowadays ('horsification'). The table below shows the numbers of grazing animals in the province of South Holland in 2007 (CBS, 2008):

Cows	187,943
Sheep	153,234
Goats	11,987
Horses and ponies	10,293

The average age of farmers in the Netherlands is rising. The average age of the head of the farm has increased from 49.4 in 1980 to 52.2 in 2005 (CBS). *Succession is an issue of concern.* In 1993, 47% of all relevant farms had a successor, while in 2004, only 29% had a successor, a phenomenon that is seen in all sectors. Larger farms are more likely to have

a successor. In 2004, 60% of relevant farms with a size of >100 NGE¹⁷ had a successor. A report on the agricultural structure in the municipality of Wassenaar showed that succession is not a problem there (LTO Noord Projecten, 2008). In Midden-Delfland, 40% of the farmers older than 55 years has a successor (Vonk Noordegraaf 2004)¹⁸.

In 2005, there were 2242 farmers in The Hague Region (CBS landbouwtellingen, see Table 7). The enlargement of farms is also clearly visible in The Hague Region, but the process of smaller farms being replaced by larger farms is far more advanced in this area than in the rest of the country. Fifty-five percent of all farms in The Hague Region were larger than 150 NGE in 2003, compared to 13% in the Netherlands as a whole. The average age of farmers in The Hague Region is slightly younger than that of their colleagues in the province of South-Holland, which in turn is lower than the national figures (CBS). The average age of farmers in The Hague Region was 47.4 in 1980, 49.3 in 1998 and 49.5 in 2005, compared to 49.4 in 1980, 51.4 in 1998 and 52.2 in 2005 for the Netherlands as a whole.

Table 7: Numbers of farms in The Hague Region, CBS 2005

Total number of farms in The Hague Region	2242
Arable farms	16
Horticulture	1902
Livestock, grazing	303
Dairy farms	141
Livestock, stable-bound	19
Combinations	10

Milk prices were high in 2007 but dropped sharply in the early months of 2008, leading to protests by farmers. Cereal prices have also been high, meaning higher feed costs for dairy farmers. This may have had an impact on the statistics about farm sales, participation in agri-environmental schemes (AES) and multifunctional farming, but these are not yet available.

Expansion of farms can only take place by absorbing other farms. For instance, elderly farmers who stop farming may sell the land to other farmers, but property developers can generally offer more money. Other buyers in the countryside are city dwellers with horses.

Agricultural land prices in the province of South-Holland are the highest in the country (DLG, 2007; see Figure 31), and the prices in peri-urban areas are higher still, especially in South-Holland: € 64,460 per ha in 2005 and € 93,797 per ha in 2006. The extreme price level in 2006 was due to large-scale land purchases by the state in a greenhouse area, where it wanted to create an ecological corridor. For the sake of comparison, the average 2006 price of agricultural lands whose status in the zoning plan was changed to allow construction was € 236,273 per ha in the Netherlands as a whole, against € 323,292

¹⁷ NGE (Nederlandse Grootvee Eenheid) can be translated as Netherlands Large Livestock Unit. It is used in agricultural statistics to express the size of a farm, e.g. 1 NGE = 0.83 cows or 0.55 ha of sugar beets in 2007.

¹⁸ These numbers cannot be compared because the sample was not the same.

per ha in South-Holland (the highest level in the country). In 2006, the land market was relatively active in South-Holland.

3.1.2 Environmental issues and agriculture

Air pollution is a problem in the region. The prevailing south-westerly winds transport pollution from the industrial areas in the Rotterdam harbour ('Rijnmond') right across Midden Delfland, and the high traffic intensity also threatens the air quality. Pollutants deposited on grass could be taken up by cows and end up in the milk. Since the big dioxin scandal in the 1908s, the quality of the air and the milk has been closely monitored.

The European Water Framework Directive will have an effect on the area, since agriculture has a high impact on water quality. The extent to which the Water Framework Directive has been translated into policy and implemented in practice differs per water board. The Delfland water board is working on the policy development. So-called 'blue services', such as constructing nature-friendly banks or zero-input banks, for which farmers receive payments, are being considered as possible measures. However, after the Water Framework Directive comes into effect, such measures can only be paid for as long as they are supra-legal (i.e. beyond legal obligations and good farming practice (GFP)).

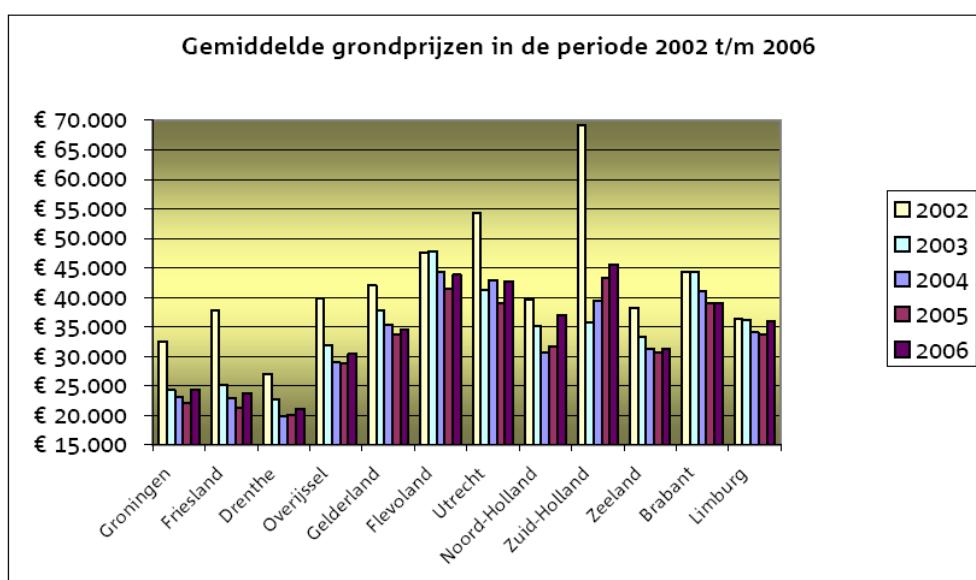


Figure 31: Average land prices per ha in the Dutch provinces between 2002 and 2006.
Source: DLG, 2007

Meadow bird protection is a big issue in the rural areas of The Hague Region. The godwit is an icon of Dutch meadow bird protection. Protection of meadow birds is a key element in the Midden Delfland Green Fund and the Farming for Nature project in the Biesland Polder. Meadow bird conservation measures are amongst the most popular options in the SAN national agri-environmental scheme. In Midden Delfland, 50% of the full-time farmers participate in subsidy schemes for meadow bird protection (Vonk Noordegraaf, 2004).

There are very few organic farmers in The Hague Region. According to staff at the organic supermarket in Delft, most of the products have to be purchased from outside the region.

The Hague Region had 17 certified organic farms in 1998 and 19 in 2008 (SKAL). The Province of South-Holland as a whole had 91 organic farms in 2004, 46 of which were livestock farms (CBS Statistics Netherlands). In 2007, South Holland had 2,160 ha of certified organic farmland (Biologica 2008).

Where agriculture and environmental groups have at times been each other's adversaries, alliances are now developing in certain areas of the Netherlands. Farmers and environmental organizations are forming a 'green front', for instance for the preservation of the Green Heart, the open countryside between the Randstad cities. It is perhaps especially in peri-urban areas that the need is felt for these groups to collaborate, because both agriculture and nature are being threatened by the pressure from the city. And in fact, many urban residents regard cows as 'nature'.

3.1.3 *Actors and resources*

Aside from various government tiers, the following stakeholders and actors are important for agricultural issues:

- Farmers: landowners or tenants
- Farmers' and horticulturalists' organization (LTO-Noord)
- Agri-environmental associations¹⁹ (ANVs)
- The food sector, especially dairy factories
- Environmental groups
- Recreationists
- Civil society groups committed to specific areas
- Private land owners or land users (not farmers)
- Other landscape managers (nature conservation societies, recreation boards)

Farmers

The number of farmers in The Hague Region is 2534 (2003), 70% of whom have a large farm (> 100 NGE). Farmers can use several strategies for the further development of their farms, which are summarized and linked to possible government instruments in Table 8. Agriculture is an important economic factor in the Netherlands, and the farming lobby still has much influence on national policy-making. In The Hague Region, however, farmers are regarded as '*disadvantaged*' by some, though not all, of the interviewed government officials. Some officials feel that the government should protect farmers to prevent the disappearance of agriculture from the peri-urban region, while others consider this feeling to be a result of *effective lobbying by farmers*.

Farmers have resources in the form of land or land-use rights, capital in the form of buildings, machinery and cattle, and knowledge of farming and landscape management. Their local network can also be seen as a resource, just as their 'moral authority' as traditional managers of the landscape, 'having lived there for generations'.

¹⁹ Referred to in other publications as Environmental Cooperatives (ECs), see e.g. Franks and McGloin, 2007

Farmers' and horticulturalists' organization

The farmers' and horticulturalists' organization LTO is the largest body representing farmers' interests. LTO takes part in virtually every rural development process. The main viewpoints and strategies of LTO can be summarized as follows (based on a 2008 leaflet):

- Agriculture is the economic sector that supports the landscape.
- Not recognizing farmers as a major party in achieving ecological objectives is counter-productive.
- A zoning mechanism should be introduced to ensure a sustainable agricultural structure.
- Housing can be combined with farm size increases by dividing up the land of a retiring farmer between, for instance, a private party that wants to establish a new estate, and the neighbouring farmer.

The most important resources for LTO are its large membership among farmers and its very strong position in the political network.

Agri-environmental associations (ANVs)

The ANVs are associations of farmers that are involved in agri-environmental management (called 'agricultural nature management' in the Netherlands). Three ANVs are active in the region: *Santvoorde* in the Wassenaar area, *Wijk en Woude* in the area around Stompwijk and beyond (Land van Wijk en Wouden), and *Vockestaert* in Midden-Delfland, Oude Leede and the Biesland polder. Most of these farmers participate in the national agri-environmental scheme SAN, which is currently managed by the provincial authorities. The Vockestaert and Wijk en Wouden ANVs have been actively involved in the development of 'green and blue' services for their area. The ANVs collaborate with environmental groups and the municipalities.

The ANVs are experts in farmland conservation, and their members therefore have access to existing and new funds. They have developed into important partners in area-based rural development, especially in The Hague Region.

Food sector: dairy factories

The Dutch Dairy Association (NZO) represents 12 companies that together process 98% of the milk from Dutch dairy farms. The turnover of these companies is approximately € 7 billion, including 2/3 from export (NZO website, accessed August 2008). These figures indicate that the milk market is dominated by large companies. Although most of these have their origins in farmers' cooperatives, farmers claim to have little influence on the price that they receive for their milk. This is illustrated by the large protest demonstrations by farmers against the dairy factories in the spring of 2008.

Environmental groups

Several local and national environmental groups are active in the region. Organizations like IVN and KNNV are engaged in surveys mapping species distributions and in voluntary landscape management, including work on farmland. Others are more action-oriented, like *Milieodefensie (Friends of the Earth)* and the local groups *AVN The Hague* (*Algemene Vereniging voor Natuurbescherming*) and *Initiatiefgroep Natuurbeheer Delft*. However, action-oriented in the Netherlands normally means trying to influence

policy-making, and if that does not work, legal procedures. The *Initiatiefgroep Natuurbeheer Delft* was so far one of the three groups that were interviewed in this category. They are *disappointed with the lack of willingness of local and regional governments to discuss their policies with environmental groups*. Also, they claim that the governments do not practice what they preach. In their experience, economic and demographic growth is the main goal of the governments, and ecological and landscape values are always a minor issue. Construction projects tend to proceed in spite of well-intentioned policy plans for ecology. The *Initiatiefgroep Natuurbeheer Delft* played a major role in the initiating phase of the Farming for Nature project. *AVN The Hague* has a long tradition of concertation with the municipality and of responding to spatial development and construction plans. Just like the *Initiatiefgroep Natuurbeheer Delft*, *AVN The Hague* has at times taken the municipal authorities to court in response to such plans. Their new strategy, however, is to pro-actively develop plans themselves and offer these to the municipality as an advice. *NMP Pijnacker* also uses a strategy of concertation, but still takes legal action at times. They are critical towards the municipal policy: according to NMP the local officials of Pijnacker-Nootdorp municipality do not always practice what they preach.

Resources for environmental groups are public awareness, publicity, knowledge, networking and lobbying. Local groups in particular work primarily with volunteers. Their political power is limited, just as their access to funds. More professional, National or international, environmental groups usually have more access to funding.

Recreationists

Visitors to the rural areas are not organized as such. While the VVV tourist office should be the most important source of information for tourism and recreation, the VVV in The Hague is not interested in the rural areas, focusing instead on the beach, sports, leisure, museums and the city's shopping centre. ANWB (Royal Dutch Touring Club) is the largest national organization representing the interests of recreationists. The Delft division of the national organization of cyclists (Fietsersbond) tries to influence local policies in order to improve the infrastructure for cyclists. They are positive about the 'Green Rings' idea of The Hague Region (see Section 3.3). They feel that they are being *taken seriously by the City Region*, but are limited in their involvement through lack of manpower.

Recreation represents a powerful economic sector, with a positive effect on well-being, and politicians and policy-makers are well aware of that. The issue holds a prominent position in all policy documents regarding the urban fringe, green areas and urban–rural relationships. The largest group among recreationists and tourists in The Hague Region consists of those who visit the beach and the local museums. Both Midden Delfland and Land van Wijk en Wouden are visited by large numbers of cyclists and walkers, especially in the weekends²⁰. It is this group that is targeted by the 'green and blue' services developed in Land van Wijk en Wouden. See Section 3.3 for a more in-depth analysis of recreation in The Hague Region and Section 3.1.5 for a description of ecological and water-related ('green and blue') services as a strategy in The Hague Region.

²⁰ Midden Delfland 4 million visitors per year (Farjon et al 2004), no figures for Land van Wijk en Wouden

Civil society groups focusing on specific areas

Several civil society initiatives have evolved around specific areas. *Vrienden van Biesland* (Friends of the Biesland Polder) is an example of a very active and growing association. They organize activities, promote the area, raise funds and if necessary operate as a pressure group. Other examples are *Actiecomité Vrienden van Stompwijk, Midden-Delfland Vereniging* and *Stichting Duivenvoorde*. Because they are area-based, they are *readily accepted by the governments* as partners in area redevelopment. Their members are well-rooted in the local network and sometimes have influential connections in the financial world, the scientific community or national or European policy-makers.

Private land owners or land users

A growing group of interest are the private owners. They buy a house or a farm in the countryside, to redevelop it into a private house or even a 'new estate'. They are not interested in large tracts of land, a few hectares will do for some hobby sheep or some horses. Several may have romantic ideas about living in the countryside, which are reflected by the layout of their gardens and the appearance and decoration of the buildings. Several magazines, like *Landleven* ('Country Life') and *Buiten* ('Outside') help to create this idealized picture. Money is their main resource. As members of the wealthier sections of society, they may have relatively easy access to policy-makers and procedural knowledge.

Other landscape managers

Large landscape managers and owners are the nature conservation organizations, the recreation boards and the owners of old estates. Around the town of Wassenaar in particular, farmers are tenants who lease land from the estate owners. The royal family and noble families still own much land here. *Staatsbosbeheer*²¹ (the State forestry service), which manages most of the state-owned nature reserves in the Netherlands, owns the Duivenvoordse polder (since it was purchased by the state as part of the buffer zone policy) which is given out in mainly 3-year lease contracts to farmers with agreements about meadow bird protection. However, cooperation between nature conservation organizations and farmers is not the rule. In the Biesland polder, a close cooperation between the farmer and Staatsbosbeheer is developing, as well as in the *Ackerdijkse plassen* area (owned by the *Natuurmonumenten* conservation society), but this is still considered an exception. The Recreation Board and the *Zuid-Hollands Landschap* conservation society normally carry out their own management activities.

When land is purchased by the state, for instance to be included in the National Ecological Network EHS (a network of interlinked nature reserves), it is often transferred to one of the nature conservation organizations. *Staatsbosbeheer* has a special position, being state-owned. *Natuurmonumenten*²² and *Zuid-Hollands Landschap* are private organizations for whom donations are an important source of income in addition to subsidies.

²¹ This is an independent, but public organization with a strong financial input from the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food quality (85 M€ in 2007)

²² The first private nature conservation organization in the country, with currently some 800,000 members

Table 8: Possible instruments of governments (all levels) concerning agriculture in the urban fringe confronted with possible strategies of farmers

Farmers' strategies Government instruments	Selling the land	Intensifying or expanding	Multipurpose farming	Part-time farming
Implementation by government itself	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Land banking ▪ Farmer manages state-owned land as contractor or tenant ▪ NGO manages state-owned land 	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Lower lease prices for farmers taking Agri-Environmental Measures ▪ Government implements design and/or management of landscape features 	-
Rules and regulations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ First right of purchase to other farmers ▪ Land-use Plans/ zoning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Good Agricultural Practice ▪ Cross-compliance ▪ Land-use plans/ zoning ▪ Compensation payments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Good Agricultural Practice ▪ Cross-compliance ▪ Land-use plans/ zoning ▪ Compensation payments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Land-use Plans/ zoning ▪ Compensation payments
Taxes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Taxes on property, land sales or land use change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Lower taxes on sustainable products 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Lower taxes on sustainable products 	-
Subsidies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ NGO buys and manages land with subsidy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Product/ chain development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Agri-Environmental Schemes/ Green-Blue Services ▪ Education, capacity building ▪ Lower lease prices for government land ▪ Product/ chain development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ AES (simple) ▪ Education, capacity building
PR/ awareness raising/ extension	-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Promoting regional products 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Developing tourist routes ▪ Promoting organic products ▪ Promoting regional products 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Promoting regional products
Private/ market (no government involvement)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ NGO buying and managing land 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Branding/ certification 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Branding/ certification ▪ Landscape auction ▪ NGO managing landscape features 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ NGO managing landscape features

3.1.4 Strategies, discourses and coalitions

By the various actors, the following strategies are used to strengthen agricultural land use in the urban fringe in The Hague Region:

- Stimulating intensification of agricultural land use
- Facilitating increased farm sizes (often in combination with the previous)
- Multipurpose farming
- Ecological and water-related ('green and blue') services
- Promoting regional products/ branding
- Land purchase and land banking
- Zoning

Strategy	Discourses	Coalitions
Stimulate intensification	World market, entrepreneurship, efficiency, capitalism, farmers need to be economically independent, maximized food production	Large farmers, LTO (to some extent), liberal political parties, politics in rural communities
Facilitate enlargement of farm size	Efficiency, capitalism, farmers need to be economically independent, extensive farms also need to be big.	Medium-size farms, LTO, ANVs (to some extent)
Multipurpose farming	Diversification, urban–rural relationship, society-driven, demand from society, services to society, green and blue services, healthcare farming, regional products.	ANVs, area-based civil society groups, most governments, recreation sector, nature conservation organizations, healthcare insurances,
Green and Blue Services	Payment for environmental services by farmers, farmers as developers and managers of the landscape, 'cows in the meadow', cultural heritage, traditional landscape, extensification, organic farming, on-farm nature conservation, voluntary measures, urban–rural relationship, Farming for Nature, alternative to land purchase, private law agreements such as servitude.	ANVs, area-based civil society groups, most governments, recreation sector, nature conservation organizations, water boards, some environmental groups
Promotion of regional products/ branding	Regional identity, urban–rural relationship, slow food, knowing where your food comes from, food strategy.	ANVs, LTO, area-based civil society groups, specific customer groups, ministry of LNV
Land Purchase	Buffer between cities, connectivity, conservation, ecological values, landscape sequences, land banking, enforcing desirable land use, recreational areas	Nature conservation organizations, recreation board, provincial authorities, most environmental groups
Zoning	Agricultural structure, agricultural assessment, agricultural land should remain in farmers' hands	LTO

Multipurpose farming is developing with limited intervention from the governments, and the same applies to the development of regional products. The strategy of marketing and branding of landscapes can be observed in the Midden Delfland, Biesland Polder and Land van Wijk and Wouden areas. Marketing and branding of specific products from these landscapes has so far received little attention from the actors. There are some

examples in the region, such as meat from the Biesland polder, but local products are not yet being taken up as a strategy: only Midden Delfland is developing such concepts (as the first *Cittaslow* municipality). This is surprising, since a complete diet could be composed from regional products (fish, vegetables, dairy products, meat). However, The Hague Region is inspired by municipalities such as Amsterdam, which have developed a so-called *food strategy* in order to promote urban–rural relationships through regionally produced foods.

Green and blue services are also preferably combined with farm enlargement, as extensification implies that more land is needed for the same number of cows. Probably the largest farmer in The Hague Region practices the most far-reaching extensification in the region: Hoeve Biesland manages 140 ha with 200 cows through the Farming for Nature project (Westerink et al. 2008).

Land purchase has been a very successful strategy in Midden Delfland to resist urbanization. After the buffer zone policy, introduced in 1958, the Reconstruction Act for Midden Delfland came into force in 1977. This act, which will be repealed in 2008, was meant to enforce the buffer zone policy and to create the option of compulsory land purchase. As a result, agricultural land was purchased in the urban fringes of Delft and Rotterdam and *converted into recreational and nature areas*. Van Rij, Dekkers and Koomen (2008) analysed the land-use changes in Midden Delfland, as well as in the other buffer zone areas and the Netherlands as a whole. They found that between 1995 and 2004, the degree of urbanization was lower in Midden Delfland than in the other buffer zone areas (which were not subject to such a Reconstruction Act) and much lower than in the rest of the Netherlands.

The recent plans for a land bank in Midden Delfland copy the idea of land purchase to the protection of agricultural land. Land prices are so high that farmers cannot afford to start a farm or to expand their farm. Since this is seen as a threat to the preservation of the traditional man-made landscape, there is a call for an intervention in the land market. The land bank should purchase agricultural land in danger of urbanization and lease it out to farmers. The difference between the lease price and the interest should be paid by the government. The farmers who lease this land should provide ‘green and blue’ services (Van Rij and Korthals Altes, 2007).

The LTO farmers’ organization is trying to re-introduce zoning as a strategy to strengthen agriculture in the urban fringe, although in a new way. They propose an obligatory ‘agricultural assessment’ by the municipality when zoning plans are being drawn up or changed, to make sure that when a farm is sold, other farmers have the first right to buy the farmland. The house and the buildings may also be sold to other parties, such as private persons, to be converted into a private home or ‘new estate’. According to LTO, this would facilitate the enlargement of farms and optimize the ‘agricultural structure’.

In The Hague Region, discourses and coalitions are often closely tied to specific areas. The ‘A-label’ Midden-Delfland is an example. The agricultural landscape is regarded as the *raison-d'être* by the municipality, which has adopted the open landscape as its ‘unique selling point’. The cities around Midden-Delfland support its policy to keep the

area as open countryside. A variety of local organizations have evolved around the ecological, cultural and historical values of Midden Delfland. The area has its own ‘green fund’, which finances green and blue services (see Section 3.1.5). The same applies to the Biesland polder and the Farming for Nature discourse. The area and the concept are closely intertwined and supported by the Friends of Biesland, volunteer conservationists and the local authorities. It is no surprise, therefore, that several spatial concepts have evolved as an expression of the discourses tied to specific areas (see Section 2.4).

3.1.5 *Strategy: green and blue services*

Definition and national and regional policy context

The influential Social and Economic Council of the Netherlands sees a major role for green and blue services in the future of agriculture in the Netherlands (SER, 2008). Ecological and water-related, or ‘green and blue’, services have been defined as the provision of public efforts aimed at the achievement of public demands about nature, landscape, water management and recreational use (accessibility), which go beyond the obligatory measures laid down in laws and regulations, and for which a cost-recovering compensation is given (*Catalogus Groenblauwe Diensten* or Green and Blue Services Catalogue, 2007). Examples include the maintenance of ditches or additional measures for meadow bird protection. In the PLUREL working paper ‘European lessons for Green and Blue Services in the Netherlands’ (Westerink, Buizer and Ramos, 2008), green and blue services are placed in the context of the ecosystem services concept and agri-environmental schemes (AES). Green and blue services can be seen as local or regional AESs, but the ‘services’ discourse illustrates that more emphasis is placed on the farmer’s entrepreneurship. Very little has been published in English on this Dutch concept, although similar initiatives can be found all over Europe²³.

The Green and Blue Services Catalogue is the latest product of the agri-environmental policy development in the Netherlands. It was developed by the interprovincial consultation body IPO, supported by the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality (LVN), after several state aid procedures with the European Commission for individual, locally developed green and blue services initiatives. The Catalogue was mainly based on existing schemes like the national agri-environmental subsidy programme called *Programma Beheer* and the local Green Fund for Midden Delfland. It consists of a collection of activities and prices at the level of management units and landscape elements. However, farming systems such as Farming for Nature are not included. The Catalogue passed the European state aid procedure in February 2007. Since then, all government levels in the Netherlands can make use of the Catalogue to design their own agri-environmental schemes, without the necessity of a state aid procedure.

Green and blue services serve ecological goals (landscape, biodiversity, water quality), social goals (recreation) and economic goals (economically viable farms). The strategy of green and blue services can be described as a hierarchy of objectives and means, depending on the actor involved and the main objective chosen. The diagram below could

²³ The PLUREL working paper by Westerink et al. describes green and blue services initiatives in Europe, and summarizes measures that could be useful for incorporation in the Dutch Green and Blue Services Catalogue.

be specified in several ways. For instance, the objective of international competitiveness, which is important for The Hague Region can be translated into attractiveness – quality of living – opportunities for outdoor recreation – nearby and attractive urban fringe – and accessibility of traditional farming landscape – public footpaths on farmland.

Trend	Problem	Main objective	Objectives of National government and The Hague Region	Instrument/means
Economic growth	High urbanization pressure	Keeping scarce rural areas open	Enabling farmers to continue managing the rural areas	Green and Blue Services

Green and Blue Services are a governance strategy that opens up the normally top-down agri-environmental policy development to bottom-up initiatives and local differentiation. The Hague Region has yielded several of the earliest green and blue services initiatives in the Netherlands, including the Green Fund for Midden Delfland and the Farming for Nature project in the Biesland polder. These two initiatives were developed in parallel, the Green Fund in 2003-2006 and Farming for Nature in 2003-2007. In addition to these schemes, which are currently operational, a scheme was started in the Land van Wijk en Wouden area. However, the area committee has so far not managed to raise the necessary funds for the full implementation of the scheme. The scheme has so far established 6 walking trails on farmland, totalling around 40 km. Recently (2008) a new pilot project started in this area, in cooperation with the Rijnland water board, to develop blue services.

The green and blue services concept is well-known to the regional government officials. It is frequently discussed in the platform on meadow areas in The Hague Region (see the introduction to Section 3.1). Green and blue services are mentioned as an instrument in the long-term strategic planning for green areas in The Hague Region as an expression of the urban–rural relationship (point VI), next to the promotion of local products (see Section 2.1.2).

Strategies for farmers and governments

Agriculture is under pressure in The Hague Region, because of competition for space from urban land uses. The farmers' economic situation is good enough to sustain the status quo, but land prices are high, so farm expansion is difficult. An alternative strategy for farmers is to broaden their range of products and services (see Table 8). In the Netherlands, farmers generally opt for a 'diversification' (multifunctional farming, including other sources of income) or a focusing strategy (specialization, mostly intensification in combination with expansion). Those taking the specialization approach regard themselves as 'real farmers', whereas diversification is generally seen as plan B, an option for farmers with dwindling incomes. However, this attitude is currently changing. Of the 81,830 farms in the Netherlands, 13% had an additional income in 2005 from one or more of the following activities: agri-tourism, storage, processing, on-farm retail and health care-related services (Landbouwtelling CBS, 2005). This number does not include ecological and landscape management. Among the multifunctional activities, the adoption of ecological and landscape management represents a relatively small step, which can relatively easily be incorporated into the daily farm routines. Categories like

care-related services or agri-tourism demand different skills, especially as regards communication and interaction with visitors. For many farmers, this is too extreme. Even accessibility of farmland is a difficult issue: most farmers are reluctant to allow public footpaths on their land, because they fear litter and stray dogs that could scare their livestock or transmit diseases.

Local and regional authorities may have several reasons to embrace the green and blue services concept. There is a great need for green recreational space for city-dwellers. In the past, several state-owned recreational areas have been created, such as the *Abtswoudse Bos, Bieslandse Bos, Delftse Hout, De Balij* and *Westerpark*. Others include conservation areas such as *Meijendel* and the *Ackerdijkse Plassen*. The high costs of maintenance of these areas are an issue of concern to the authorities. The provincial authorities, for instance, are looking for alternative forms of land ownership and management for recreational areas. In the meantime, there are policy goals to provide new recreational areas and nature reserves. As usual, these are probably to be implemented on farmland, because land with other land uses is more expensive.

At the same time, the recreational, ecological and historical values of the meadow areas are being recognized by the same governments. Multifunctional use of farmland is an interesting option, because of lower costs compared to land purchase and management by government agencies. Furthermore, agricultural use is seen as the best option for the preservation of the traditional man-made landscape. Because of this multifunctionality, the Farming for Nature initiative in the Biesland polder was embraced by all relevant authorities (municipalities, water board, city region, provincial authorities, ministry) (Haccau et al, 2007; Buizer, 2008). The initiative was supported financially by the authorities, through the foundation of a regional fund, and was accompanied by the necessary policy development, adapting the zoning and land-use plans. In earlier versions of the plans, the meadow area was to be converted into a recreational forest. A successful lobby by residents, environmental groups and the farmer, however, resulted in the Farming for Nature initiative (the process is described in Buizer, 2008).

Table 9: Differences between two green and blue services initiatives and their funding.
 Sources: Groenfonds Midden Delfland, 2007; Alterra; EC state aid decisions N58-2005 and N577-2006.

	Green Fund Midden-Delfland	Farming for Nature in Biesland Polder
Area	Farms in area, totalling 6700 ha	97 ha
Number of farmers participating	76	1
Annual expenditure payments	Approx. € 225,000	Approx. € 100,000
Fund	9-12 M€	1.9 M€
Duration	6-year contracts, paid from interest.	Contract lasting 30 years, funding for 20 years, additional funding is being sought.
State aid decision	February 2006	July 2006
Approach	Measures on farm	Farming system

Farmers are the people who have shaped the current meadow landscape, and according to both farmers and governments, conservation of the meadow landscape can only be achieved if the farmers continue to play a role in its development and management. Because of market failure, farmers are not being paid for the ecological and landscape services they provide. The national / provincial agri-environmental services scheme (AES) has filled this gap only in parts of the area and for some of the services. The regional authorities are generally willing to reward the services provided by farmers through payment, in order to meet their policy goals with respect to preservation of the traditional man-made landscape, ecology, water quality and recreation.

Table 10: Position of governments with respect to green and blue services (GBS)

Government	Policy development	Willingness to pay	Implementation
Ministry of LNV	Stimulated policy development since 2001, funded research e.g. Farming for Nature. Supervised state aid procedures. Supported development of Green and Blue Services Catalogue	Contributed to Farming for Nature fund and four initiatives outside The Hague Region	Farming for Nature
South-Holland Provincial authorities	One of the pioneers in policy development. Supported the development of GBS (DLG, 2006). No new developments in the short term	Contributed to Farming for Nature fund Willing to contribute to Land van Wijk en Wouden plans	Implementing body for Farming for Nature scheme
The Hague Region	Green and blue services are part of policy. Aims at regional fund for GBS.	Contributed to Farming for Nature fund. Low own budgets.	Farming for Nature
Delfland Water board	The possibility of blue services is explored in a 'Waterkader' pilot in Midden Delfland	Contributed to field layout for Farming for Nature	Adapted water system in Biesland polder
Rijnland Water board	Developed of blue services in Land van Wijk en Wouden	Yes	Not yet
Municipality of The Hague	In development. No rural areas within city boundaries.	Contributed to Farming for Nature fund Contributed to Midden Delfland Green Fund	Not active
Municipality of Delft	Contributes to policy development in Midden Delfland and Farming for Nature project	Contributed to Farming for Nature fund Contributed to Midden Delfland Green Fund Is willing to contribute to new schemes	Allocates land for Farming for Nature
Municipality of Pijnacker-Nootdorp	Farming for Nature. Exploring possibilities for Oude Leede.	Contributed to Farming for Nature fund	Farming for Nature

Government	Policy development	Willingness to pay	Implementation
Municipality of Wassenaar	Studying agricultural structure. Investigating options. Farmers seem reluctant to participate in accessibility measures	-	-
Municipality of Zoetermeer	Land van Wijk en Wouden	Contributed to regional fund for Land van Wijk en Wouden	Land van Wijk en Wouden
Municipality of Leidschendam-Voorburg	Land van Wijk en Wouden	Contributed to regional fund for Land van Wijk en Wouden	Land van Wijk en Wouden

Embedded case: Midden Delfland Green fund ('Groenfonds Midden-Delfland')

The origin of the Midden Delfland Green Fund is closely connected to the development of the Harnaschpolder. This polder is situated in a triangle between the municipalities of Midden-Delfland, Delft and The Hague. It is being redeveloped from a mainly greenhouse area into 130 ha of housing and 50 ha of industrial estate. Housing construction is usually highly profitable for municipalities in the Netherlands, and the municipalities in this case agreed that a large part of the profit from this construction project would be used to ensure the future of the remaining farmlands. In an interview, an official of Delft municipality expressed this view as follows:

'The municipality of Delft depends on its surrounding municipalities for its recreation because it is a compact city with few parks and hardly any rural areas within its boundaries. Therefore, Delft has contributed considerably to the fund.'

A neighbouring municipality, Maassluis (Rotterdam region), will also make a contribution as soon as housing construction in the *Dijkpolder* has started. In addition to the municipalities, a waste processing company in Rotterdam has made a contribution to the fund. The resulting fund will amount to about €9 – €12 million. The interest of this capital is used to pay the farmers for agri-environmental services, to ensure long-term preservation of the area. The fund can be used for projects within the 'Reconstruction area' (Figure 27), i.e. the Midden-Delfland municipality and parts of the municipalities of Maassluis, Vlaardingen, Schiedam, Rotterdam and Westland.

An important role is allocated to the local agri-environmental organization called '*Vockestaert*' (an agri-environmental association). When the fund was being set up, Vockestaert was asked to develop a proposal for the design of the scheme. Together with a local branch of LTO (the large farmers' and horticulturalists' organization), Vockestaert created a system of credits, based on similar systems already existing elsewhere in Europe, e.g. MEKA in Baden-Württemberg (Baden-Württemberg - Ministerium für Ernährung und Ländlichen Raum 2007). The system is based on a list from which a farmer can select the most suitable measures for his farm. Each measure is worth a certain number of credits, and each credit is worth €10.

The development of the payment system started before the Area Vision of the Municipality of Midden-Delfland became official in 2005. However, the discourses included in the Area Vision document ('cows in the meadow', 'valuable polders' and 'the

landscape invites you) fit in very well with the aims of the Green Fund, which were confirmed in the Area Vision.

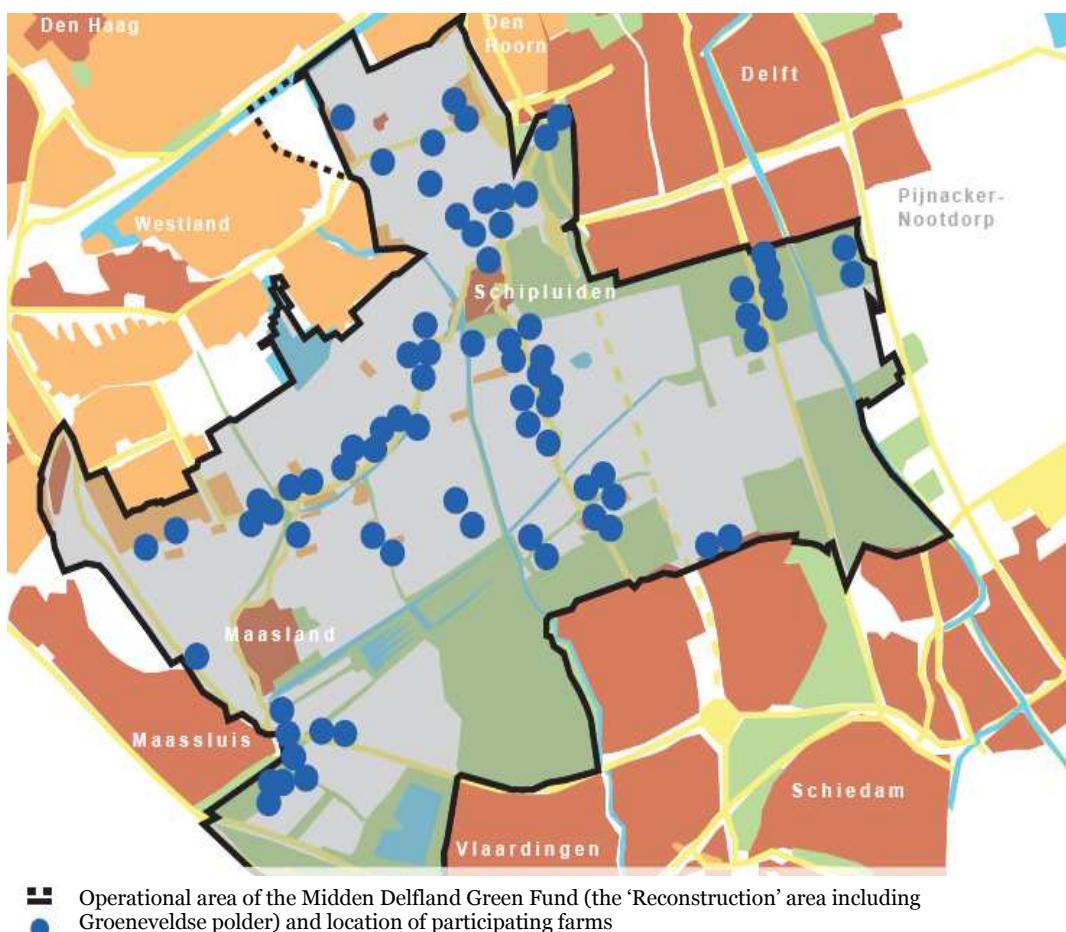


Figure 32: Operational area of the Midden Delfland Green Fund and location of participating farms. Source: Midden Delfland Green Fund, 2007.

The *Stichting Groenfonds Midden-Delfland* (Midden Delfland Green Fund Foundation) was established in 2005. The foundation is controlled by the various municipal authorities of Delft, Midden-Delfland and The Hague. Vockestaert is the actual implementing body.

The original agreements with respect to the Harnaschpolder area included a passage stating that Midden Delfland was '*to remain open and green*'. In the development of the fund, this was translated into two goals: '*not just to maintain the agricultural landscape, but also to strengthen the relation between city and countryside through education and recreation*' (EC 2006; Stichting Groenfonds Midden-Delfland 2007). The goals are to ensure the future presence of the farmers in the area for the necessary landscape management, and to improve opportunities for recreation. This common goal focuses on five aspects (elaborated in Annex 3):

- Natural handicaps
- Nature and biodiversity

-
- Landscape elements
 - Elements relating to cultural history
 - Activities (such as education)

The Green Fund is seen as additional to subsidies by the South-Holland provincial authorities and the national agri-environmental programme called *Programma Beheer* (which has also been implemented by the provincial authorities since 2007). The Green Fund is therefore used to finance other measures or to pay a bonus on top of existing subsidies. A total of 76 farmers are participating; they receive an average of € 3,000. Next to annual management payments, the Green Fund has contributed around € 300,000 to investments relating to landscape and cultural history (Groenfondsboek: 2007).

An important difference with other initiatives is the availability of a large reservoir of money, which ensures long-term payments to the participants. It combines the flexibility desired by farmers with a certain strictness which was preferred by both farmers and nature conservation organizations. Farmers can choose the options which they feel fit their farm (flexibility), while the 6-year contracts ensure maintenance of the landscape during this period (strictness). Many landscape and ecological elements require long-term maintenance to meet certain goals, and farmers also work on a long-term basis. Loans for investments on their farms usually have a term of 15 years.

3.2

Strategy to develop commitment: combining culture and landscape

by Pat van der Jagt

Cultural values can play a vital role in giving meaning and significance to green areas and landscape. The idea of culture as a strategic issue in relation to green landscapes is rather new and needs some further exploration.

To illustrate the interaction between culture and green landscapes we will have a brief look at an English example of the capitalization of culture.

England: Constable Country: freezing a unique selling point.

Suffolk has gained identity through the connection with the paintings of John Constable (1776-1837). This painter dedicated his life to painting the countryside around his place of birth. The tourist marketing of the region frequently mentions the link with the paintings.



The region is referred to as Constable country, and walking trails are promoted with the slogan: *stepping out of the canvas*. The current strategy to preserve the unique link between the paintings and the locations they depict is to freeze the images of the landscape by for instance cutting trees that have altered the view relative to Constable's original view.

Figure 33: Constable Country

Elements like architecture, films, art and cultural history are all cultural products that play a key role in spatial strategies. The role that these cultural elements play in the different settings is related to the *identity* of a place or region. The identity of a place, region, city or country is composed of specific cultural elements which could serve to promote an area and stress its importance. How exactly do these cultural elements interfere with green areas or landscapes?

3.2.1

National policy integrating culture and landscapes in the Netherlands

At national level, there are several organizations and institutes that deal with the combination of culture and green landscapes from the *conserving perspective*, such as the *National Service for Archaeology, Cultural Landscape and Built Heritage (RACM)*. This service is responsible, with others, for managing the Dutch heritage both above and below the ground and under water.

However, the approach of *conservation by means of development* has become widely accepted. For instance, in response to the pressure on the entire man-made landscape, the *Netherlands Department for Conservation (RDMZ)* and the *National Service for Archaeological Heritage (ROB)*, including the *Netherlands Institute for Ship and Underwater Archaeology (NISA)*, were merged in 2006 to form this new joint

organization for both built monuments and landscape heritage. The goal of the organization is more than just conservation and includes both *conservation and development* of heritage in a sustainable manner, giving meaning to the environment in which we live. As indicated on the RACM website, ‘Sustainable development’ means ‘*striving to conserve our heritage, its value and the information it conveys. In general, ‘sustainable’ can be defined as “activities, processes or structures that should be able to continue to exist indefinitely”*’.

In this strategy, an object may lose its original function, but its value and information should be passed on to future generations as an irreplaceable source.

‘*Conservation by means of development*’ is a basic principle in the *Belvedere strategy*. Belvedere is a national integrated policy strategy jointly set up by four ministries for 1999 - 2009 (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment, Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food quality and Ministry of Transport, Public works and Water Management). The idea is that spatial planners and designers should be more aware of the existing cultural and historical values while the cultural history sector should anticipate future challenges.

3.2.2 Trends in linking green landscapes and cultural values

In recent years, the focus of cultural investments has included not only urban projects but also cultural projects in rural areas and specific projects that focus on the linkages between urban and rural areas. The efforts by towns and cities in recent decades to strengthen the bonds with the surrounding areas have been effectuated by collaborating with a range of partners. Culture and cultural history are vehicles or elements in this process that strengthen the *meaning and power of a place or a region or the ties between places*. Governance here includes all kinds of communication strategies.

There is also a trend towards an *integrated approach*. Both the cultural sector and the ecological sector show a tendency to increase the power of each sector by making meaningful combinations with other thematic areas in order to *strengthen their impact* and to *increase funding options*. For example, funds available in the province of Gelderland to stimulate art in combination with infrastructural works or other areas undergoing major spatial changes (such as the ‘Space for Rivers’ programme) are five times larger than the funding available for art as such.

Another trend is that regions are actively engaged in their regional identity. In an attempt to distinguish themselves from other places, cities and regions are looking for ways to promote and highlight the elements that make their area ‘the place to be’. *Place identity* is a combination of many different elements as perceived by many different users and residents (Brooks 2003). If actors in spatial planning use identity for places like cities or regions, it means that they are referring to specific elements of the place, like a special function (garden city), a specific group of people (young families) or a specific time (cultural history). It involves tangible elements like buildings, non-tangible elements like traditions and customs and living elements (residents). These elements are carefully transformed, cultivated or protected in the *process of image-building and identity*

'making'. This immediately raises questions of inclusion and exclusion. What group, time or function is included in the identity concept and at the same time, what is ignored?

Another question that arises when addressing this issue is whether a critical mass of users/residents is necessary to construct, reform or 'make-over' the identity of a region or a city. *It is useful in this sense to make a distinction between place identity and place marketing / image building.* For example, the identity of the greenhouse-dominated area in The Hague Region, known as the 'Westland' is the result of several decades of horticulture by a group of people with strong cohesion in terms of profession, religion and social structure. The current 'Greenport' strategy is focusing on strengthening the economic mainstay of the region, the greenhouse horticulture industry. At the same time, it builds on the commitment of this close-knit community. In this example *the place marketing is pulling at the same end of the rope as the identity of the place formed by the identity of its inhabitants.*



Figure 34: The Green Heart (source: www.toekomstgroenehart.nl) and its historical highlights

Another example of image-building is the concept of the 'Green Heart'. This planning concept, dating from 1956, consists of a horseshoe-shaped urbanized zone (the Randstad, with cities like The Hague, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Utrecht) around a central open space (the Green Heart). The cities along the rim form a belt with the landscape as its core (Kühn, 2002). For more than 40 years, this concept was the flagship of a strategy to concentrate building activities in the rim and keep the inner core green. Currently,

however, there is increasing pressure to open up the Green Heart to controlled activities combining construction and ecology (known as red-green activities in Dutch), while at the same time the opposition against this tendency is growing. The Green Heart Foundation uses different strategies to keep the region open and green. A *Green Heart Manifesto* which is currently circulating offers a survey of the present coalition of organizations that support the Green Heart. In addition, an initiative has been launched entitled the *Green cultural canon of the Green heart*. A list of historical topics relating to the Green Heart has been drawn up and the public has been invited to propose additions to the list. The explicit idea of this project was not to serve as a lock to safeguard the region against any potential building activities, but as a way to discuss the identity of the Green Heart. The underlying concept of the canon is ‘Who were the early inhabitants of this region and how did they influence the history of the Netherlands’. It fits in with the current more general national interest in historical ‘canons’. Evidently these are initiatives intended to reformulate frameworks for our society.

The original concept of the Green Heart is an example of *image building*. However, is the Green Heart also perceived by its inhabitants as part of their *personal* identity? Basing the image of a region on the personal identity of its inhabitants may be a necessary condition for personal involvement and commitment. Do the inhabitants feel responsible, is there personal commitment to this specific area and do they associate themselves with the identity of place that is being created? Emotional place attachment as described by Williams and Roggenbuck (1992) recognizes the meaning and significance of places to people. Not only does it contribute to functional elements but it can be seen as part of people’s identity, suggesting strong emotional ties between people and places.

3.2.3 *Regional governance strategy combining green landscape and cultural values*

Since all green landscape enclaves of The Hague Region belong to the territories of multiple municipalities, The Hague Region recognizes landscape and green areas as issues that should be addressed at the level of the city region. Conserving and redeveloping the green areas is among the main goals of The Hague Region and concertation is among its main tasks. The region’s green space is called ‘*the green gold of The Hague Region*’ (Haaglanden Focus, summer 2008). The Hague Region is convinced that the city of The Hague needs its region because its residents need green space. The city region wants to improve the urban–rural relationship *for the sake of* the city and its attractiveness, hence the slogan: ‘*the city of The Hague in a green region*’ (brochure on the Hague School Outdoors project). The city region is trying to create commitment on the part of the city for the green landscape: ‘*the urbanite should fight for the rural areas*’ (The Hague Region politician Houtzager in Haaglanden Focus, summer 2008). Discourse development is an important governance tool in The Netherlands aiming at influencing both public opinion and policy making.

The Hague Region is focusing on the attractiveness of the hinterland for rural, but especially urban users. Cultural aspects are used to develop a discourse *to make the green areas important to the city*. This ‘*green and culture*’ discourse was introduced in the long-term strategy for green areas (see Section 2.1.2) to link parks to their estates and

meadows to their windmills. The concept refers to the history of The Hague Region, the way that the past has shaped the landscape and how these elements can still be experienced today. The region has a great deal of cultural history to offer, elements that tell not only the story of how the landscape came into being but also the social, political and economic history. Well-known elements include the country estates and the residential estates of the Dutch royal family. Other stories are still hidden and could be polished up and strung together to contribute to a mental and physical network of cultural history. Nostalgia, not only for ancient places but also for memories and identity, is being captured and combined with new users in an attempt to give more meaning to the area, with old culture serving new culture. The ‘green and culture’ governance strategy aims to:

- strengthen the *regional identity* of the city region;
- strengthen and express the urban–rural relationships;
- increase the commitment of urban people to the surrounding countryside;
- strengthen the recreational routes;
- strengthen the economic capacity of the rural areas in the city region.

Combining green landscape and cultural aspects is an attempt to mobilize regional cultural symbols to reconstruct regional identity, in the hope that it will translate into commitment and economic spin-off. This raises the question: how do the cultural mechanisms work in practice? What cultural elements do you need to attract urban people into the rural areas and how does this process of commitment to places work? What could be the role of The Hague Region in giving shape to this discourse in its cooperation with other stakeholders?

The ‘green and culture’ discourse tries to point out the uniqueness of the region, a *The Hague Region identity*. It is being elaborated in several projects and ideas, with names such as Green Rings, the Hague School Outdoors and ENGINE.

‘Groene Ringen’ (Green Rings)

In The Hague Region, culture is used to underline the importance of the landscapes surrounding the major cities in the region and as an instrument to strengthen the connection between urban and rural areas. The city region board mentioned its ambition to promote and connect unique elements of cultural history in the landscape and to stimulate recreational links between valuable green areas, between city and hinterland and between coast and polders (see the summary of the ‘Visie Groen Haaglanden’ in Section 2.1.2) by means of circuits for cyclists. These *physical* connections will be achieved by making use of historical water networks and by developing natural and water-related structures, while the *mental* connection between the rings will be effectuated by a website with a database of cultural and historical elements and routing indicators. This has resulted in a project called ‘Green Rings’, which is currently in its planning stage. The first results of this project were presented and experienced in a real-life setting during a joint day of activities for regional politicians in May 2008.



The Hague School Outdoors

Another example of the combination of cultural values and the landscape is the project entitled 'The Hague School Outdoors'. This project, set up by DLG (Government Service for Land and Water Management), Alterra (Green World Research Institute of Wageningen University and Research), Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Sciences and LEI (Agricultural Economics Research Institute of Wageningen UR) aims to explore significant combinations of 19th century landscape paintings by artists of the internationally well-known School of the Hague and the actual landscape of The Hague Region. The paintings of the School of The Hague show the ancient landscapes of The Hague Region, especially meadows, creeks with cows, the coast and the sea, as observed by the artists who mostly painted in the field. These landscapes still exist, but are disappearing (Figure 35). The initiative was adopted by The Hague Region and one of its results will be an outdoor exhibition of billboards showing some of the paintings during one month in 2008 (Figure 36). It was hoped that the outdoor exhibition would stimulate public and political support for preserving and redeveloping the green, open urban fringe areas. It was meant to raise questions like:

- What did the landscape look like 100 years ago?
- What is still there, what has disappeared?
- What do we think of that?
- What do we still want to be there in 100 years?



Figure 35. Comparing then and now. Left: Jacob Maris, *Slatuintjes bij Den Haag*, ca. 1878. Right: what Westland looks like today.

'ENGINE'

In the context of developing a governance concept for Duin, Horst en Weide (see Sections 1.4 and 2.3.1), The Hague Region recently formulated an INTERREG IV project called 'ENGINE'. The project should lead to the development of a Regional Park and to related investments in the area. The initiators are seeking the cooperation of the private sector in and around Duin, Horst en Weide, in order to develop a local economy that is connected to the Regional Park, for instance regarding recreation or local products. Identity is an important concept in the project proposal. The idea of the Green Rings / Green Gates has been integrated in the project.²⁴

3.2.3 *Actors and resources*

The following stakeholders are relevant to the issue of culture and green landscapes:

- The Hague Region
- Alterra
- DLG
- Van Hall Larenstein
- LEI
- Museums
- Funding bodies
- Municipality of the Hague
- Parties developing tourist trails
- Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality

The Hague Region

The city region of The Hague Region outlined the context of green areas which are coming under pressure, and expressed its intention to use cultural elements to strengthen the power of green man-made landscapes in the city region. This idea was included in the long-term planning strategy for the city region that was embedded in the Regional Structure Plan for 2020. The idea of the Green Rings was developed based on the '*Groen Visie Haaglanden*' and favourably received by the municipalities of the region. Since the city region has no specific budget available for projects in this context, any projects should arrange their own funding. Potential co-financing sources as indicated in 2008 budget for The Hague Region are the individual municipalities, the provincial authorities, water boards, private parties or European funds.²⁵

Alterra

The Alterra research institute, the coordinator of the case study research in PLUREL, cooperates with The Hague Region with the aim to study strategies in the urban fringe. At the same time, Alterra started the project called '*The Hague School and its opportunities for landscape redevelopment*', together with DLG, Van Hall Larenstein and LEI. Alterra's role is to supply knowledge and creative options to strengthen and develop the initiative. DLG asked for a small research budget from the Ministry of LNV, and this resulted in a publication in *Landwerk* (professional journal on land development) and a possible assignment for the Royal Academy of Photographers in The Hague.

²⁴ <http://urban.nl/en/project/engine-project-proposal-o>

²⁵ Programmabegroting The Hague Region, 2008

DLG

The Government Service for Land and Water Management (DLG) is an agency of the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality. Its tasks include the purchase of land for the development of nature and recreational areas, and the actual design and development process for such areas. DLG also coordinates transition processes in the rural areas. As a result of the INTERREG IIIC project FARLAND²⁶, DLG formulated the following points that can be learned from other European land redevelopment services: *attracting more and different funding from EU land redevelopment funds (Social funds and EU Culture programme) and improving the information flow about the benefits of land redevelopment towards relevant politicians and the general public.* This reflects the change in focus of the service towards future challenges. At the same time, DLG are doing research into the instrumental use of art and artists in dealing with areas in transition.

Van Hall Larenstein

In its mission statement, the Van Hall Larenstein college says that the training of professionals in land development is based on an integrated approach, involving different functions of today's society in an international world. This is the context in which various student groups are doing research within the PLUREL project in the case study area of The Hague Region, investigating how to approach and get a grip on complex city regions. The different groups study the region from different perspectives (culture, sensory perception etc.).



Figure 36: Mr. Houtzager, administrator of The Hague Region, reveals a billboard with a painting at the site of its making.

²⁶ www.farland.eu

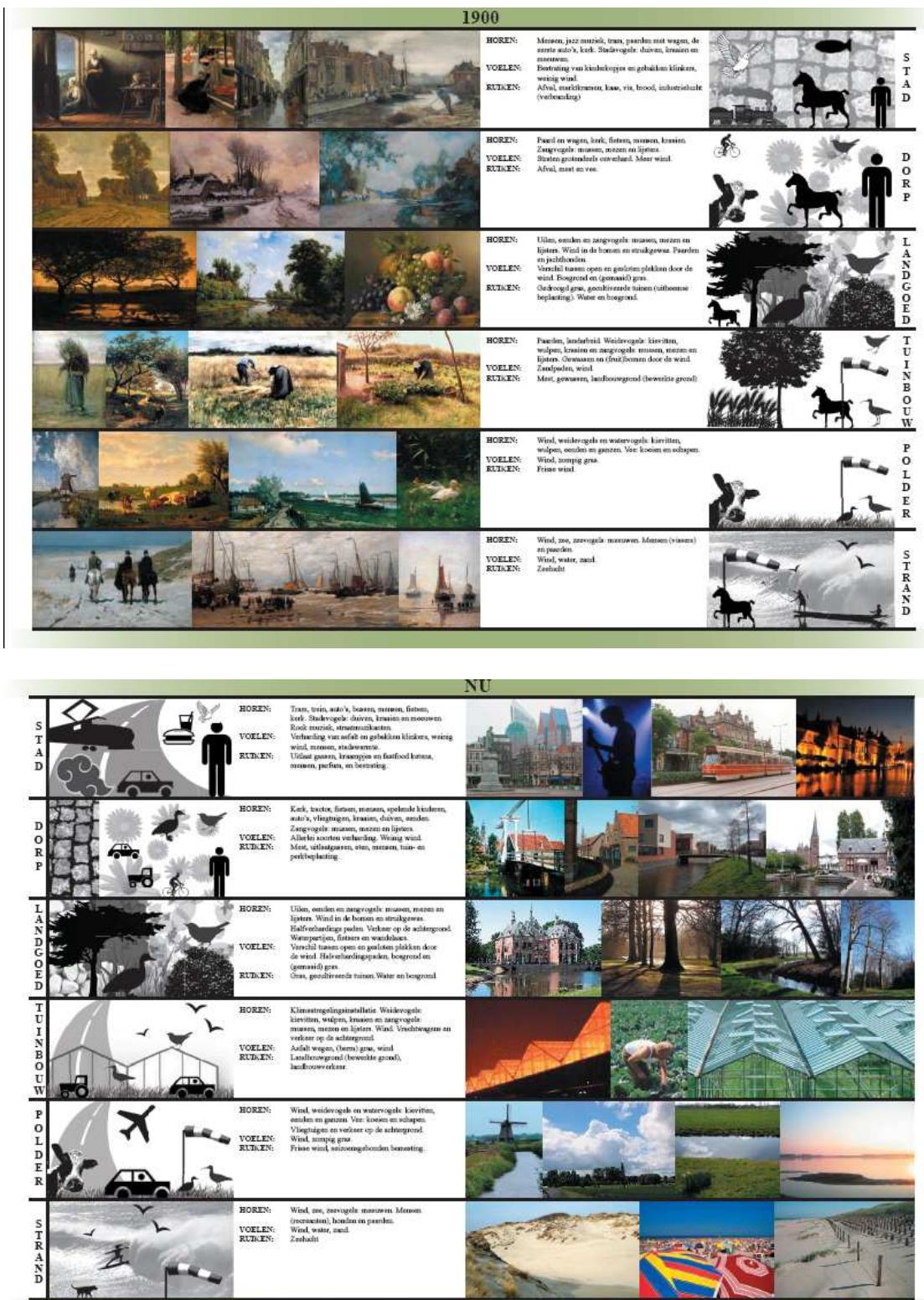


Figure 37: Results of the work of one of the student groups on hearing, smelling and tasting the landscape

Museums

The most extensive collections of paintings from the School of The Hague are held at The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and the Municipal Museum (Gemeentemuseum) and Mesdagmuseum in The Hague. For some years now, museums in the Netherlands have been actively targeting a wider public (Twaalfhoven 2004). The director of the Mesdag museum confirmed that the initiative appeals to the idea of '*bringing the art to the people*'.²⁷ All of the museums agreed to make available the necessary high resolution images of the paintings free of charge. In addition, they offered their facilities and meeting venues for organizing workshops/debates related to the outdoor exhibition.

Funding bodies

Attracting enough funds for the cultural activities in The Hague Region is taking some effort. The Green Rings project is trying to obtain European funding through INTERREG, co-financed by the city region and private parties. The project has a long term scope and the European impulse could facilitate the start of this initiative and its follow-up. The Hague School project ties in with efforts to promote the city region during the PLUREL General Assembly meeting in September and October 2008. The Regional portfolio holder for green policy, recreation and tourism supported the project by funding the first of ten billboards. Finding the remaining budget is complicated by the rather short time span available to organize the exhibition. Most cultural projects request financing some 4 months before starting the project, to allow enough time for the decision-making and approval process. This is why the project team could not try the usual Dutch funding parties like the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds and VSB Fonds. The Fonds 1818 fund has a special programme on Culture and the Environment, and after consulting the responsible person it seems likely that the request will fit their demands.

Municipality of The Hague

The municipality of The Hague, as the most powerful entity in the city region, showed an interest in the Hague School initiative. The municipality is interested in ways to link the city to its surrounding countryside and this could be an opportunity. However, getting the necessary permits for placing the outdoor billboards turned out to be a project in itself.



Parties developing walking and cycling trails

Several municipalities in The Hague Region have developed cycling and walking trails, such as Pijnacker-Nootdorp. The Delfland water board developed thematic routes for cycling and walking along waterways and waterworks. In Midden Delfland and Westland, the recreation board (together with ANWB and others) introduced the cycling networks (*Fietsknooppunten*), which were already very popular in other parts of the country. The Fietsersbond (cyclists' union) has a local branch in Delft, which strongly supports this kind of initiative.

²⁷ M. de Haan, Director of the Mesdag Museum

Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food quality (LNV)

In its landscape policy, the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality has defined four core qualities of the Dutch landscape, one of them being that of the cultural quality. This includes cultural history, cultural renewal and architectural design. In September 2008, the minister of LNV signed a ‘Landscape Pact’ together with the Ministers of Culture and Spatial Planning. The Ministry of LNV funds several research projects on culture and landscape.

3.2.4 Strategies, discourses, coalitions and spatial concepts

Strategy of the coalition for the Hague School project

The project to exhibit the landscape paintings of the Hague School in the landscape of the Hague Region is based on the strategy to raise awareness of a landscape under pressure and to attract new users through internationally known icons like the Hague School paintings. The idea of this coalition is to broaden the scope of landscape and the green environment by bringing in expertise from new sectors (like museums, historians, etc.). The idea is that placing the billboards at the places where the paintings were produced, or where the imagery of the painting refers to present-day elements in the landscape, helps to visualize the dynamics of the changing landscape. These visual elements can serve to spark off discussions and debate about landscape, culture and the green environment in the area. At the same time, this project tries to illustrate the power of combining green landscapes and cultural aspects, and could possibly play a role in strengthening this aspect in the new policy document on green space for the city region.

Project	Discourses	Coalitions
Green Rings	Necessity to connect urban and rural areas physically and mentally. Attractive, reachable and accessible. The positive power of the creative sector. Green areas need strong identity against the powerplay of urbanization, since culture only costs money and is not generating money.	City region, relevant municipalities, water board, Fietsersbond, Provincial authorities, European coalition (CityBreath)
The Hague School Outdoors	Green areas need strong identity. City-dwellers are interested in culture. Expats are interested in culture.	City region, Municipality of the Hague, DLG, Alterra, Van Hall Larenstein, Museums, Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food quality

The spatial concept of Green Rings

The concept of Green Rings is composed of a mental element and a physical element. The mental rings are based on an urban-rural connection through recreation and cultural values as elements building regional identity. The physical rings are spatial and imply the physical realization of the mental rings in the form of recreational cycling, walking and water recreation routes.

The idea of a ring is that you can return to the starting point. Starting points are likely to be situated in urban areas, should have facilities for parking and could serve as information points. The rings can be connected to or make use of existing local cycle tracks or water networks.

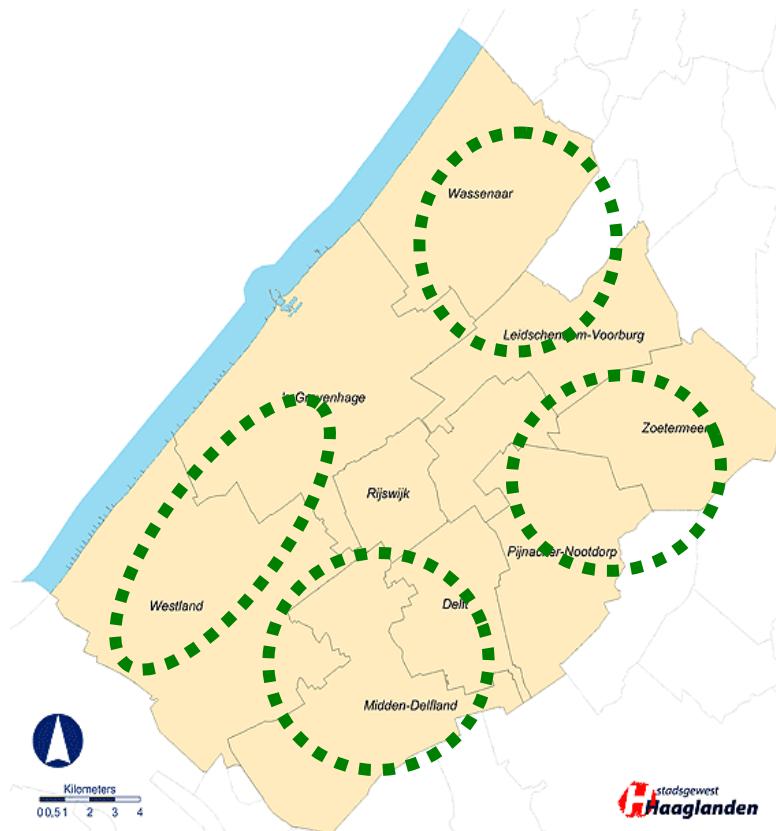


Figure 38: Spatial concept of the Green Rings

3.3 Strategy: raising political support for the development of green open space in The Hague Region, balancing international competitiveness with local recreational interests

By Carmen Aalbers

'The Hague Region needs an attractive environment for living and as a location for international business and organizations, in order to attract these businesses and organizations and to offer quality of life to its present and new residents. Only if The Hague Region functions well as a regional urban network in the long term, can The Hague Region develop sustainably. Functioning well means: being a clean, safe, climate-proof, green and accessible region.'

(Regional Structure Plan The Hague Region, 2008)

3.3.1 Policy arrangements and mainstreaming of green open space to raise political support for preserving and redeveloping the urban fringe

In an interview, the political portfolio holder for Green open space in The Hague Region, Marcel Houtzager, very clearly formulates the combination of policy arrangements (Tatenhove, 2000) that he is putting into place to preserve and redevelop the urban fringe in The Hague Region. In describing the urban fringe area called 'Duin, Horst en Weide' and how he wants to promote this area, he refers to various policy arrangements: an appealing concept with interesting spatial quality, the formation of alliances and the targeting of citizens as both users and advocates of the urban fringe.

As regards the appealing concept with spatial quality for the 'Duin, Horst and Weide' area he says: '*It is a gradient, composed of the sea, the young dunes near the sea, the old sandy ridges and the low-lying meadows on peaty soils. It is interesting.*' He compared it to the relatively '*boring*' meadows of the Land van Wijk en Wouden area.

About the formation of alliances and the lobby by citizens he says: '*... the municipalities must collaborate. The regional framework creates clarity for the municipalities; the urban citizens should become advocates for the Duin, Horst en Weide area.*'

The portfolio holder also mentions the involvement of people, which requires that the areas are nearby and known to them: '*The residents of Leiden or the Hague feel no attachment to the meadows near Alphen aan de Rijn [a town in the centre of the Green Heart]. The area should be promoted, the people in Voorburg generally don't know the area.*'

His wording reflects the arrangements he wants to put into place in order to achieve his goal: redeveloping those green open space areas in the urban fringe that have the support of the urban population. Simultaneously, he is trying to raise the support of the public for those green areas where he expects it to be successful, that is, in the physically interesting areas, not just any green area.

Strategy	Discourses	Coalition
Linking green open space to a strategic issue of major economic importance for The Hague Region which is The Hague as the City of Peace, Justice and Safety	Green Metropolis by the seaside, green space is important for the settlement climate.	International institutions and business, Delft municipality, other municipalities in the region
Targeting citizens as both users and advocates of the urban fringe.	The green peri-urban area is a recreational area and should be adapted to the needs of the city dweller.	Municipalities of Wassenaar, Leidschendam-Voorburg, Den Haag, Voorschoten

He is also interested in the promotion of the green areas by means of the Hague School of painters (see Section 3.2.3). Billboards displaying the famous paintings and referring to the green areas in the past are being erected in the region. These actions fit in with a strategy that raises public support, and subsequently political support, for preserving or redeveloping the green areas in The Hague Region.

The notion that the public is an important potential political power and can defend and advocate green open space is not unique to The Hague Region. It is also found among other actors in the region (see text box.)

“...the real chances for preserving the Midden Delfland area result from the appreciation for the area by the surrounding population.”

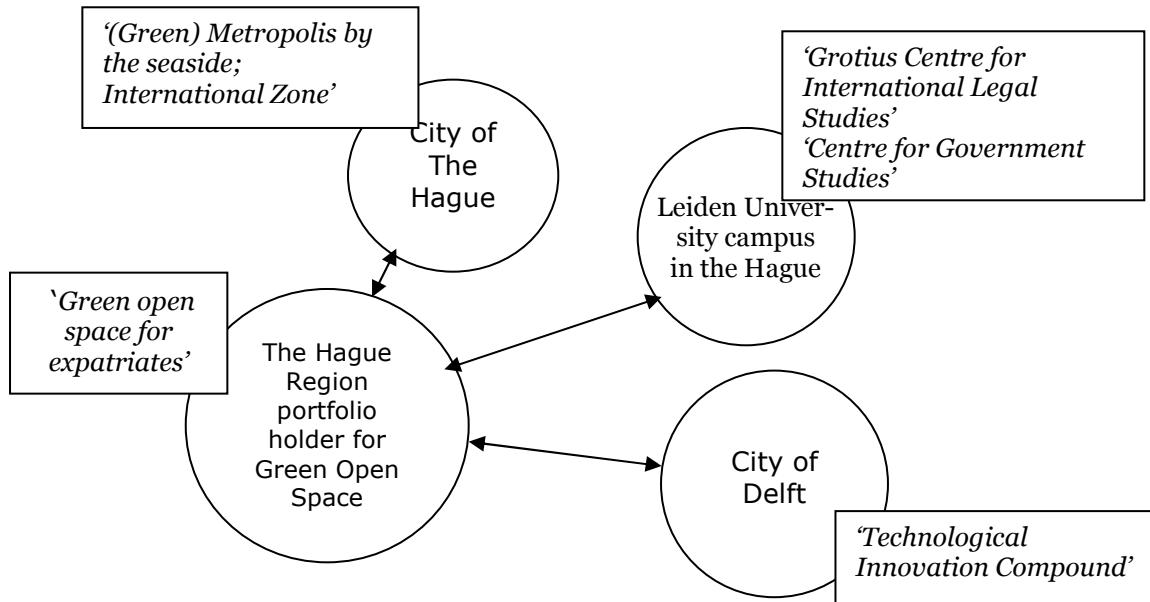
Gerben Visser , Midden Delfland recreation board

“... the appreciation should be such that if someone even thinks of construction in Midden Delfland, not three, but 1.5 million people rise up in anger. Only real involvement can sustain the fight against any construction at all”.

Ko Droogers of ANWB, a Dutch tourist association with 4 million members in 2005.

(IODS, 2004)

Another strategy to raise political support for green open space in the Hague Region consists of linking green open space to a strategic issue of major importance for the Hague Region and its municipalities, which is the *attractiveness of the region to international firms and institutions*. In the following pages we describe especially this approach in more detail, while referring to newly collected data that are of interest to other European urban regions as well.



The EU Lisbon 2000 Strategy underlines that the knowledge economy is a growing and sustainable source of regional prosperity. How can a city or region attract firms and organizations in this globalized sector? Does green open space play a role in this? The Hague Region, as well as the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food quality (communication by Soorsma, April 2008) thinks it does. The Hague is known as a city of International Law and Justice, while Delft houses the University of Technology. Both The Hague, Delft and The Hague Region want to strengthen this situation and promote their international attractiveness to international institutions and companies. The Hague Region wants to improve its understanding of the role that green open space can play in the development of the International Zone and of the specific needs and wishes of expatriates working for international companies or institutions. This matter was studied by means of a workshop organized with The Hague Region, the Dutch PLUREL partners, some expatriates and delegates from the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and Environment (see Annex 4).

3.3.2 *Expatriates, their outdoor recreational needs, and how the Hague Region responds to those needs*

(based on Luttkik and Veer, 2008)

The EU Lisbon strategy aims to enhance Europe's competitive position in terms of attracting international business. International (knowledge-oriented) companies employ 7.1 % of the Dutch labour force (2005). The international knowledge economy is a growing source of regional employment and economy in the Netherlands. The production factors in this sector consist predominantly of highly qualified employees. International companies first consider the costs and benefits, the infrastructure for information and personnel, such as access to internet and easy access to airport hubs, and the availability

of highly educated personnel to contract. At this point, a relation exists between the economic activities of these companies and other global organizations and the green open space areas inside or outside the city. These factors become relevant for organizations that have difficulties finding or attracting international workers / civil servants.

Outdoor leisure and urban green space have hardly been addressed in international research on quality of life. The literature only mentions these factors as examples and as '*other aspects to take into consideration*'. We therefore developed a questionnaire that was distributed by TNS/NIPO and filled in by 229 respondents in The Hague Region, the Amsterdam metropolitan area and the Eindhoven region. (The sample was large enough to produce statistically reliable results). These three Dutch regions are popular with foreign investors. The questionnaire distinguished between regions, age, household (children), profession and cultural background and between the working, residential and leisure environment. Quality aspects were rated by the respondents on a 1–5 scale (not important–important). The survey also contained multiple choice questions, open questions, questions about current use and significance of (urban) green, about wishes and most favourite activities.

The questionnaire provided the following statistically reliable results:

- 1 As regards quality of life, the employees of international firms and institutions (on a scale from 1 to 5) found:
 - the connections to public transport very important (4.4);
 - the landscaping quite important (3.8);
 - facilities for outdoor activities quite important (3.5).
 - Their most favourite outdoor activities were walking (33% of respondents), no outdoor activities at all (30%), cycling (20%) and jogging (12%).
- 2 As regards their residential environment (again on a 1-5 scale), they found:
 - safety very important (4.6);
 - the presence of a neighbourhood park very important (4.4);
 - living in a quiet green street or having a city park very important(4.2);
 - natural areas very important (4.1);
 - the countryside quite important (3.8).
 - In response to the open question about current outdoor leisure activities, only 1.3% (3 respondents) mentioned golfing.
- 3 The respondents' most favourite urban parks worldwide were:
 - Don't know 13%,
 - Central park New York 9%,
 - Vondelpark Amsterdam 7%.

The information shows that *green open space is indeed important for expatriates*. Even though it may not be an argument of major importance to the management of international organizations and business, the presence and quality of green open space does play an important role in the decisions of expatriates.

3.3.3 The Hague Region strategy for attracting expatriates according to the Regional Structure Plan

The International Zone

Some 50,000 expatriates reside in The Hague Region, where they work for about 150 international institutions and companies (Stadsgewest Haaglanden, 2008). These organizations are mostly based in the centre of The Hague, in the International Zone near the coast, the World Forum and the Binckhorst business area. Some expatriates live in areas of high environmental quality like Wassenaar, while others live in the International Zone. In comparison, 60% of the expatriates in the Netherlands live in apartments, versus 30% of the Dutch citizens, while 30% of the expatriates live in semi-detached houses versus 60% of the Dutch citizens. The children of expatriates generally go to international schools. The availability of these schools and the quality of the neighbourhood is of prime importance in the location choices made by expatriates.



Figure 39: The international zone according to the RSP 2008.

To make the residential area even more attractive to expatriates, the Hague Region aims to redevelop the Westlandse Zoom area as an attractive housing area with high environmental quality. The advertisement by the developing company,

'From the vast dunes immediately beyond Kijkduin to the wetland environment of the Shire. From the unpredictable polder creeks near the villages to the intimate atmosphere of the village heart of Poeldijk; this is where The Westlandse Zoom is taking shape, a unique piece of Randstad that is characterised by its various landscapes. But also by its amenities and proximity to The Hague and Rotterdam. In this area, surrounded by water and green space, around 2,000 luxury residences will be built over the next few years, including many detached houses. About 700 lots of free building land are available, where you can have your dream house built. It's ideal if you are looking for peace but with easy access. And if you want to live undisturbed and in an exclusive environment with countless recreational opportunities in the area.'

*Westlandse Zoom developers
[own translation]*

Westlandse Zoom, refers most explicitly to the main natural and water-related landscape qualities of the Westlandse Zoom area (see text box). The website (<http://www.dewestlandsezoom.nl/nl/>) is structured along the four main landscape types: dunes, creeks, village, district. Obviously, these property developers also see the attractiveness of green open space as a means to promote their development project and sell land to residents.

Accessibility and international connections

In addition to enhancing the environment for people to live in, The Hague Region wants to invest in the accessibility of this region by public transport and contribute to high speed and comfortable connections to other European regions and the airports of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Another plan to make this International Zone attractive involves enhanced accessibility for private cars by means of an International Ring road (see Figure 39). These form important investment priorities for The Hague Region. The service level in the city of The Hague is already high, as it is the seat of the national government.

Complementary relation between municipalities

The Hague Region cooperates not only with the city of The Hague, but also with the other municipalities in the region. Furthermore, the role of the other municipalities in The Hague Region is considered complementary to that of the Hague. The other municipalities provide urban green spaces, suburban and rural housing, regional employment, green structure and services. This complementary role should be strengthened in the view of the regional board. Conversely, these municipalities are thought to profit from the international knowledge workers in The Hague. According to the Hague Region, this is a relationship of mutual interest between the central cities, the less powerful towns and those having substantial green open spaces.

Spatial concepts: concentrated growth, green structure and public transport axes

In the new Regional Structure Plan for The Hague Region 2020 (RSP), these developments are represented by the International Zone with international residential, working and green environments and by the Technological Innovation Complex at Delft. In the RSP, The Hague Region sets out its ambition to create a high quality residential environment in a green *City Region Network*, which combines concentrated growth with public transport axes, and includes a green structure as a carrier of quality. It wants to strengthen its 'green-blue' network, that is, a network consisting of large-scale green landscapes, ecological corridors and recreational routes.

Densification

The Hague Region (around 1 million inhabitants) is planning to meet at least 50% of the new housing needs inside the existing urban fabric (Stadsgewest Haaglanden, 2008). The city of The Hague (with 470,000 inhabitants in 2007), endeavours to meet 80% of its housing needs inside the existing municipal boundaries (Zuidvleugel, 2006), providing 30,000 additional houses by 2020. This puts pressure on the green areas inside the city, such as sports parks, which might be built on (interview with an official of the municipal authorities of The Hague).

The figure below displays the spatial layout of important international components of The Hague Region as part of the Knowledge and Innovation complex, comprising the international institutions and knowledge centres.

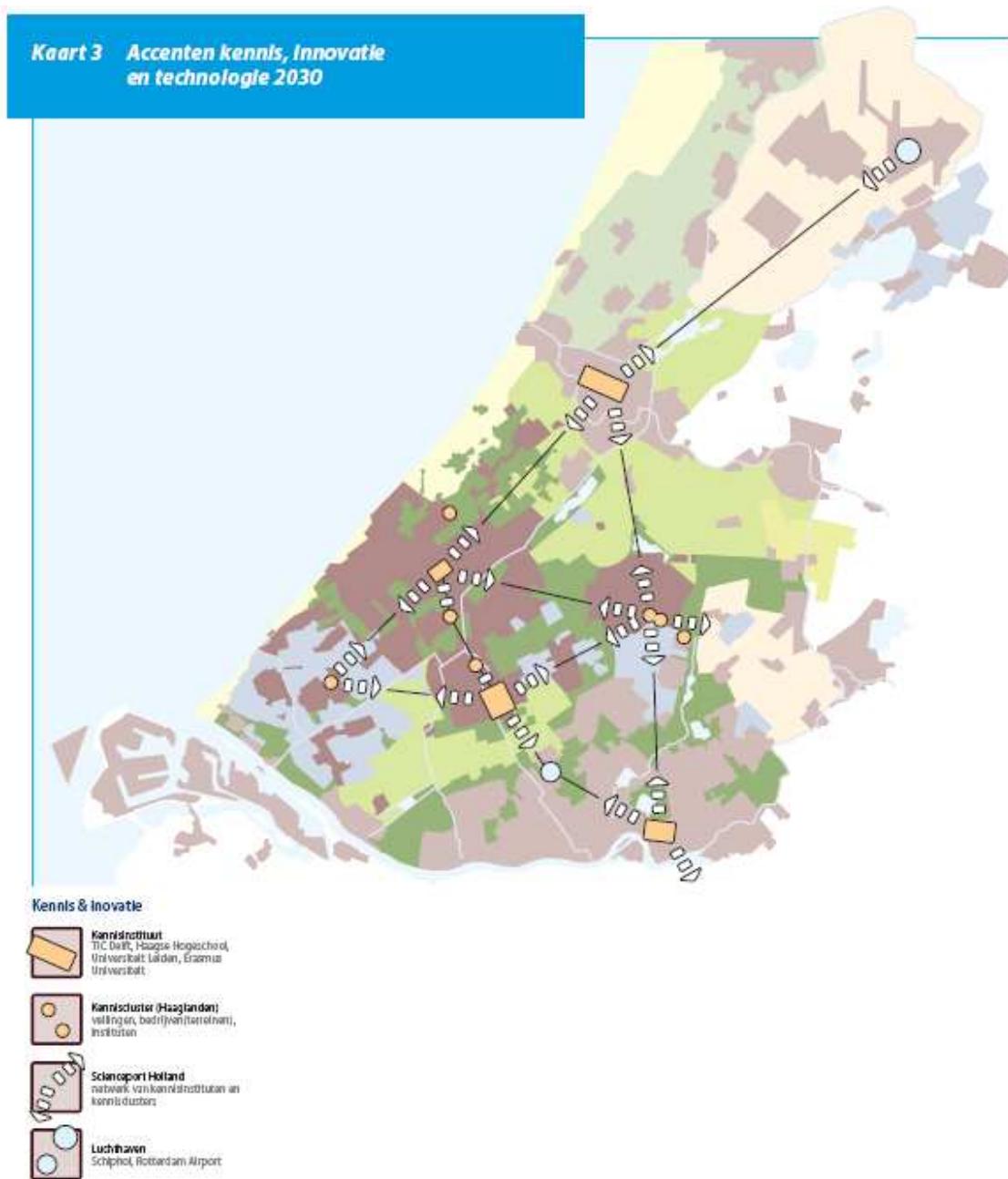


Figure 40: Knowledge, Innovation and Technology 2030 Regional Structure Plan of The Hague Region

3.3.4

Other residents and their recreational needs: how to balance?

What will be the impact of this objective of densification within the existing urban fabric? If not in the areas where the expatriates are currently living, then where will the additional houses be built? In other words, what will be the impact of the strategy to link green open space to international competitiveness, and hence to the quality of life of expats, on the quality of life of other residents in the Hague Region?

Experiences in Europe have shown that it is important to balance the quality of life for different income groups and life styles. London has become too expensive for low to medium income workers like nurses, causing problems with health care facilities in the city. Youngsters and immigrants in the *banlieux* in France are causing problems of violence and safety (which might to a limited extent be related to quality of life problems). Rotterdam has difficulties attracting high income groups because the residential environment does not meet their standards. Similar problems were experienced in Enschede around the turn of the century. Unbalanced developments can lead to economic decline, distress and social unrest.

In view of the sustainability effects of the policy of The Hague Region we wanted to shed more light on this matter. Together with The Hague Region and the South-Holland provincial authorities, we therefore designed a study of the recreational supply and demand in the region in general, focusing on the abovementioned expatriates. Because of the multicultural composition of The Hague Region, which is relevant to other European regions as well, we also focused on the immigrant population, a major group which at present accounts for approximately one third of the population of The Hague Region.

Demography

The Hague is the central city of The Hague Region and houses almost half of its population. The Hague had 470,000 inhabitants in 2006 (Marlet et al, 2006). In 2004, approx. 55% of them were of Dutch origin, while 32% (Marlet et al, 2006) of the population were immigrants of non-western origin²⁸, corresponding to approximately 150,000 of the inhabitants. The demographic composition of the Hague is changing. The immigration of non-Dutch into the Hague is positive and larger in size than the out-migration of non-Dutch. The out-migration of Dutch is larger than the immigration of Dutch into the Hague. This results in a growing population and changing composition. Consequently, for the year 2015 the number of residents of non-western origin is expected to mount up to 50% of the Hague population. (G4, 2008). The next generation of this group might no longer be defined as immigrants. And their recreational preferences are also said to evolve (communication Dr. de Haan). Also Delft, another central city in The Hague Region comprises a substantial group of foreign origin: in 2006 15 % of the population was of foreign origin.

Figures for the city region as a whole show that the share of immigrants in the labour force of The Hague Region is 236,000 persons. Since this is the age group between 15-65 years, one could estimate the total current immigrant population in The Hague Region at approximately 1/3 of the total population of one million inhabitants. These immigrant

²⁸ The category of non-Western immigrants includes those of Turkish, African, Latin-American and Asian origin, with the exception of Japanese and Indonesian origin.

groups comprise different income groups. Some are the highly educated expatriates just mentioned above, working mostly temporarily in The Hague Region. Another part of the group consists of temporary workers from Eastern European countries that have recently joined the EU, like Poland and Bulgaria, who might also be leaving after a few years. A third group are Dutch citizens of foreign origin, who are permanent residents in the Netherlands, and according to research, have different recreational preferences for green open space (Aalbers et al, 2005, de Ruiter and Aalbers 2006, Jokovi 2000, Buijs et al. 2005, etc.).

Research question and method used for our project on recreation

On the basis of substantive research on the recreational needs and availability, we formulated the following research question: *How does the present policy of The Hague Region match with the specific wishes of different residential groups and their experience of green open space in The Hague Region?*

The objective of the city of The Hague to construct 80% of its new housing inside the existing urban fabric, and the simultaneous attempt to develop a green environment for expatriates may reduce the green open space available in the districts housing the low-income groups, including a substantial part of the immigrants. The EU project Greenscom (Aalbers et al, 2003, p. 27) showed how in the city of Utrecht densification led to a gradual decrease of public access to green open space. For PLUREL, a balanced provision of green open space to the different social groups in the region is a matter of social sustainability and social justice. A representative of the local environmental organisation AVN The Hague expressed concern with respect to this issue in an interview when discussing the Westlandse Zoom housing project, since this predominantly realises private green space.

Are the demographic trends being taken into consideration in the decision making process? After studying the available literature on The Hague Region and its wider surrounding areas, in terms of the recreational needs and wishes of groups with different cultural backgrounds, we developed questionnaires and organized interviews.

Official policy documents, such as Structuurvisie Randstad 2040, describe the role of the Green Heart (the open landscape surrounded by the cities of The Hague, Rotterdam, Utrecht and Amsterdam) as important for the recreational needs of the Randstad population, including The Hague Region. It has also been selected as a '*Nationaal Landschap*' (landscape of national importance), partly because of its assumed recreational value (*Nota Ruimte*). However, this value seems somewhat doubtful, as only a limited part of the Randstad population actually visit the Green Heart (pers. comm. Dr. Sjerp de Vries). Of The Hague Region, only the area around Stompwijk is part of the Green Heart designated area.

Alterra's research on the preferences for nature and landscape in the Netherlands of non-Western immigrants (ethnic minorities of Moroccan and Turkish origin) and adolescents (14-15 years) (Buijs et al, 2006), compared to the preferences of the average indigenous Dutch population, revealed that both immigrants and adolescents appreciate the existing Dutch landscapes less than the reference group of average Dutch adults; they visit green areas (except the urban parks) less often and are also more indifferent about the future

development of these areas. The differences in preferences and recreational behaviour can be partly explained by divergent images of nature. Immigrants have a less ‘Romantic’ image of nature, while adolescents have a more narrowly defined image of nature.

‘Strategies to gain public support for nature conservation among these future generations have huge implications for the design of nature policies, requiring greater understanding of the views of these target groups.’ (Buijs et al. 2006²⁹) Their study presents two options:

1. Stimulating the interest among new target groups in the existing nature and landscape and the policies relating to them.
2. Adjusting the current policies on nature and the landscape to the preferences of new target groups.

Questionnaire

Because of the densification objective described in 3.3.3, we wanted to shed more light on the relative importance of the green urban fringe areas (at 5-10 km distances) in The Hague Region, in comparison to the importance of the more nearby green areas (at a maximum distance of 500 m) for daily recreation by urban dwellers. We looked for an area in The Hague Region that includes both a substantial share of the immigrant population and that has green open space both within 500 m and within the Green Heart. We chose the Poptapark neighbourhood park, located centrally in between Popta North and South, two neighbourhoods³⁰ in the town of Delft whose populations include 76% and 64 % immigrants, respectively (Buurtmonitor Gemeente Delft), and the urban fringe area of Midden Delfland. We developed a set of interview questions for each area, each of which was responded to by approximately 140 immigrants in Delft.³¹ It also included open questions to identify other green areas of importance to the respondents. (Claassen, 2008).

Most of the respondents (approximately 90) were of non-western origin, with major groups from Turkey, Morocco, Surinam, Antilles and Aruba. The group included 90% first-generation immigrants, that is, people not born in the Netherlands. Only one third of the respondents were female. Although we would have liked to interview more women, they did not speak sufficient English or Dutch, or they had children with them that needed their attention. Private car ownership among the respondents was not different from that among the urban population in general, approximately 40%-50%. Only some 10% of the respondents had their own private garden.

The interviews revealed that 62% of the respondents never visited the Midden Delfland area. Of this group, 68% did not know about Midden Delfland, while the others did not go there because of the distance, lack of access, limited time or not feeling any need to go

³⁰ The groups were interviewed on two successive Saturdays. The composition of these two subgroups was slightly different, which might be due to the fact that on one of the days festivities were organized near the interview location.

³¹ Note: The percentage of residents from Moroccan, Surinam and Turkish origin is lower in Delft than in the Haaglanden region as a whole, while percentages for other ethnic minorities are higher. For the definition of immigrant (‘allochtoon’) it is essential whether the person is born of at least one parent who was born outside the Netherlands. A distinction is made between whether the person was born abroad him/herself (first-generation immigrant) or has one or two parents who were born abroad (second-generation immigrant). In this case the nationality of the mother is decisive for the nationality of the person.

there. A substantial group, however, was using another green area outside Delft: the Delftse Hout area, which is close to the city, at the eastern fringe. It has barbecue places and a swimming pool, which the respondents liked. The nearby Poptapark was predominantly used by adults with children (60%). Of the 40% of respondents who did not go there, one third did not know the area. Other reasons not to go there were the distance (too far), not having the time to go there or not feeling the need. Those who had visited the Poptapark only once refrained from going there again mostly because they considered it a park for children.

The interviews also focused on the amenities offered in parks: the presence of benches and places to rest or to eat and drink ranked high in term of importance to the respondents. These amenities are hardly available in Midden Delfland. The presence of a playground for children was also mentioned by approx. 40 % of the respondents as being important. The western immigrants hardly mentioned playgrounds. Fifty percent of the immigrants from Western European countries regarded the presence of trees and tranquillity as important aspects of green open areas. This percentage was much lower for the non-Western group, 20% to 35% of whom mentioned the importance of trees. And Moroccan immigrants were even less likely to mention trees (5%). These immigrants may prefer more open space, as is also suggested by results of other research (de Ruiter et al, 2006). The presence of lawns and sports grounds was mentioned as important by 20% or more (up to 43%) of all interviewed respondents.

The combination of both policy adjustment and promotion of green areas in order to increase the interest among the target group for these areas is recommended.

Considering the limited space available, it would be recommendable to promote regional green areas by informing the immigrant population about them. This could increase their interest in and use of these areas. The study by Buijs et al. reveals that the immigrant population visit parks for social reasons, i.e. they like to go there with family and friends (see also Somers et al 2004, in Buijs et al. 2006), whereas for the Dutch reference group, it is the physical activity (walking, cycling) that counts. These aspects should be considered in the design of green areas in The Hague Region.

3.3.5 Conclusions

Proactive strategy

The strategy of The Hague Region to raise political support for the redevelopment of green open space in The Hague Region can be qualified as proactive, to '*free ourselves of our inferiority complex*', in the words of an interviewee from the local authorities at The Hague. *The region tries to mainstream its green open space by linking it up to the main strategic issues for the region.* One of these main strategic issue is the international competitiveness of the region, especially in terms of attractiveness to international business and institutions related to the status of the Hague as a city of Peace and Justice, and of Delft as a technology centre. The region's green space policy, spearheaded by the portfolio holder for green open space, leisure and tourism, combines different policy arrangements:

- use of discourses that appeal to residents and business such as 'Green Metropolis by the seaside' (though the adjective Green was later dropped because it made the slogan too long);

- promotion of available green open space through relating it to the cultural history of The Hague Region;
- structuring its network through collaboration with a wide range of parties on various green open space related issues, including different government tiers, local and supra local, different sectoral departments of authorities, in order to join forces in alliances;
- a network enabling The Hague Region to stimulate financial investments in green open space by other parties, since the organization itself has only personnel resources for green open space but no budget for projects (Stadsgewest Haaglanden, 2007; see also Annex 2).

How to balance interests of different recreationists?

As regards the balance between green open space as a component of quality of life for the various groups in The Hague Region, our study focused on a number of groups: the highly educated and rather well-to-do expatriates, all immigrants in a very high density residential area in Delft, and comparisons between immigrants and a Dutch reference group (in the study by Buijs et al., 2007).

As regards the balance in The Hague Region policy between the types of green open space that are attractive to expatriates and to immigrants, our findings suggested that in quantitative terms, all groups find green open space important. However, Buijs et al. showed that both immigrants and adolescents appreciate the existing Dutch landscapes less than the reference group of Dutch adults; they visit green areas (except urban parks) less often and are also more indifferent about the future development of these areas. The accessibility of green open space might be a more crucial issue to address, because it discriminates against less mobile groups like small children, the elderly and those without access to a private car or public transport. Claassen and Buijs showed that the wishes and needs of the groups differ in terms of the quality of green open space, which seems to have been neglected in the policies of The Hague Region.

The attractiveness to expatriates is an easier lever for investments in green open space by the regional and certain local authorities, since it is a strategic issue for the region. The quality of life for the other residential groups in high density residential areas does not have this strategic advantage. Yet in the future, immigrants and their younger generations will become a very important group, which in certain areas already constitute the majority. It is obvious from various studies that they appreciate the green open spaces differently. This aspect has not yet been addressed in the regional policy documents studied for PLUREL, even though these immigrant groups are important when it comes to raising public support for the development of green open space in The Hague Region.

Recommendations

The interviews reveal that large groups of immigrants do use the Delftse Hout as an area for daily recreation. We suggest that the region and its municipalities promote Midden Delfland to the inhabitants in the surrounding areas, while simultaneously improving recreational facilities there, in the form of picnic places, benches to sit down and rest after walking, toilets, a playground for children with facilities and a place to drink and eat a snack. The fringe areas of Midden Delfland should get special attention, and the suitability of the area for short walks can also be improved. At present, people generally have no other options but to walk up and down the road, due to lack of walk-rounds. The external accessibility of the area might be improved by including the area in public

transport routes. This might also be important for elderly residents of Delft and The Hague who do not have a car at their disposal but would like to enjoy the meadow landscape. (Buro 12, 2007). It is possible that these measures are already included in new plans that we have not been able to study, for instance the idea to develop transfer points ('poorten') and information points for recreationists. The accessibility of the area to private cars and the availability of parking space should also be addressed, to enable groups with limited time to reach Midden Delfland quickly and to enable those who do not cycle or use public transport to visit the area.

More publicity should be given to the presence of the Midden Delfland area and its benefits, specifically targeting the immigrant groups. The role that farmers can play in the provision of recreational opportunities should be discussed with them and their organizations. This might offer economic opportunities for interested farmers or catering establishments. This activity could be part of the modernization of the recreational areas envisaged in the agreement '*Zuidvleugel Zichtbaar Groener*'.

In redeveloping green open spaces for expatriates, it is worth considering the accessibility of these areas to other residential groups as well. This would increase the quality of life in terms of green open space for all social groups and possibly also increase public support for investments in green open space.

These measures are expected to increase the support by new and existing urban groups for the green areas in and around the cities.

Finally, it must be stressed that the preservation of neighbourhood parks is also important for the quality of life of residents and can play a role in the development of social cohesion (Aalbers et al, 2006), as well as increase support among citizens for public policies on green open space (Aalbers, 2008). The 80% densification target might have more negative social consequences than expansion into the urban fringe areas. We hope that the sustainability impacts assessment models and the scenario studies of PLUREL will shed light on this matter in the next project year.

4 Conclusions

These conclusions are presented on the basis of the stakeholder questions that were raised in PLUREL. The Summary (pages 6-10) presents the answers to the research questions following the Joint Analytical Framework.

About governance: how to coordinate many competing, sometimes very powerful actors? How to keep a balance between more and less powerful players?

Although predominantly below sea level, The Hague Region is a densely populated area. Urbanization in this region is no longer being driven by population growth, but by a decreasing number of persons per household and changing housing preferences. As a result of urbanization and the growth of greenhouse horticulture, the traditional meadow landscape is becoming scarce. The role of agriculture in the region is changing, as are society's views about the countryside.

Improving the regional climate for the establishment of businesses and institutional organizations is an important goal for The Hague Region. The region, which is part of the 'South Wing' of the Randstad Holland conurbation (The Hague, Rotterdam, Utrecht and Amsterdam), aims at a strong international competitive position, both as part of Randstad as a whole and as a region in its own right. The city region regards its open urban fringe areas as its 'green gold', because of their important contributions to the area's attractiveness to businesses and institutions. This idea is shared by other governmental stakeholders, such as the coalition for the *Mooi en Vitaal Delfland* project (including the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality, the municipality of Midden-Delfland and the South Holland provincial authorities).

In The Hague Region, the portfolio holder for green open space is using a proactive and tactical approach, liaising with business, institutions and other interest groups to develop alliances and create support for green open space. His attempt to raise support among the general public via the project called 'The Hague School Outdoors' is an example of this proactive and tactical approach. His actions to liaise internationally with projects like PLUREL or networks like PURPLE also reflect his strategic approach.

The case of The Hague Region suggests that the administrative level of the city region in the Netherlands has its limitations in terms of planning and governance in the urban fringe:

- The most important green urban fringe areas are institutionally fragmented: parts of these areas are located outside The Hague Region and belong to other city regions.
- The city of The Hague is quite dominant in the collaboration between the municipalities of The Hague Region.
- The tasks, formal powers and budgets with respect to planning and landscape are limited (see Annex 2). To make its strategies work, The Hague Region has to rely heavily on concertation.

The Hague Region is governed by an executive board of politicians who are appointed by and from the local municipal councils. The chair of the board is the mayor of the city of The Hague. The region has its formal power as a so-called ‘WGR+ Region’. WGR+ is a Dutch law that allocates a specific set of exclusive tasks for regional planning and policies to certain regions. For its financial resources, however, it depends on national funds and the cooperation of its municipalities. *Concertation is The Hague Region’s ‘niche’ when it comes to planning.* From a governance perspective, this could be a very effective niche, since governance implies collaboration with other government bodies and private actors in policy development and implementation. However, if concertation is the *only* resource, this may make the region vulnerable and highly dependent on competences with respect to process management, facilitation, communication and networking.

Several manifestations of regional ‘governance’ – concertation with non-governmental actors about supra-local development – were observed in The Hague Region, in various forms. Examples are:

- The Farming for Nature project in the Biesland polder: an initiative by a farmer, a volunteer conservationist, researchers and a civil society organization for the redevelopment and management of the area, being adopted by the provincial authorities, the municipalities, the city region and the Ministry of Agriculture.
- Land van Wijk en Wouden: an initiative by farmers and other residents which has been favourably received by province and municipalities. The initiative has been taken up in policy development, but the financial commitment is still insufficient to achieve the ambitions of the initiators.
- Midden-Delfland is an interesting product of the earlier ('top-down') buffer zone policy, which seems to have led to a certain status that goes beyond planning alone. Several civil society initiatives have evolved around the Midden-Delfland area. The municipality of Midden-Delfland plays a catalyzing role by inviting many public and private stakeholders to take part in the process, including the neighbouring municipalities, for the development of the Area Vision (2002) and the Landscape Development Plan (in progress).
- Hof van Delfland coalition: various government tiers are working together to ensure a protection status for an area greater than Midden Delfland, and to look for funding for projects.
- Duin, Horst en Weide: The Hague Region recognizes that the development of a ‘Regional Park’ requires the involvement of stakeholders from the area itself. The city region is looking for ways to realize this cooperation.
- The ‘Meadowlands Platform’, comprising various municipal officials and NGO representatives, where the development of the meadow areas is discussed.

Governance can have several weaknesses, some of which were observed in the Netherlands and especially in the Randstad conurbation. Transparency and doing justice to the interests of all groups do not automatically increase with the number or duration of consultations. Certain small groups or even individual actors may be able to greatly influence decisions because they hold strong positions in the lobbying networks. The question is how to include the interests of other groups, which do not have these positions in the formal and informal networks, in governance.

A related issue of concern is the slow pace of decision-making and the balance between the concertation process and results. In the Netherlands, we are seeing a reaction against the extensive concertation practice that has dominated recent planning processes. Some feel that there is currently too much process, and too few results. (See text box.)

Signs of imbalance between process and result:

- The manifesto for a more decisive government in Randstad Holland by a group called Holland 8 (2005)
- The new initiative to twin a Minister and an alderman in projects like 'Mooi and Vitaal Delfland' in order to avoid the slow pace and lack of mandate of 'decision makers'
- The withdrawal of a former commissioner of a big Dutch investment fund from the same Vitaal Delfland committee, because he was frustrated about the time-consuming consultations and lack of decisions (pers. comm. Van Wakeren),
- An interview with Chris Kuijpers, the new director-general for planning at the Ministry of Spatial Planning, in which he asks for more attention to the 'what' and not only the 'how'; a more target-oriented planning with a proactive role for the government (Bouwrechtd 7 juni 2008),
- The new approach by the South-Holland provincial authorities, who want to take a clearer role in spatial planning, taking decisions proactively and shortening procedures (pers. comm. Verbon).

About strategies to strengthen agriculture in the urban fringe

The Hague Region thinks that preserving the traditional agricultural landscape requires an effort to strengthen agriculture in the urban fringe. The use of so-called green and blue services (GBS) is one of the strategies being considered in The Hague Region to strengthen the position of farmers. In this strategy, farmers receive payments for services relating to ecological quality, water management, landscape and recreation (public access). There is considerable support for such green and blue services in the region. Most of the respondents in our study were positive about the concept of GBS. GBS initiatives in projects like the Midden-Delfland Green Fund, Farming for Nature in the Biesland polder and the public footpaths in Land van Wijk en Wouden are being implemented, while blue services schemes in the Land van Wijk en Wouden and Midden-Delfland areas are in preparation. Other green services initiatives – in the Land van Wijk en Wouden area – could not be implemented due to lack of funds.

The effectiveness of the concept of remunerating green and blue services as a financial instrument to contribute to farmers' incomes depends (among other factors, to be worked out in the assessment report) on the measures included in the scheme and the contribution that the payments can make to farmers' incomes. The Farming for Nature project includes far-reaching measures with a considerable impact on the landscape and a payment level which contributes considerably to the farm income. Therefore, the Biesland polder is considered to be 'safe' from urbanization. In Midden-Delfland, however, the contribution to farm incomes is much lower, and the impact on the landscape is limited. The Midden Delfland Green Fund does not seem to address what is considered the biggest threat to the future of farming in this area: land prices. For this reason, a land banking (*Grondbank*) initiative is being developed by a group of private and public

partners in Midden Delfland, the so-called Foundation to promote a Green Midden Delfland.

About strategies to raise public support for the green urban fringe as a recreational space

Public (financial) support for farmers to manage and redevelop the traditional landscape implies that this landscape is what the general public needs. Recently, the Social and Economic Council of the Netherlands (SER) has advocated increased financial support to farmers for managing the landscape. Official policy documents such as Structuurvisie Randstad 2040 emphasize the importance of the Green Heart area (the open landscape surrounded by the Randstad cities) for the recreational needs of the Randstad population, including the Hague Region. It has also been selected as a 'Nationale Landschap' (landscape of national importance), partly because of its assumed recreational value (Nota Ruimte). However, this value seems somewhat doubtful, as only a limited proportion of the Randstad population actually visit the Green Heart area.

Similarly, the recreational value of the meadow-dominated areas in The Hague Region seems somewhat doubtful. Although Midden Delfland, Biesland and Land van Wijk en Wouden are intensively used for walking and cycling, especially in the weekends, these areas are little known among the immigrant population. This group, which will constitute the majority of residents in The Hague Region within the next decade, is interested in other types of recreational space. There should be a balance between green space in and around the city. In addition, the accessibility of the meadow areas is limited, diminishing their value as areas for daily recreation. Their internal access is limited as well, making them less suitable for doing a lap. If the recreational value of the urban fringe areas is considered important, the recreational needs of different groups in society should be considered in planning and redeveloping the landscape. These needs vary greatly among ethnic and age groups, and will probably change over time. Planning and design of areas should be flexible enough to really give the urban fringe a public value.

About strategies using the role of identity in redeveloping the urban fringe

The connection between culture and green space is increasingly being used to make green areas important for city-dwellers and to raise support for the protection of green landscapes against further urbanization. With icons such as cows, windmills and elegant country mansions, the green areas are being presented as part of the unique identity of The Hague Region.

Identity is a powerful resource that seems promising for the creation of lobbies/alliances when linked to a wider discourse about aspects like the importance of the cultural history of green open landscapes. It can also be used to advertise The Hague Region to tourists (Lisbon competitiveness strategy, relating to the portfolio holder's approach, see first section), making it economically important. However, identity is also a social resource. It refers to the ties between people and the landscape they live in (sense of place), as the area where they have their roots and share or have their own memories. This resource can be activated and used to mobilize alliances to lobby for and defend values shared among participants. Feelings of identity and of attachment to a place can, however, be damaged or destroyed by urban growth and densification within the existing urban fabric (infill).

This loss of value cannot be quantified in economic terms, and should perhaps rather be expressed in qualitative terms such as quality of life. The authors of this case study suggest further research and theory development to allow for proper analysis and comparison of gains and losses resulting from urban growth, and of the value created by interventions like involving local communities in the design of urban fringe areas. The portfolio holder for green open space in the Hague Region is already appealing to sentiments about the historic values of the existing green urban fringe to raise support for its preservation and use.

Observations about density, the self-destroying peri-urban qualities and quality of life

What attracts people to the suburbs? When the Dutch government launched its Randstad 2040 strategy document (VROM 2008), emphasizing multi-storey building and densification of cities, property developers responded that they would not build these high-rise buildings because nobody would want to buy the apartments. Many people prefer a house with a garden (NEPROM radio-interview 2008). Other peri-urban qualities are lower land prices (which translate into relatively cheap new houses), the nearness of the open countryside, the relative tranquillity and easy parking. However, each new suburb destroys part of the peri-urban qualities of the previous.

A major challenge to planning and urban development would seem to be to develop peri-urban qualities in the inner city. There is a need for more research into the preferences and needs of people in terms of quality of life and the environment in which they live, while also paying heed to the role of identity as a component of the quality of life. Densification may need to be translated into multifunctional land use and a more efficient use of space in cities, instead of building over parks and green spaces. Also, densification necessitates the development of a highly efficient public transport system.

Naturally, densification implies that ‘the compact city is a good thing’. This report is not the place to challenge this discourse. We merely observe that the compact city approach is a wide-spread phenomenon in current Dutch urban planning.

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Annex 1 Interview questions

Generic questions (all regions)

Stakeholder:

Contact person(s):

Title/ function:

Date:

1

To officials and politicians of the region:

- ? What areas do you consider to be peri-urban areas within the region? (Let them indicate it on the 1:50,000 map and take it with you after the interview)?

To officials and politicians of municipalities, if relevant:

- ? What area do you consider to be the urban fringe of your *municipality*; can you mark it on a map?
- ? What areas do you consider to be the urban fringe of the *region*? (Let them indicate it on a map and take it back with you.)

To residents:

- ? Describe the type of area you have in mind, i.e. open areas around the built-up areas, outside the city centre, where you still find forests, farms, recreational areas and where urbanization might occur in the foreseeable future.

2

- ? What is the meaning of these areas to you, as a local government official, as a politician, as a business, a cooperative, or as a resident?
- ? What are your wishes, ideals or objectives for the urban fringe, at present or for the near/far future?
- ? How does your organization plan, and what is it doing to realize your objectives? How is this formulated?
- ? What financial or personnel investments do you / or does your organization / your firm make? On what aspects of the green open space are they concentrating and what aspects / areas do they focus on, which have your attention or about which you are concerned?

3

- ? Do you collaborate with partners on this issue, and if so which partners? What form does this collaboration take?
- ? What successes did you achieve until now?
- ? What problems or threats do you experience or foresee to the achievement of the objectives?
- ? To what extent are citizens / residents acknowledged and given influence on the formulation and / or implementation of your actions, plans or policies? What is your opinion about this and why?

Region-specific questions (for The Hague Region)

Questions to ask after the above generic questions

1. Issue of sustainable integration of tourism & recreation in the economic development of the region: Green Ring project in The Hague Region
- ? Have you heard about the idea of a Green Ring? What do you know about it? If necessary, explain the basics of the idea: creating a ring of green open space

-
- around the city of The Hague that combines green areas for leisure with cultural heritage themes, such as.... (mention a few examples).
- ? What do you think of the idea? Are you enthusiastic about it? Why? Would it influence your decisions and policies?
 - ? Do you see other interests that compete with this idea? Would you support this idea? Under what conditions? And how could you support the implementation of the Green Ring? Politically? Financially? Technically?
2. Reinforcement of agriculture in the urban fringe : Green and Blue services (if necessary do describe this concept in other words to the interviewee)
- ? How do you use the rural areas?
 - ? How could farmers contribute to meeting your objectives for the urban fringe? What do you expect from them?
 - ? Do you see other interests that compete with agriculture?
 - ? Under what conditions would you support agriculture in the urban fringe?
 - ? What do you know about the concept of green and blue services? What is your opinion about it?
 - ? Would you (authorities, companies, residents) pay for green and blue services? Who should?

Annex 2 Formal powers, tasks and budget of The Hague Region

Source: Ministry of Interior and Kingdom Relations, Register WGR+ regions [translated and summarized by Judith Westerink]. See also The Hague Region 2007 (Regeling Stadsgewest Haaglanden).

WGR+ regions are institutionalized forms of cooperation between municipalities dictated by the province, relating to issues defined by the provincial authorities.

General formal powers of the regional authority are based on the Joint Regulations Act (1984, modified 2005):

- Compiling a regional economic development strategy.
- Developing policies on industrial areas of regional importance, including airports and harbours.
- Compiling main orientations of a regional branding and acquisition policy with respect to attracting business and tourism.
- Making rules with respect to the buying and selling of land by municipalities, the development of public amenities and the division of development costs between municipalities and property developers.
- The possibility of designating areas in which buying, selling and developing land, including the division of costs, management and maintenance, can only be implemented by the regional authority

Additional formal powers for WGR+ regions (2005):

- Drawing up rules for the establishment of companies and institutions.
- Writing a Regional Structure Plan
- Writing a Regional Traffic Plan
- Controlling an annual budget from the state for the regional traffic policy.
- Giving out concessions for public transport.
- Advising the Minister about applications by its municipalities concerning for investment subsidies
- The possibility for receiving extra financial means for urban projects
- The possibility for drawing up a Regional Environment Plan
- The possibility for receiving budget for improving traffic safety
- The possibility for receiving subsidy for mobility projects
- Concertation with the Ministry in designing new national infrastructures

Additional formal powers for The Hague Region resulting from the transfer of provincial tasks:

- Child welfare.

2007 Expenditures

Source: www.haaglanden.nl

Expenditure: € 519 million

Income: € 322 million

Ministry of Transport, Public Works & Water |Management: € 239 million

Ministry of Health, Welfare & Sport: € 66 million

Ministry of Housing Spatial Planning & the Environment € 9 million

Municipalities € 5 million

Financing from existing (state) funds: € 197 million

Fonds Brede Doeluitkeringen (BDU): € 120 million

Fonds Bereikbaarheidsoffensief Randstad (BOR): € 72 million

Grondkostenfonds: € 5 million

Sector	2007 Expenditures M€
Traffic	436
Child Welfare	68
Planning	10
Economic affairs	2
Environment	2
Housing	1
Total	519

In the 2007 annual accounts of The Hague Region, the expenditures for planning total 16 M€. The greatest expenditures are contributions to government funds (housing, land costs, Zwethzone development fund), subsidies to municipalities and personnel costs.

Annex 3 Midden Delfland Green Fund

Activities eligible for subsidies from the Midden Delfland Green Fund

- Natural disadvantages: flat-rate payment per ha because the landscape is composed of small-scale elements with many ditches and high water tables.
- Nature and biodiversity:
 - Meadow bird protection using the mosaic management concept. This concept involves alternation between different types of grassland management (mown, unmown, grazed etc.) within a spatial distribution.
 - Preservation of old grasslands
 - Use of old, traditional or rare farm animal breeds
- Landscape elements:
 - Woodlands, woody hedgerows, alder lanes, hedges: 20% bonus on top of the national and provincial AES subsidy (SAN/ILG)
 - ‘Knotwilg’: pollarded willows which are cut at circa 1.2 m above ground: 20% bonus on top of SAN/ILG subsidies
 - Espalier trees, especially limes
 - Traditional tall fruit trees: 20% bonus on top of SAN/ILG subsidies
 - Farmyard planting
 - Reed cultivation and reedlands: 20% bonus on top of SAN/ILG subsidies
 - Natural banks along ditches and waterways: 20% bonus on top of SAN/ILG subsidies
 - Fen management: 20% bonus on top of SAN/ILG subsidies
- Cultural and historical elements:
 - Main farm buildings
 - Extension buildings
 - Important buildings like haystacks, outdoor lavatory, small mills etc.
 - Various elements like wells, thatched roofs, etc.
 - Characteristic elements of the farmyard like garden, brick pavement
 - The buildings are subject to the following criteria: age >60 years, characteristic for the region and period of construction, and having a considerable cultural, historical and recreational value. Exempted are buildings with a recognized status, as they are already eligible for other subsidies (EC 2006).
- Activities:
 - Education and recreation
 - Welcoming school classes to farms
 - ‘Open farm’ for the public
 - Footpaths

To be able to participate, farmers have to comply with the following:

- The field or element has to be within the working area.
- The farmer should comply with Good Farming Practice.
- A nature conservation plan is available and implemented on the farm.

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- The farm and its immediate surroundings are well maintained.
 - When meadow birds occur on the fields, the farmer has to take measures to protect them.
 - Accumulation of subsidies is not allowed.

Annex 4 Design Workshop on the International Zone

(based on Veer, 2008)

Parallel to the PLUREL meeting in The Hague on 29 Sept. 2008, a workshop was organized by Alterra about the International Zone. The city of The Hague wants to improve the social, cultural and environmental conditions to meet the high standards of international organizations and embassies. In the area around the World Forum Congress Centre, the city is developing a special Peace and Justice district. The workshop participants considered two questions:

Question 1: ‘Green, international and sophisticated’ is the general characteristic of the International Zone. What designs can contribute to this profile?

The working group that addressed this first question included the urban planner of The Hague, a landscape architect and an official from the Leiden University Campus in The Hague. They formulated principles to improve the attractiveness of the International Zone, focusing on the Houtrust bridge area:

- Redeveloping the road as a part of the through route within The Hague
- Connecting two separated parts of the Haagse Beek (a local brook).
- Redeveloping the area as a sophisticated international area, as a part of the city dedicated to peace and justice.

The group suggested design options to raise the profile of the place, and for the way the road is situated in its surroundings. Options for sound barriers and a new design for the bridge as a significant feature were discussed. The reopening of the brook which currently flows through a siphon underneath the canal was also considered as an improvement of the environmental quality and an important future ecological connection. The canal would have been redirected underneath the brook and could be developed into a slow traffic route between the city and the sea.

Question 2: ‘Most of the parks and lanes are public space. How can security be guaranteed for vulnerable institutions like the Former Yugoslavia Tribunal while preserving the public character?’

The working group envisaged the concept of ‘Secure Haven’, and discussed its spatial, technical and cultural aspects. In spatial planning terms, the buildings housing the embassies and international organizations are currently hidden behind hedges, surrounded by high fences and sealed off by means of gates, guarded by armed security staff or cameras. Due to the minimum required 40 m safety zone, the adjacent street and green areas also fall under the security zone, potentially hampering activities by residents and passers-by. To avoid this situation, the working group suggested relocating the international buildings to two zones, one on a new island in the North Sea, the other in an old industrial area in the poorer east side of town. Both locations were to be connected by means of a green corridor with a new tramline, passing through low-profile residential areas that need redevelopment. The new line should cross many public transport axes. This should enable hubs to be created where people from lower income groups in The

Hague come into contact with the high-profile world of diplomats, according to the workshop report. Technical aspects that were discussed include ICT security checks that could turn the zone into a Virtual Fortress. As regards cultural aspects, the workshop participants felt that to 'brand' the city, the concept of The Hague as a 'World Capital of Peace and Justice' must be present in every citizen, on every street corner, in schools, exhibitions, in short in every vein of the city. An important element could be an icon like the Statue of Liberty in New York.

Annex 5 Interviews

- 27 August 2007: Johan de Vries, AM
- 13 September 2007: Erwin Meijboom, Hoogheemraadschap of Delfland
- 13 September 2007: Kees Boks, Municipality of Midden Delfland
- 13 September 2007: Erwin Meijboom, Hoogheemraadschap of Delfland
- 13 September 2007: Erik Rumpf, Gert Wi, Municipality of Midden Delfland
- 27 September 2007: Diny Tubbing and Ted van der Klaauw, Municipality of Delft
- 9 October 2007: Sau Lan van Golberdinge, Municipality of Wassenaar
- 9 October 2007: Anja Overhoff, The Hague Marketing
- 30 October 2007: Tsveta Velinova, Stadsgewest Haaglanden
- 7 November 2007: Sierward Tichelaar, Municipality Pijnacker-Nootdorp
- 7 November 2007: Ton Orleans, Gebiedscommissie Land van Wijk en Wouden
- 19 November 2007: Marieke Kuijer, Region Randstad
- 20 November 2007: Antoine Willemsens, LTO North
- 24 January 2008: Marcel Houtzager, Municipality of Leidschendam-Voorburg
- 24 January 2008: Jacques Schievink, Initiatiefgroep Natuurbeheer Delft
- 5 February 2008: Arie van Blanken, Municipality of Westland
- 13 March 2008: Irene Mulder, Municipality of The Hague
- 7 April 2008: Aletta de Ruiter, AVN The Hague
- 27 May 2008: Peter Verbon, Province South Holland
- 12 September 2008: Pat van der Jagt, Alterra