IMAGINING URBAN GROWTH

The value of national planning concepts for current urban growth management challenges in the Randstad

Master thesis
Yvette van Piggelen

''Imagining urban growth''

The value of national planning concepts for current urban growth management challenges in the Randstad

''De verbeelding van stedelijke groei''

De waarde van nationale planconcepten voor hedendaagse uitdagingen op het gebied van urbanisatie en stedelijke groei in de Randstad.

Master thesis

19th of October 2018

Yvette van Piggelen
Student ID: 4060334
y.c.vanpiggelen@students.uu.nl

Under supervision of:

Prof. dr. S.C.M. Geertman

University of Utrecht (UU)
Faculty of Geosciences
Department of Human Geography and Planning

Picture front of thesis: Peter Aquino (2017)

Utrecht University

Foreword

After a long period of trying to find a thesis topic that reflected my own personal interests, I had found that topic in March of this year. It was a quest: I wanted to combine my personal interests that lie close to my heart with a spatial planning problem of relevance. The value of national planning concepts during a time of demographic growth, pressure on the four biggest cities of the Netherlands, and the huge debate that is been taken place about how and where new houses should be developed, sparked my personal interest.

My whole study career up till the master Spatial Planning has been a challenging road where my personal ambitions and interests have been revealed. The field of spatial planning was the main focus during my study period, but I also found out that my interest reached much further. My interest in spatial planning has been complemented with a strong interest in real estate. I am very happy that I could combine these two personal interests within this thesis. Even though the main focus of attention of this master thesis is the potential value of national planning concepts for growth management strategies in the Randstad, it also reveals how planning concepts influence the modus operandi of real estate developers, construction workers, architects and real estate investors.

This past year was challenging in a positive way: I complemented my master study Spatial Planning with an interesting internship and I was chairman of the board of FRESH Students: a national network association for real estate students. The followed internship at SENS Real Estate has given me lots of practical experiences. I had the chance to explore the field of real estate development in the best way. The internship gave many opportunities to contribute to a wide variety of activities in different phases of real estate development. I am very happy that during this internship I made the choice to focus on gaining as much practical experience as possible, and choose to write my thesis after the internship period. As a board member of FRESH students I got the opportunity to meet a wide variety of businesses and people in the real estate field. Also, I learned a lot about leadership and personal development.

With this master thesis I am finalizing my study period. It was challenging, but it also was an experience that I look back on very positively. I want to thank Professor Stan Geertman for the supervision during this period and the guidance towards a thesis topic that suits me well: it took a relative long time. Moreover, I would like to thank SENS Real Estate for giving me the time and space to work on my thesis during the internship when needed. I am also very grateful for all the respondents who have been able to make time in their busy schedules to participate in the interviews. I want to thank both my parents, who had to listen to all my master thesis struggles the past few months and had helped me wherever possible. Also I appreciate all the effort my grandfather has put in reviewing my thesis. Finally, I wanted to thank my boyfriend who has seen the whole thesis process from up close and has managed to help me with every doubt along the way.

Yvette van Piggelen

19th of October 2018

Summary[1]

The pressure on the Randstad area in The Netherlands concerning both urbanization and demographical growth has been at the heart of planning issues since World War II. Both the Randstad and the Green Heart have served as the decor of growth management in planning. Urbanization- and population growth is nothing new: the past decades have caused different challenges concerning growth management and the shifts in contexts resulted in a wide variety of planning. These solutions are reflected in the several planning reports since the First Planning Report from 1958. Planning concepts were used as communication tools that centrally steer spatial developments and gave directions on how these arrangements and developments should be handled. Examples of national planning concepts are the VINEX-, growth centre- and ''Stadsgewesten'' concepts. In general, planning concepts express through a concise form the way in which an actor is looking upon the desired development of spatial organization, as well as the nature of the interventions that are deemed necessary.

Main problem
The main problem addressed in this thesis is the sudden change in the use of nationally steered planning concepts after the Fourth Planning Report Extra (VINEX), which is related to the liberalization and decentralisation of planning since the National Spatial Strategy in 2006. As the focus shifted towards more output- and performance oriented approaches on local scales, the significance of national planning concepts seemed to lose ground. Moreover, decentralisation of planning tasks and the urge for liberalization in spatial planning resulted in a different role for the national government, from actively involved in planning implementation towards a more strategic role. Conclusively, national planning concepts have come into disarray as the planning context has shifted towards more decentralized approaches. After the financial crisis, which came to a general end in 2013, economic upswing has caused more pressure on the Randstad area, because of demographical growth and urbanization pressure. Besides that, population growth will continue in the four biggest cities (The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Utrecht), all located within the Randstad area. Also new ideas on mobility issues, energy transitions and sustainability are commonly intertwined with urbanization. This renewed pressure on the Randstad area, together with these additional challenges, raises the question whether national planning concepts may be an added/needed value, even though decentralisation and liberalization of planning practice is nationally embraced.

Theory
By analysing contexts and relating planning concepts since the First Planning Report a clear image is conducted on how these concepts are related to these specific contexts. Balz & Zonnveld (2018) formulate three dimensions, which are prone for interpretation when it comes to planning concepts, and show how these dimensions have shaped planning concepts. These are the normative-, organizational- and analytical dimensions. The normative dimension is about how people perceive society and which views they have on society. These specific views have influence on which societal events are considered as a problem for human beings, and for which they think a solution should be found. The organizational dimension is about all areas where distinct policy is made and all areas where policy measures take effect. Finally, the analytical dimension has links with theoretical knowledge, which can be found in planning concepts and ideas about spatial development. Following the statements of Balz & Zonneveld (2018), analytical knowledge and theory is used as a base layer for understanding planning concepts or spatial structures. However, how theory is related to planning concepts is prone to interpretation. These dimensions are used to give a clear image of the current context and timeframe. The gathered insights are then used for investigating whether a national

---

[1] *For the summary in Dutch, see Appendix D*

planning concept has added value concerning the growth management- and urbanization challenges in the Randstad.

Main conclusions
According to most interviewed respondents, there seems to be a demand for a national planning concept concerning growth management. This demand stems from the lack of a clear national vision and strategy. However, the added value of a national planning concept in the current timeframe is only present when this national concept is strategic in nature. A framework of strategy combined with specific tailor made projects is applauded. Besides that, a national planning concept in the current timeframe (because of current challenges) is only valuable when the national government is providing significant financial resources, just as in former national planning concepts. Finally, a new national planning concept should involve a much wider scope than spatial issues only. Challenges concerning mobility, energy, climate adaptation, but also societal challenges, are important themes that should be intertwined in a new national concept. This also has effects on the organization of the national government. A national planning concept should be designed in collaboration with several ministries and national departments. When these three factors are organized, a national planning concept for growth management challenges in the Randstad area could be of added value in the current timeframe.

Table of contents

1. Introduction

The pressure on the Randstad area in The Netherlands concerning both urbanization and demographical growth has been at the heart of planning issues since World War II (Faludi, 1994; Dieleman & Musterd, 1992; Bontje, 2003). As the profession of planning in the Netherlands started to get more shape, ideas on how the Randstad should be structured and planned were primarily focused on how to consort population growth. Already in the 1930's the idea of an overcrowded Randstad due to demographic- and industrial growth generated unease (Faludi, 1994). During the decades to follow, the Randstad concept followed the idea that population growth should be handled in a way that social- economical- and agricultural functions remained preserved (Faludi, 1994, p. 488).

The Green Heart is inherently connected to the Randstad concept. The preserved open space is since the report ''The Development of Western Netherlands'' from 1958 actively used as planning concept (Needham & Faludi, 1999). The idea of preserving open space and the related rim- urban development has always come with three themes since that first planning report: its international economic position, dispersion and clustering of urban development and urban organization within the Randstad (de Boer & Kooijmans, 2007). Due of the extensive peat bogs within the area, the Green Heart has been an open space for decades (Dieleman & Musterd, 1992), but since the first report in 1958 the Green Heart and the related Randstad began to be an important aspect in national planning strategy.

Both the Randstad and the Green Heart have served as the decor of growth management in urban planning (Needham & Faludi, 1999). Urbanization- and population growth is nothing new: the past decades have caused different challenges concerning urbanization. The shifts in planning contexts resulted in a wide variety of planning solutions concerning growth management (Priemus, 1998, Zonneveld, 1991). These solutions are reflected in the several planning reports since the first report from 1958. Up till the fourth planning report extra (VINEX) planning concepts were used as metaphorical communication tools that centrally steer spatial developments and gave directions on how these arrangements and developments should be handled (Van der Valk & Faludi, 1997). Examples of planning concepts concerning growth management that reflect the planning thought and ideas for its time are growth centres, buffer zones and VINEX neighbourhoods. However, since the Fifth Planning Report planning concepts have come into disarray as the planning context has shifted towards more decentralized approaches (Roodbol- Mekkes et al., 2012). It is believed that the national government cannot have full control on planning and the physical environment, as it does not have the right resources to do so (De Roo, 2016). Planning has shifted from top down control and fully integrated planning systems towards bottom- up approaches, open- ended plans and custom fit developments with a greater role for smaller private actors (Buitelaar & Bregman, 2016).

After the financial crisis, which came to a general end in 2013, economic upswing have caused more pressure on the Randstad area, both in demographical growth and urbanization pressure (CBS, 2018). Besides that, population growth will continue in the four biggest cities (The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Utrecht) all located within the Randstad area (CBS/ PBL, 2016). This results in new challenges concerning growth management. Pressure on the housing market has led to large increases in housing prices. It raises questions on how to handle this growing demand for housing in the area (Özturk et al., 2018, p.3). Also new ideas on mobility issues, energy transitions and sustainability are commonly intertwined with urbanization challenges (ABN Amro, 2018; Rijksoverheid, 2018). These new developments, both in societal context and planning, lead to new ideas on how urbanization in the Randstad should be handled.

Even though both the societal as the planning context change constantly, the key factor in planning is its coordinative activity (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000). In that sense, challenges concerning urbanization

and growth management are linked with how growth should be consorted and at which locations this growth can be captured (Roodbol- Mekkes, 2012). Moreover, ideas about how to handle growth in the Randstad have always been based on the same notions: compact city development and perseveration of the Green Heart (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000; Faludi & Van der Valk, 1997). It is that given fact that both the Randstad as the Green Heart are seen as so- called planning doctrines with a strong national consensus on how developments should be handled and characterized with a robust framework and an apparent continuity over time (Roodbol- Mekkes et al., 2012; Van der Valk & Faludi, 1997; Korthals-Altes, 1995).

The robustness of the Green Heart- and Randstad- concepts raises questions whether planning concepts in general are out of date. In this light, it is interesting to investigate whether planning concepts as instruments on a national governmental scale that centrally steer developments with high communicative and metaphorical characteristics may be still useful in a timeframe and context in which centrally steered plans are getting less attractive. This research takes a closer look at the several characteristics of planning concepts and investigates how concepts concerning growth management in the Randstad relate to the corresponding planning contexts. Conclusively, current challenges concerning growth management in relation with the planning context is linked with the potential usefulness of conceptual thinking for formulating planning solutions. This leads to the following research question:

How are planning concepts concerning growth management in The Randstad since the First Planning Report related to its corresponding planning contexts in analytical-, organizational and normative terms, and to what extent are planning concepts still useful for current growth management challenges and corresponding planning context?

This central research question is split up in different sub-questions that all together will answer on the main research question:

1. What are planning-related concepts and what are their (intended) functions in planning?
2. Which planning-related concepts concerning growth management appear on the stage since the First Planning Report and what were their perceived effects?
3. How did these concepts relate to the changes in planning context during this timeframe?
4. What is the (perceived) added value of these kinds of planning concepts within the present planning context?

1.1 Societal Relevance

Population growth and urbanization pressure in the Randstad, one of the most densely populated areas in Europe, is high. During the past decades several policies and concepts have been implemented in order to steer urbanisation in which open space still remains available (Koomen et al., 2008). Pressure in terms of population on the area is nothing new. However, it is an aspect that still generates challenges in terms of growth management and remains to be a challenge in the future. For example, the current pressure on the housing market in the Randstad region has resulted in housing prices that are on the same level as before the financial crisis in 2008 and will increase even further in 2019 (ABN Amro, 2018).

In order to decrease the housing market pressure and to catch up with the growing population, growth management strategies, such as planning concepts, have been proved to be important in Dutch spatial planning (Zonneveld, 1991). However, within the current context and ''zeitgeist'', housing development is carried out on a small and local scale, in cooperation with private actors in which development opportunities are mostly sought in already existing urban fabric, such as

brownfields and empty offices (Buitelaar & Bregman, 2014; Koomen et al., 2008). In this context, national planning policy is increasingly coming in disarray (Roodbol- Mekkes et al., 2012; Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000). The role of the government within this small- scaled, more organic approach is fundamentally different than a few decades ago (Buitelaar & van der Wouden, 2012). This strategic role of the national government is also reflected in National Area Vision (Nationale Omgevingsvisie; NOVI). Not only the pressure on the housing market has a strong relation with growth management. Preserving open space has been an important planning goal in the Randstad since the First Planning Report. The fear of urban sprawl, the so- called ''Los Angeles'' syndrome from the 1950's still has its influence in perceiving the urban structure of the Randstad: compact city development is still an important value (Van Eeten & Roe, 2000; Nabielek et al., 2012). It is the question whether this planning context is sufficient for the increasing pressure on the area. Finding new options for growth management potentially gives more latitude in handling population growth in the Randstad. One of these options may be the revival of centrally led planning concepts.

1.2 Academic Relevance

According to Balz & Zonneveld (2018) three dimensions influence the room for interpretation of planning concepts. The contextual framework, the linkages with theory and the normative assumptions are the key determinants for investigating whether planning concepts are still relevant in current timeframe. The shifts in academic beliefs and notions on what the role of planning concepts is and how these concepts are related to social realities is used to explain the current status of planning concepts.

Graham & Healey (1999), Boelens & De Roo (2016), De Roo & Porter (2016) among others, have researched the shift in planning theory. The idea that theory serves as a fundament for deciding how space should be structured in the desired spatial order is increasingly replaced by the acknowledgement that is too hard to grasp the complex socio- spatial relationships and the dynamics of urban change. This shift has implications on the relationship between theory and the use of planning concepts (Balz & Zonneveld, 2018). In a broader perspective, the shifts that have occurred in how theory is used and perceived, is closely related to in which societal context planning practice is carried out (Innes & Booher, 2015). Boonstra & Boelens (2011), Heurkens & Hoba (2014) and Janssen-Jansen (2016) show that Dutch planning has changed from a plan- led planning structure towards a structure that is rather development- led. Blueprint planning and national imposed planning decisions do not match the growing sentiment of stakeholder participation, the growing interests of private parties, bottom-up approaches and tailor-made solutions (Dieleman, 1999; Roodbol- Mekkes et al., 2012). The complexity of planning, both in theory and in practice, and the use of planning concepts do not seem to match. Closely related to this are the changing planning frameworks over time and the role of planning concepts within these shifts. Planning concepts and its potential role in future planning policies can be used to analyse these patterns of change. Related to this, the question whether centrally steered concepts may play a role in Dutch planning, even though scholars mention the growing complexity of society and the dynamics of urban change, is important.

Outline of this thesis
Firstly, a brief overview on spatial planning structure on a national level in de Netherlands is given. It shows which national planning reports have been published, and shortly introduces planning concepts. By giving this overview the second research question will be partly answered. Second, more insight is given about what a planning concept specifically is and which position it has within the scientific- and societal realm. Also, the potential change that may occur in planning concepts is reflected through the explanation of discourses in science and planning. The insights concerning the nature of concept and the function of planning concepts are related to the first sub question.

Thereafter, an extensive overview on the analytical-, -organizational- and normative grounds concerning several planning concepts show how these concepts are inherently related, shaped and interpreted by these dimensions. By examining the contextual changes and by giving more information concerning the perceived effects of concepts within the national spatial reports, the first- and third sub question will be answered fully. The chapter thereafter describes the methodology used and how the theory used in this thesis is made operational for this research. Finally, theory and empirical observations are bridged together and gives answer on the question whether national steered planning concepts are still of potential use in current challenges concerning urbanization and growth management in the Randstad, which is linked to the fourth and last sub question.

2. Context: The Dutch national planning framework: national planning reports and the corresponding planning concepts

Dutch national planning system
The institutional framework of the Netherlands is known for its three tier governmental system within a decentralised unitary state (Janssen- Jansen, 2006). Lower governmental tiers have a constitutional autonomy, whereby higher governmental tiers prevent any intervention of lower tier governments in their policies (Mastop, 2001). National planning in the Netherlands is rooted in the Spatial Planning Act from 1965, which is the legal basis of Dutch planning. Here, planning is characterized as a coordination activity with different interrelated plans on every governmental tier. However, land use planning in general, as Albrechts (2004) mentions, was already operative since the early 20th century, in which planning entails the development of land required for various functions.

Concerning the Dutch planning system, it is important to note that all plans are indicative, except of the land use plan, which has a legal status (Zonneveld, 2005). Besides that, because of the legal status of land use plans on a local scale and the autonomy of lower governmental tiers, Dutch planning system is decentralised in nature (Janssen- Jansen, 2016). However, this does not mean that the Dutch planning system on a national scale never had any strong fundament in the Netherlands.
In the 1930's, Dutch planners pleaded for a legally binding national master plan (Mastop, 2001). Even though this national master plan has never been implemented, it did show the first ideas of developing a national framework in which planning could reside. The first concrete examples of the use of national planning policies and strategy are regulation for reconstruction areas found in the Reconstruction Act after World War II (Mastop, 2001). The need for rebuilding society, but also the increase in consumption of space mostly in the Western part of the Netherlands, resulted in a strong demand for response of the national government (Bontje, 2003). Also, the demand for central coordination of investment programs from the ministry of Economic Affairs, among others, with the urban planning activities of the major Dutch cities, resulted in a national planning strategy (Mastop, 2001).

The national and centrally led reconstruction plan after World War II is seen as the fundament of the national planning framework in the Netherlands (Mastop, 2001, Bontje, 2003, Zonneveld, 2005). The national planning system has always been characterized by indicative outlook on planning and decision- making, which have led to the need of consultation and negotiation between the different governmental tiers (Zonneveld, 2005). In line with this indicative character of Dutch planning practice, the national planning system has been known for its series of national planning reports, mostly written by the Dutch National Planning Agency since mid- twentieth century. These reports were aimed at the national, regional and local government and on how these tiers could influence the development of infrastructure, housing, and settlement- and green area structures in the country (Bontje, 2003). Another goal of these reports was giving an indicative image of the desired spatial structure and eventually identifying which tier of government is responsible for implementing this image. According to Zonneveld (2005), each planning report has produced new planning concepts that bring forward ideas about the desired spatial organization, meaning that every report brought a new conceptualization or framework for the national area. The strong conceptualization of planning has made national ideas very influential in planning practice and implementation.

The first planning reports entailed detailed plans of proposed planning actions, which consisted of target numbers and designated locations for development. However, there has been a shift from blueprint planning, meaning the idea that areas could be ''re- created'' through social policy, towards a more strategic outlook on planning since the 1980's (Bontje, 2003; Verhage, 2003). Also, the rising importance of variety of interests and stakeholders resulted in more strategic planning decisions

(Albrechts, 2003). This has resulted in new views on planning in general and on the role and activities of public authorities. The institutional environment changed from a hierarchy policy field towards an interactive policy network (Verhage, 2003). Within the national planning reports, this shift has been tangible in the fifth report from 2001 and the National Spatial Strategy from 2006. (Bontje, 2003; Zonneveld, 2005; Roodbol- Mekkes et al., 2012). However, both Zonneveld (2005) and Bontje (2003) mention that even though in both reports only a broad outline of desired spatial development was given, the ambitions on the national level were still high. Moreover, both reports were still based on the traditional ideas about spatial organization, even though the national influence on lower governmental tiers was decreasing.

The further outline of this chapter focuses on the several national planning reports since the first report from 1958 and gives a brief overview on the national policy through these decades until the implementation of National Planning Strategy from 2012. Moreover, important planning concepts concerning urbanization and growth management, which are introduced in these reports, are shortly discussed. The national planning strategy after 2012 will be discussed later on. An overview of all planning reports is found as a timeline in figure 1.

First- Second- and Third Planning Report: 1958- 1987
Ever since the first planning report in 1958, the preservation of centrally open space for agricultural purposes has been an important concept that has shown its robustness over decades (Koomen et al., 2006). Besides that, Dutch strategic national planning is closely linked to the retention of the ring- shaped urban pattern in the Western part of the Netherlands, known as the Randstad (Mastop, 2001). The open space, also known as the Green Heart, and the Randstad are concepts that are rooted in the First Planning Report and has shaped the conceptualization of planning in the decades after (Van der Valk & Faludi, 1997).

The first planning report from 1958 is known under the name ''the Development of Western Netherlands (Needham & Faludi, 1999) and came in force in 1960. The main aim of this report was to retain the Randstad and the conservation of agricultural land as one open space (Bontje, 2003; De Boer & Kooijmans, 2007). The work committee who has prepared the first report called for a Dutch metropolis with several centres and adjacent agglomerations around the persevered open space: The Green Heart (Werkcommissie Westen des Lands, 1958, p. 15). Further urbanisation of the area, due to the increase of the population and economic growth after the war, was planned in an outward direction, in order to keep the Green Heart open. Moreover, the first ideas about containment of suburbanisation have had its fundament in this first report through the ''new towns programme''. In this programme new developed towns should be within a 20 to 30 kilometres reach of the major urban centres in the Randstad in order to assure that people could easily reach these centres with public transport (Bontje, 2003). Because of the fear of the ''big city'', which was reflected in metropolitan developments in Paris and London, the Dutch metropolis was destined as an area with a clear urban structure (Van der Cammen & De Klerk, 2006).

In the beginning of the 1960's the population growth in the Randstad declined, resulting in a decrease of inhabitants of the major cities. Moreover, families that could afford it, moved from these cities to suburban living areas in order to live in more spacious dwellings (van der Wouden, 2016). On the other hand, prognosis concluded that the population would grow substantially in the decades to come. This resulted in a growing fear of further (sub-) urbanisation of the green areas, including the Green Heart (van der Wouden, 2016). The Second Planning Report introduced the concept of clustered de-concentration in order to channel suburbanisation effectively (Bontje, 2003). Also, the idea of the Stadgewest was introduced and is formulated as a dispersed structure of one or more central urban areas surrounded by so- called satellite areas, in certain degree dependent on these

central areas (Zonneveld, 1991). Bufferzones, green strokes of land between urban areas, were used as spatial joints (Zonneveld, 1991).

In 1976 the Third Planning Report was published, with slightly new ideas on how urbanisation should be contained. Clustered de- concentration within a hierarchical structure of urban centres and satellite towns remained an important aspect (Bontje, 2003). However, the concentration of urbanisation should be strengthened even further (Zonneveld, 1991). The Third Planning Report designated several areas where population growth was feasible; the so- called growth centres. Growth centres are urban areas that go through a population growth that is higher than of its own needs (Zonneveld, 1991). Examples of growth centres are Purmerend and Haarlemmermeer in the area of Amsterdam. The city of Almere, a new town, was planned in order to accommodate a part of the growing population (Janssen- Jansen, 2016).
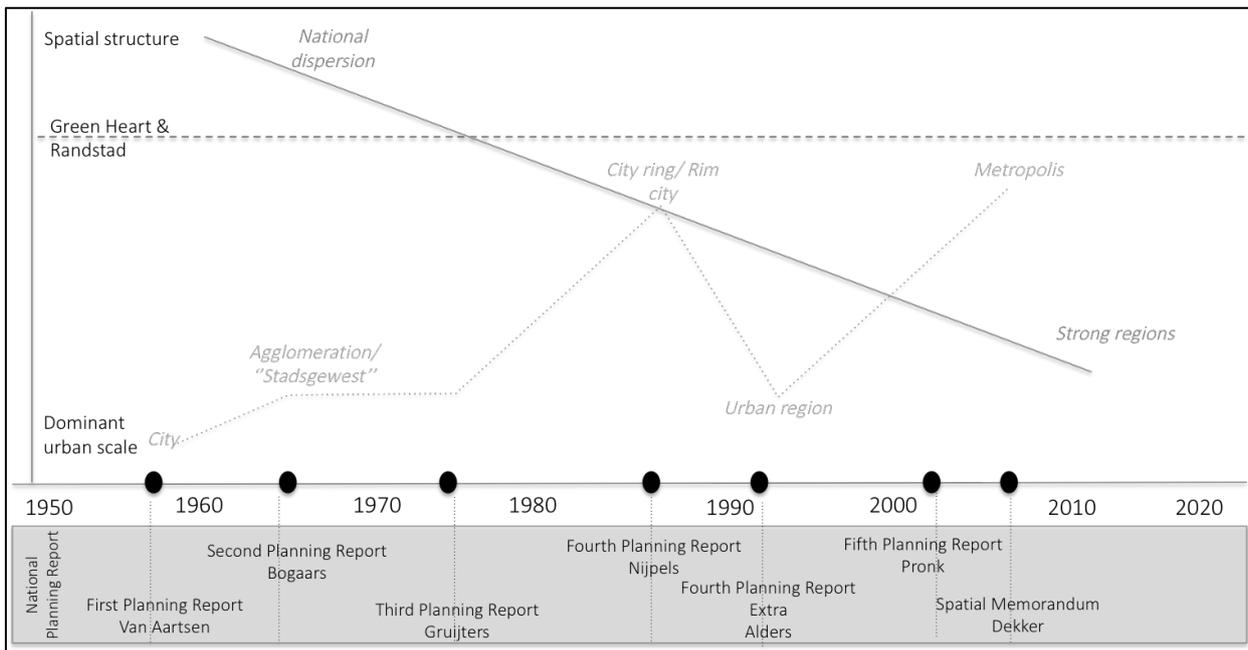

Figure 1: Planning Reports and the important spatial targets (from: de Boer & Kooijmans (2007), own adjustments)

Fourth Planning Report and Fourth Extra: 1988- 2000
From the 1980's the idea that suburbanisation should be contained was losing its political fundament. Instead of focusing on managing growth in areas surrounding the major urban centres, the focus shifted towards further concentration of developments at sites adjacent to these centres (Zonneveld, 1991; Priemus, 2003). New developments should preferably take place on brownfield sites within the city parameters (Zonneveld, 2005). Besides that, the idea of the Randstad as a metropolitan region gained new attention, as international economic competition became more important (Bontje, 2003). In terms of urbanization and growth management, sustainability issues became a centre of attention. The increasing car use between urban areas was seen as undesirable (Bontje, 2003; Korthals- Altes, 2007). In the Fourth Planning Report, published by the ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning & the Environment (VROM), the attention for the economic competitiveness of the Randstad together with active landscaping of the Green Heart- Randstad structure was of main focus (Mastop, 2001). The Report in 1992, the Fourth Planning Report Extra (VINEX) added the concept of further concentration of urban centres, in relation with the prognosis of strong population growth in the Randstad and the need for 455.000 new dwellings between 1995 and 2005 (Lörzing, 2006). Because of the urge for this amount of new-build dwellings in the future, the government designated suburban locations adjacent

to urban centres where large- scale residential areas should be developed (Lörzing, 2006; Priemus, 2003). The so- called VINEX neighbourhoods is seen as the last planning concept concerning growth management and urbanisation steered from the national governmental tier and in general the beginning of a more market-led approach in Dutch planning (Bontje, 2003; Janssen- Jansen, 2006).

The Fifth Planning Report & Spatial Report: 2001- 2011
Even though the Fifth Planning Report has never been implemented due to the collapse of the national government in 2002 (Priemus, 2003, Bontje, 2003), the report shows the trend of decentralisation and liberalization of the planning system (Janssen-Jansen, 2016). The idea that development can be planned hierarchically from the national governmental level was abandoned (Bontje, 2003). The right wing government followed new approaches to governance, leading to more decentralisation of planning practices and fewer rules (Zonneveld, 2005; Priemus, 2003). The emphasis on the municipal level for the implementation of planning policy increased, while the national government as steering actor of planning policy moved to the background (Bontje, 2003).

Even though the focus of planning implementation shifted strongly towards the lower tier governmental levels, centrally steered planning policy was not totally absent in the Fifth Report. For example, green- and red contours were drawn around cities in order to manage growth and urbanization and to spare areas with national, ecological and cultural value (Zonneveld, 2005; Priemus, 2003). Also, conceptual thinking was still present in the Fifth Planning Report with the urban network concept, which entails the designation of six urban networks (Priemus, 2003).

The Spatial Report from 2006 was the first planning report that breaks away from the compact city policy and had less emphasis on urban containment then in the previous reports (Zonneveld, 2005; Priemus, 2003). The new established government had the ambition to find a new ''harmony'' between towns and countryside. The green- and red contour policy was left behind. Instead, the Spatial Report focused on an interdependence and interaction between urban and rural areas (Priemus, 2003). However, on a central governmental level, the six designated urban networks were still a main policy focus: the central government wishes to have full responsibility only where the competition of the whole country is at stake (Priemus, 2003). The Dutch planning system became increasingly development- led instead of the plan- led character of planning in the decades before (Janssen-Jansen, 2016). The centrally imposed frame for planning decisions was steadily eroding (Gerrits et al., 2012).

Urbanization challenges as fundament for policy
Ideas about how to handle (sub-) urbanization and urban sprawl, how urban development should be organized and how these ideas should be consolidated in policy started to develop in most European countries since World War II (Bontje, 2003; Faludi, 1994; Dieleman & Musterd, 1992). After World War II, the biggest concern of European countries was to rebuild the city after war. Later on, during the 1970's and 1980's concerns raised about sustainability and the environmental impact of growth and urbanization. Also, during the 1980's the living quality of inner cities decreased because of the attractiveness of sub urban living (Bontje, 2003). Also in the Netherlands the outflow of population towards suburban locations resulted in policy aiming on inner city renewal (Van der Brug & Dieleman, 2004). Even today, policies, ideas and thoughts about how growth should be contained are of major concern: population growth in the four biggest cities will continue and the pressure on the housing market is substantial (CBS/ PBL, 2016). After the Spatial report in 2011, a few other planning reports and structural visions are published: the Randstad 2040 report and the National Policy Strategy for Infrastructure (SVIR). Currently, a new report will be published in the near future: National Area Vision (NOVI). Also in these reports, urbanization challenges remain important.

3. Theoretical background

3.1. Planning concept

The conceptualization of planning has a strong link with general nature of, whether or not scientific, concepts (Zonneveld, 1991; Narsssian, 2008; Hempel, 1952). Concepts are widely used in science, but also in societal realms. In science, concepts are seen as the main building blocks for constructing theoretical propositions. Especially in qualitative science concepts are used to deal with substantive, non- mathematical issues. In a sense, concepts in science are related to definitions: the difference between defining a word and providing an analysis of a concept is non-existent (Goertz, 2006, p.3). In society, concepts are mostly seen as kind of institutions with a permanent frame, but gives room for interpretation (Gellner, 1970). This chapter will take a closer look at the nature of general concepts, and its link with concepts in planning.

Concepts and discourses
What is a general concept, or notion exactly? Zonneveld (1991) explains the meaning of an empirical concept to tackle this question. These kinds of concepts do not evolve out of empirical notion or observation alone. Rather, the evolvement of empirical concepts is distilled from earlier concepts and observation, which occur at the same time. The presence of a general notion of a specific concept is needed in order to establish a new empirical concept: new concepts are thus originated out of earlier concepts and complemented with new observations. Nersessian (2008) acknowledges this by mentioning that concepts are logical extensions of previous notions. This means that also Nersessian (2008) believes that concepts cannot evolve out of observation alone. Rather, observation is used to evolve and alter empirical concepts (Nersassian, 2008, p. 3). Concepts are introduced through correlations with empirical observations via definition making and logical thinking (Hempel, 1952). Also in spatial planning, the intertwinement of concepts and empirical observations is present (Albrechts et al., 2005).

Changes in conceptual thinking in scientific terms are often related to scientific paradigm shifts, such as the ideas of Kuhn (1970) and Imre Lakatos (1964). Paradigms serve as guide to identify and solve problems (Van der Valk & Faludi, 1997). According to Kuhn (1970) normal science eventually fail to solve the problems within a given paradigm. At this point new competing paradigms arise that may create adequate answers. This is a so- called anomaly. When looking deeper in to planning concepts, it is more suitable to mention discourses in order to grasp any change in the use of planning concepts. According to Hajer & Versteeg (2005) a discourse is defined as an ensemble of ideas and concepts, through which meaning is given to social- and physical phenomena. Also, these discourses are characterized by the production and reproduction of an identifiable set of practices. These discourses are also prone to change: concepts may be altered in its meaning, interpretation and implementation (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005, p. 176). In line with discourses and the potential change, Zonneveld (1989) refers to conceptual complexes and conceptual shifts. Conceptual complexes are characterized by interrelated planning concepts with such a degree of consistency that a general idea is formulated on how certain areas should develop. This general notion exists over a specific time frame, until a conceptual shift breaks with this general notion (Zonneveld, 1989, p. 41).

The stance of planning concepts within the scientific- and societal realm can be explained by a set of different types of concepts: definitive-, sensitizing- and action oriented concepts. Since it is not possible to converge only mere observations with the scientific world, scientific concepts need a sharp definition and demarcation, often reduced to hypotheses (For more information on science and the search for scientific bases in planning: Cuthbert, 2011; Moughtin et al., 2003; Rittel & Webber, 1973). This is related to the difference between definitive concepts, with clear boundaries and sharp definitions, and sensitizing concepts, which are ''taken- for granted concepts'' that are not fit to use in

scientific research. Zonneveld (1991) gives the example of the concept of a house: it is hard to define a general notion of what a house exactly is, given the rather ''unusual'' house types, such as caravans and house boats. When defining the concept of a house as a structure with a permanent location, the just mentioned examples are ruled out in that definition. Zonneveld assumes that these types of concepts should not be demarcated too much, and thus should remain sensitizing concepts in order to refrain from ruling out other important observations that may fit in a given concept. However, sensitizing concepts play an important role in defining definitive concepts. Zonneveld states that the open character of sensitizing concepts plays a role in defining the sharp delineated character of definitive concepts. It is, however, a challenge to define a definitive concept without ruling out other definitions and observations. As an example, Zonneveld mentions how public housing action was carried out in The Netherlands after World War II. The concept of traditional houses for families did not match with the new emerging living forms and corresponding housing. In this case, the concept of a house as a traditional grounded house for families was out dated (Zonneveld, 1991, p. 10). In line with the general discussion on planning theory and social sciences (Rittel & Webber, 1973; Verweij & Thompson, 2006; Skaburskis, 2008) the wicked and pluralistic nature of planning and social problems in general, makes it hard to define sharp lined, demarcated concepts for that matter.
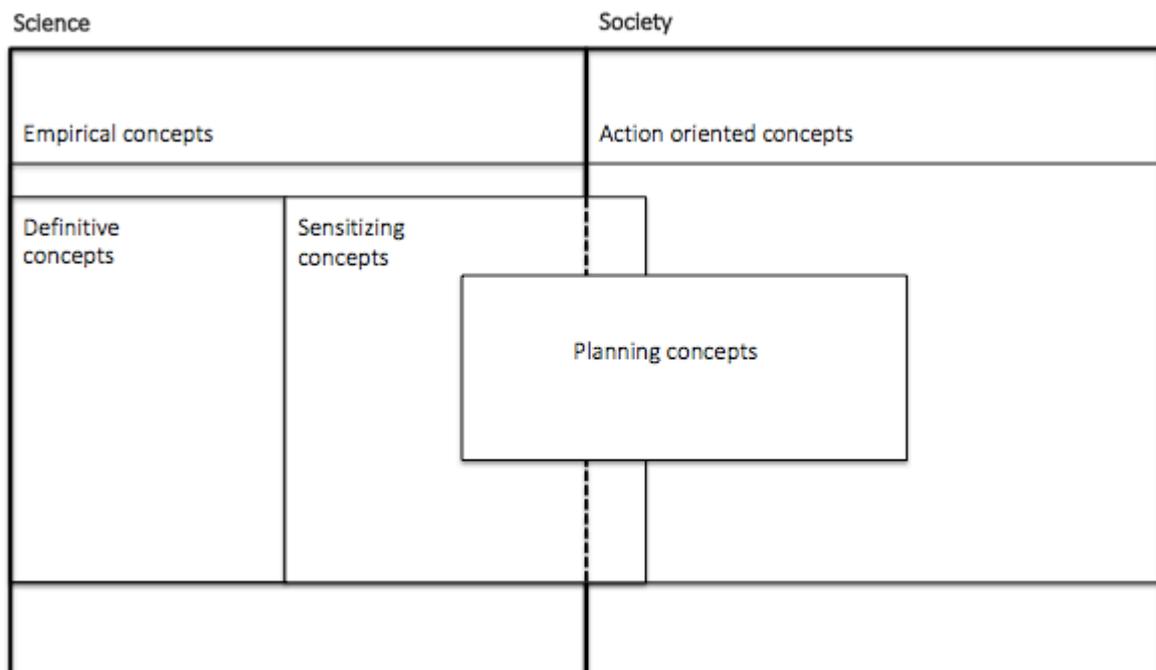
Figure 2: The position of planning concepts within both the realm science and society, and the different general concepts (own adjustment; Zonneveld, 1991).

From empirical, scientific concepts towards action oriented concepts
In general, empirical concepts reside in the realm of scientific literature and research. However, concepts do also occur in the societal realm and planning, as earlier mentioned with the notion of sensitizing concepts (Zonneveld, 1991). In relation with these kinds of concepts, another kind of concept can be distinguished. These so- called action-oriented concepts are different from empirical concepts, because it gives an image of particular action and its corresponding actors involved. Moreover, action oriented concepts gives a general notion on how the gap between a current- and desired situation with a certain measurement can be lifted. Besides that, these kinds of concepts are based on acknowledging tasks to governments to narrow this gap.

According to Zonneveld (1991) action oriented concepts are distinctive from scientific, empirical concepts mentioned earlier. Action oriented concepts can fully be attributed to planning concepts. Scientific activities do not have the goal to establish any interventions, nor do these activities say anything about the normative beliefs on how these interventions should be established. Action-oriented concepts marks exactly the difference between scientific concepts and concepts that reside in the societal realm, in which the notions of normativity and (political) action play an important role.

From general concepts towards planning concepts: what exactly is a planning concept?
So far, a few types of concepts can be distinguished, in which some reside in the scientific realm and others play a role in societal realities. In short, that is:
Empirical concepts, in which empirical observations together with earlier notions of a given concept may lead to the formulation of an altered concept. These empirical concepts have a strong link with scientific research, which, in turn, can be subdivided in: *definitive concepts*, with clear boundaries and sharp definitions, and *sensitizing concepts*, which are ''taken- for granted concepts'' that are not fit to use in scientific research, but play an important role in defining definitive concepts.
In contrast with empirical concepts, *action- oriented concepts* are characterized with a particular formulated action and have strong links with corresponding actors to carry out that particular action. Also, action-oriented concepts mark the difference between scientific- and societal concepts and can be seen as the starting point towards the full definition of planning concepts (Zonneveld, 1991). Figure 2 shows how all these types of concepts are related to each other, and where planning concepts can be placed.

How do these above formulated concepts play a role in defining what a planning concept exactly is? Zonneveld (1991) defines planning concepts as follows:

''A planning concept expresses through a concise form, through images and words, the way in which an actor is looking upon the desired development of spatial organization, as well as the nature of the interventions that are deemed necessary''

(Zonneveld, 1991)

Within this definition, the above-mentioned concepts are coming to the fore. Empirical observations from actors are needed in order to establish a view on desired developments. These views on desired developments are in turn used in establishing a concise form that expresses the desired development clearly. Also, planning concepts expresses the nature of necessary interventions needed in order to reach the given desired development in spatial organization. The link with theory is not directly mentioned in above definition. However, Balz & Zonneveld (2018) mention the analytical dimension of planning concepts and how theoretical assumptions influence the interpretation of planning concepts. This shows that theory is certainly a part of conceptual thinking in planning and marks the role of empirical concepts.

Planning concepts are used to steer developments into the desired direction, which means that subjectivity and normativity play an important role (Balz & Zonneveld, 2018; Zonneveld, 1991). Besides that, the content of planning concepts is shaped by the context of political decision-making (Zonneveld, 1991). Also Van der Valk & Faludi (1997) acknowledge that planning concepts are used to steer spatial arrangements and developments in an area and gives directions on how these arrangements and developments should be handled (Van der Valk & Faludi, 1997).

In the next section, the above definition is divided in order to take a closer at the details of this definition.

Detail 1: ''..a concise form, through images and words..,''
Planning concepts are mostly metaphors, in which language, communication and graphic images are important (Spit al., 2015). This communicative power of concepts is an important characteristic of planning concepts (Zonneveld & Verwest, 2005). In order to understand the importance of communicational character of planning concepts, a wider look should be given at the nature of planning and decision making in the Netherlands. The Netherlands is known of its decentralised unitary state, which is divided into several administrative layers. All these separate layers have their own specific authorizations. However, the several administrative layers are performing these authorizations in a strong degree of autonomy (Zonneveld & Verwest, 2005). Communication and negotiation is important, because a degree of hierarchy in terms of power between these layers does not exist. Moreover, implementing national policy is not an obligation, making policy on this level highly indicative. In order to seduce the several administrative layers to implement national policy, communication and persuasiveness is needed (Zonneveld & Verwest, 2005). The national government has had during the past decades ambitious ideas on how planning should be carried out, which locations were fit for housing development and which locations should get restrictions on any development, amongst other things (Needham, 2014, p. 210). However, the Dutch planning system has lost a lot of its ''top- down'' planning structure (De Roo, 2003). This call for a more decentralized planning structure has resulted in plea for letting go of the national planning concepts with its general guidelines for development (Zonneveld & Verwest, 2005, p. 15).

Communicational power of planning concepts is important because of the, until recently, administrative planning structure (De Roo, 2003; Needham, 2014). However, not only this planning structure made the communicational power and persuasiveness important. Dutch planning is characterized by its professional policy carried out by planning professionals (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000). This results in an institutional creativity with drawings and images in planning documents in order to showcase their ideas about how planning should be carried out. In general, and in line with the definition of Zonneveld (1991), planning concepts are used as a bridge between abstract ideas on planning and urban design, and actual planning practice. Or, citing Spit et al. (2013):

''The most important characteristic of a planning concept is that it gives a new and enthusiastic image of the present reality''

Spit et al. (2013)

In addition, Zonneveld (1991) states that communication in planning concepts, through images and words, are often characterized by the usage of metaphors. These metaphors help to bridge the gap between the already known knowledge about a given problem and the desired still unknown situation. It evokes meaning about a desired situation (Zonneveld 1991, p. 23).

Detail 2: ''..is looking upon the desired development of spatial organization..''
Planning concepts make use of theoretical assumptions on how land should be designed, arranged and developed (Spit et al., 2013) and reflects societal values concerning institutional developments, technological changes and gained knowledge (Van der Cammen & De Klerk, 2003, p. 447). Within this definition, science and theory is used as a fundament, complemented with normative beliefs on how spatial reality should be changed or modified.

It is debatable whether the origin of planning concepts is totally different from scientific concepts mentioned by Zonneveld (1991). Faludi & Mastop (1997) mentions the resemblances of plans within the planning realm and scientific theories, even though the word ''plan'' is used instead of ''concept''. Both are designed in order to solve problems on the basis of uncertain information. This means that, in contrast to the sharp distinction between scientific concepts and planning concepts mentioned earlier, there are indeed some shared characteristics when it comes to the nature of both kinds of

concepts (Faludi & Mastop, 1997, p. 817). In general, scientific theories may be used as a base layer on which normative beliefs are distilled and as a mode for room for interpretation (Davoudi, 2003; Balz & Zonneveld, 2018). For example, the Green Heart concept can be related to the compact city concept.

Detail 3: ''..the nature of the interventions that are deemed necessary.''

Whether planning concepts have an operational component, in which specific action and instruments are explained, or whether these concepts are merely a product of strong communication and persuasion is debatable. According to Spit et al. (2013) & Zoete (1997) planning concepts are only used as a communicative, metaphoric tools that reflects general spatial ideas. When certain policies, instruments or tasks are connected to a concept, the planning concept turns into a *policy*. Hajer & Zonneveld (2000) mention that planning concepts already consist of basic principles or core ''tasks'' that are object of policy and incorporated in policy. Also mentioned by Zonneveld (1991), planning concepts gives clarity on which developments are desired and shows which instruments and policies are needed to fulfil this certain development (Zonneveld, 1991, p.1). Zonneveld (1991) also states that all concepts are politically grounded, which leads to an important role for planning actors: municipalities, provinces and the national government. These actors shape and have shaped the nature of these concepts as well the implementation of it.

3.2. Subdivision of planning concepts

Dutch planning concepts can be divided in to two general concepts: strategic concepts and those that are more of instrumental use (Zonneveld, 1991). Both types of concepts have played a role in combatting urbanization challenges in the Randstad over the past decades. Zonneveld (1991) uses this distinction of planning concepts following the ideas of Imre Lakatos (1970). Lakatos has modified the theory of Kuhn (1962) on scientific revolutions and shifts in paradigms. The shifts in paradigms occur when ideas about society and science are changing. According to Van der Valk & Faludi (1997), these paradigms and anomalies do also occur in planning. The normative shifts in society go hand in hand with the notion that planning problems may actually not be solved in the dominant paradigm (Van der Valk & Faludi, 1997, p. 68). Instead of believing in scientific revolution through anomalies in existing paradigms, Lakatos (1970) beliefs that science can be seen as a hard core of immutable principles, known as negative heuristics, and an outer layer of variables subject to change, known as positive heuristics (Van der Valk & Faludi, 1997; Zonneveld 1991). In this context, Zonneveld beliefs that strategic- and instrumental concepts have the same characteristics, in which strategic concepts are seen as negative heuristics and instrumental concepts as positive heuristics, meaning that strategic planning concepts are rather robust in nature. Next section digs deeper into both types of concepts.

Strategic concepts

Strategic planning concepts are characterized for its long- term vision and are highly communicative. As mentioned by Spit et al. (2013) and Zoete (1997) as a characteristic of planning concepts in general, strategic planning concepts are used as a metaphoric tool: the concept's vision is short but powerful (Spit et al., 2013; Zonneveld, 1991). Strategic planning concepts pre- arrange a certain amount of planning choices given a specific object. This means that these concepts have a robust framework in which choices are made. Also, strategic planning concepts are the core of problem- and goal definition given a specific planning object. From these types of concepts instrumental planning concepts are formulated (Zonneveld, 1991, p. 7B).

Strategic concepts set up specific frameworks in which planning choices are made. The frameworks are more or less robust and have an apparent continuity over time. One example of a strategic concept in the Netherlands is so robust, that has been at the heart of Dutch national planning for over 50 years: The Green Heart and the related Randstad concept. According to van der Valk & Faludi

(1997), these planning concepts are different from other strategic concepts, because the metaphor behind the concepts remained intact throughout several contextual changes over time (Van der Valk & Faludi, 1997, p. 57). Moreover, the Green Heart metaphor adapted these contextual changes in such a way, that the planning concept remained relevant over the past decades. In other words: the Green Heart concept is often re- evaluated through time, without losing its core vision (Van der Valk & Faludi, 1997; Korthals Altes, 1995).

Instrumental concepts
Instrumental planning concepts are aimed at action and implementation of the strategic concepts. Instrumental concepts give direction in the way certain planning actions are initiated. Also, they designate certain areas where specific planning instruments can be used in order to reach the goal formulated by strategic planning concepts (Zonneveld, 1991). This means that instrumental concepts are part of strategic concepts: direct action and planning instruments are used to reach a certain planning goal within the framework of a strategic planning concept.
This research will follow the idea that instrumental concepts are inherently a part of strategic concepts, in which the goal formulated for strategic concepts are highly indicative and prone to re-evaluations.

Instrumental concepts can be divided in to two sub- concepts: development- and organization concepts (Spit et al., 2013; Zonneveld, 1991). Organization concepts are known for its statements about physical relationships. Examples of organization concepts related to urbanization challenges are: buffer zones and ''Stadsgewest''. Development concepts make statements about the desired extent of dispersion of population and economic activity. An example concerning urbanization is the ''groeikernen'' (growth centres) policy and the VINEX neighbourhoods (Zonneveld, 1991, p. 8)

Further outline: selection of planning concepts concerning growth management and urbanization challenges in the Randstad since the First Planning Report
This research examines the potential usefulness of centrally imposed planning concepts for current urbanization- and growth management challenges in the Randstad and investigates whether parts of these concepts can play a role in handling these urbanization challenges. In order to find out whether planning concepts are still useful, planning concepts should be selected according to some characteristics.
First, the chosen concepts are those that have a metaphorical idea, have a connection with theory, are object of policy and have an operational component (Zonneveld 1991; Van der Valk & Faludi, 1997; Faludi & Mastop, 1997). These characteristics are important; because it gives the security that the phenomenon researched is indeed a planning concept and not planning policy or plan. Planning policies and plans can be seen as the translation of concepts in institutional arrangements for implementation. Planning concepts in the contrary are the guidelines for these arrangements for implementation (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000, p. 343).
Second, the chosen planning concepts have the Randstad as planning area, have a national administrative planning scale, and have a relation with ideas on how to cope with urbanization pressure on this area. The national planning scale is important, because this ensures that the chosen planning concepts are not only useful for certain areas. Instead, the concepts have a more or less ''robust'' framework, but with a changing object. Finally, the chosen concepts have been implemented in practice, and did not remain in the planning policy realm. For example, the red- and green contour policy from the Fifth Planning Report never fully made it in planning practice (Priemus, 2003).

This thesis focuses on strategic- and instrumental planning concepts, in which strategic concepts have a long-term vision, are highly communicative and are used as a framework. Instrumental concepts are aimed at action and aimed at specific areas, however without any statements about institutional

arrangements and implementation. These concepts are part of strategic concepts (Zonneveld, 1991). Instrumental concepts are more prone to changes, and structural change within these kinds of concepts may have implications for the followed strategic concept. This given fact is important for this research, because it gives a theoretical layer for investigating the usefulness of planning concepts in current timeframe and context.

Besides that, important attention is given to planning doctrines as a robust version of strategic planning concepts. The twin concept of the Green Heart and the Randstad is chosen as a ''umbrella'' under which both strategic- and instrumental concepts reside.

```
                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │    Planning Doctrine     │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                    Twin concept Green Heart and
                              Randstad

                               │
                               │
                               ▼

                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │ Strategic planning concepts │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                     clustered de-concentration
                     compact city, urban network

                               │
                               ▼

                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │ Instrumental planning concept │
        ┌───────────────────────┬───────────────────────┐
        │ Organization concepts │ Development Concepts   │
        └───────────────────────┴───────────────────────┘
        ''Stadsgewest'', Delta-      Vinex neighbourhoods,
            metropolis                  ''groeikernen''
```
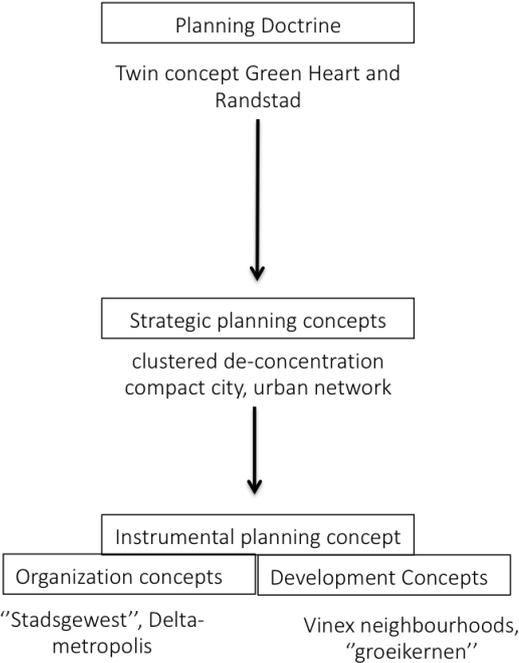
Figure 3: Outline of planning concepts concerning urbanization and growth management

Planning concepts concerning growth management in the Randstad since the First Planning Report that are relevant for this research are outlined above (Figure 3), considering its position within the several planning concepts types that are discussed earlier. The content of these concepts, which impact these concepts have had on growth management challenges and their contextual and organizational position throughout time, is discussed in the coming chapters.

3.3. Conceptual model
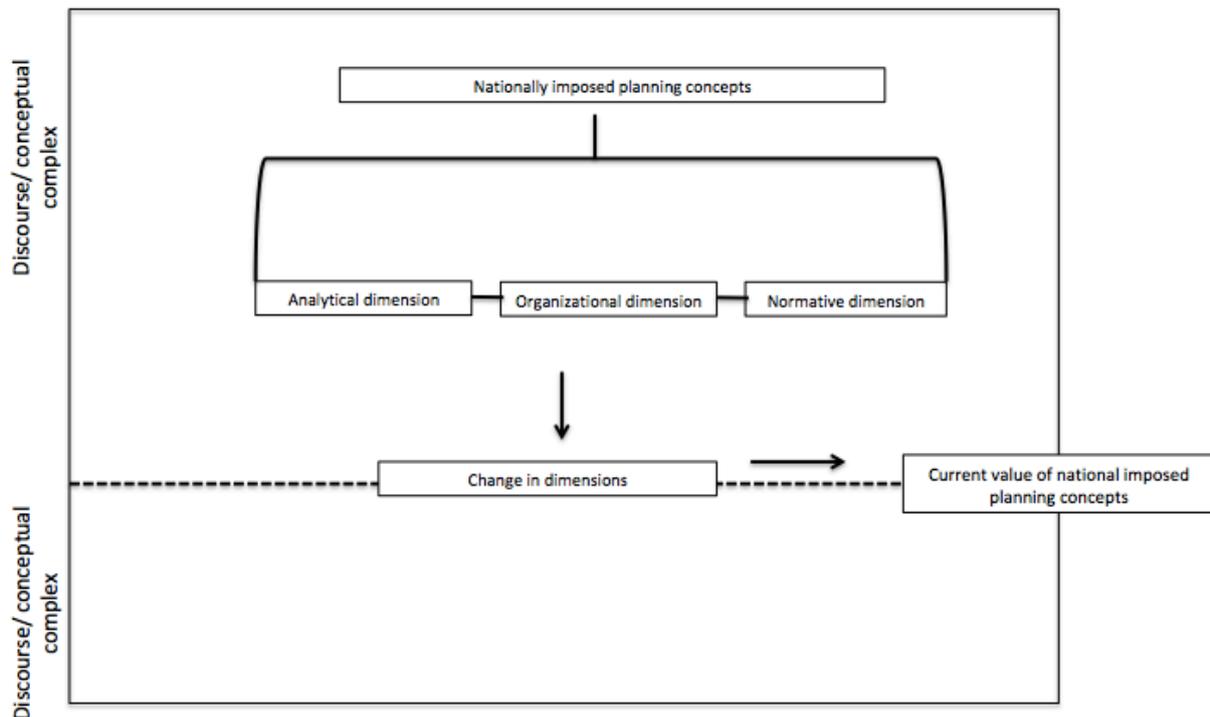
*Figure 4: Conceptual Model*

Figure 4 represents the conceptual model used to make the research conducted more comprehensible. This research attempts to find out whether national planning concepts are still valuable in current timeframe concerning urbanization- and growth management challenges in the Randstad. The definition of planning concepts imposed by Zonneveld (1991) shows that concepts are originated out of normative beliefs, societal- and economical events, political status and planning practice, and theoretical assumptions. Conceptual thinking is related to discourses through its propinquity in how change may occur. In order to investigate any change in the use of planning concepts, this research focuses on discourses, mentioned by Hajer & Versteeg (2005). Moreover, it investigates to what extent change in ideas about spatial organization and the related use of national planning concepts have occurred since the First Planning Report and takes a deeper look in to current ideas and events concerning spatial planning organization and planning concepts. Three dimensions are used to investigate the potential usefulness of centrally steered planning concepts in the Randstad concerning urbanization- and growth management. These three dimensions will be explained in the next section.

3.4. Dimensions of influence

The position of planning concepts within the academic discourse and how these concepts are influenced by theory, organization and normative assumptions is related to the different dimensions of spatial concepts (Balz & Zonneveld, 2018). Balz & Zonneveld (2018) mention that between all three dimensions, there is room for how concepts can be interpreted (Figure 5). This also means that the analytical knowledge used in concepts is prone to several interpretations of actors and stakeholders, and political agendas. In order to understand the importance of these three dimensions, more information is given below. The three dimensions are used to investigate the performance of planning concepts and how these concepts are embedded in its context.
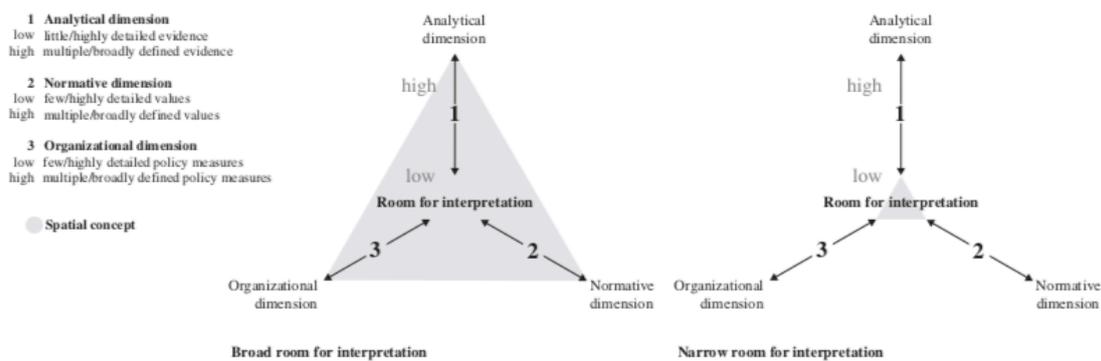

Figure 5: The three dimensions and the room for interpretation of planning concepts (Balz & Zonneveld, 2018, p. 367).

The three dimensions are fit to use as contextual layers on which planning concepts can be analysed. Its value for researching the effects and relevance of planning concepts on the basis of these dimensions are elaborated below.

The analytical dimension
Planning concepts provide a reservoir of analytical knowledge, which can be theoretically grounded (Balz & Zonneveld, 2018). In general, theory is used as a base layer to understand the given planning concept, but also gives room for own interpretation. For example, Davoudi (2003) mentions concepts concerning urban growth, which have had several different theoretical assumptions over time: from mono centric models towards polycentric ones and from intra urban scales towards inter urban scales. These changes are related with new observations on urban growth (cities have grown to each other) and societal changes (an increasing concern for better accessibility and mobility) (Davoudi, 2003, p.984). This means that theory plays an important role in interpreting planning concepts and that changes in theoretical assumptions are related to societal- and spatial changes.

The organizational dimension
Planning concepts also have an organizational dimension, in which the effects of policy measures and the role of politics are playing an important role. Balz & Zonneveld (2018) refer to the definition of ''territory'' in organizational terms of Schön (2005). These territories are seen as political or administrative entities. A classic example of a territory according to Schön (2005) is the nation state with territorial sovereignty as an important characteristic. In general, these territories are involved with a degree of self- government. This also means that territories have different administrative scales, such as the municipal- and provincial scale in the Netherlands, but also in a wider context, such as the regional- urban- or metropolitan scale. Not only these scales are an important aspect when defining the organizational dimension. The definition of Schön (2005) is related to territories of political action, but Balz & Zonneveld (2018) additionally state that the organizational dimension is

about all areas where distinct policy is made and all areas where policy measures take effect (Balz & Zonneveld, 2018, p. 366).

The normative dimension
The normative dimension of planning concepts is related to imaginations of the desired spatial development. This means that this dimension is very subjective in nature. Faludi (1996) states that this subjectivity is related to framing certain spatial problems in such a way that it gives a constructed image of reality. An important aspect of this normative dimension is the need for broad support in order to make a certain spatial development reality. Balz & Zonneveld (2018) give the example of the Green Heart, in which a broad support from several actors have resulted in a ring of urban development and a green open space in the middle. The broad supported desired development is inherently linked to politics for implementing that desire within spatial structures. Moreover, normative assumptions are prone for changes when changes in society, economy or politics occur: it is dependent on the meaning people will give these changes that may result in the lost of legitimacy of prevailing normative assumptions (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005).

The next section combines the analytical, theoretical factors (analytical dimension) with the organizational outcome (organizational dimension) through planning policies and concepts. This chapter is meant to show how planning theory in general has had an influence on policy by giving examples of theory and showing which factors are reflected in policy and concepts. However, it does not claim that the described theories below have had any specific link with the formulated Dutch policies and concepts throughout time. Rather it shows how ''zeitgeist'' in theory overlaps with policy implementations and the related planning concepts. After this section, the other two dimensions in relation to national planning concepts over time are analysed.

4. Planning concepts and theory: urbanization challenges in the Randstad

This chapter will take a closer look at how planning theory is related to policy (i.e. planning concepts) and action, such as urban development and the way urban dispersal is handled, in society and planning practice in the Netherlands. First, the relationship between planning theory and planning practice and society is highlighted.

Planning theory and practice
The relationship between planning theory and practice has been an important part of departure in planning research (Scott & Roweis, 1977; Fainstein, 2008; Healey, 2009; Needham, 1988). More specifically, the relationship between theory, and how theory is used in planning practice, planning action and implementation has been proved complex (Healey, 2009). Even though some scholars have looked in to principles of the natural sciences or have temped to use objective laws to indicate what should and could be done with the space surrounding us, planning theory is in general positioned between social or societal trends and desired future and the corresponding action in order to reach that desired future. In other words: planning theory is related to social phenomena (Scott & Roweis, 1977).

What are the fundaments of planning theory and how has theory influences planning policy? Needham (1988) states that spatial order is the basis of planning theory, in which theory involves both finding patterns in geographical relations, and observing spontaneous change in spatial terms in response of public actions. This structuring of space in order to reach the desired spatial order is established by theory necessary to guide decisions. Also, theory is related to how public authority should be taking measures, which gives it an action- oriented component (Needham, 1988). However, due to new technologies, modernization, globalization and economic changes, it is getting harder to grasp the complex socio- spatial relationships that are emerging and the dynamics of urban change (Graham & Healey, 1999). Urban space is not a unitary place, which makes theories with any assumptions about universal patterns in geographical relations, such as the central place theory of Christaller, obsolete. Both authors opt for a more relational approach of theory, in which the context and complex spatial relationships between humans (and non-humans, such as technology) are taken in to account (Graham & Healey, 1999). Debates on how planning should be carried out in complex, multi space- and networked dimension is on going (Boelens & De Roo, 2016). The academic discourse experiences the repositioning of planning practice away from fixed planning and decision-making (Boelens & De Roo, 2016, p. 43). Gunder & Hiller (2009) state that the use of science has a limited application in planning practice.

4.1. Central place theories: hierarchy in spatial order

Theory
The central place theory of both Christaller (1933) and Lösch (1940) has been important theories within urban system research since the 1960's and flourished in the 1970's and 1980's (Meijers, 2006). In general, the urban system research states that cities, villages and town are interdependent and focuses on how growth and development of urban areas are affected by these interdependent relationships. Specifically the central place theory has the aim of finding rules and regularities in spatial patterns (Meijers, 2006).
Even though there are difficulties in explaining spatial reality through the use of the central place theory (however, Christaller made clear that his assumption were based on a theoretical, homogeneous surface (Fisscher, 2011), it has greatly impacted the urban system research realm.

Christaller states that each commodity has a specific threshold for minimum demand in a fixed geographical domain. Because of this minimum in demand for a specific good, the theory assumes that only a few amount of locations offer high order goods, which means that there is a given hierarchy in thresholds and its corresponding locations (Meijer, 2006). This hierarchy is characterized by its evenly distributed locations and the one sided dependency of locations, which are vertical relationships where a location with a higher threshold are dependent on locations with lower thresholds (Meijers, 2006). This hierarchy in goods is also known as scale economies (Hsu, 2012). Within the theory, city size is not equal to population, but to the amount of goods that can be found (Fisscher, 2011).

The theory of Lösch (1940) has resemblances with that of Christaller. Both state the interdependences of locations. However, Lösch concentrated on the effects of competition of market places, instead of finding a way to provide goods in an area with a minimum of market places, which was the aim of research for Christaller (Fisscher, 2011). This means that the theory of Lösch leads to more independent market areas instead of finding the minimum amount of places needed.
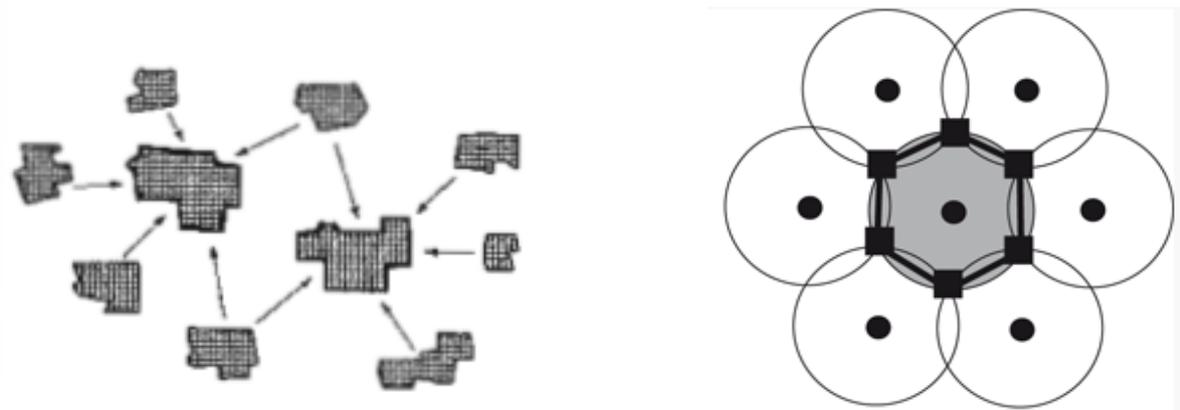

Figure 6: The pattern of the Stadsgewest concept (left) and the hierarchical markets of Christaller (right) (Zonneveld, 1991, p. 225; Fisscher, 2011, p. 481).

Dutch spatial policy concerning growth management have been given attention to how people, services and goods should be dispersed over space effectively from which first the idea of a mono-centric model with one dominant centre and smaller sub urban areas was leading (Bruinsma et al., 2002). This mono centric model can be seen in de Stadsgewest planning concept during the 1960's en 1970's. Also, the establishment of regional centres surrounding the major centres, the concentrated de- concentration concept, shows the urge for a certain hierarchy in urban patterns (Mastop, 2001, p.226).

From theory to policy and concepts: Stadsgewesten
The idea that cities and villages are interdependent and that areas or regions know a certain hierarchy is reflected in the ''Stadsgewest'' concept (or: urban region concept). The concept characteristic is that of a regional service area with one city as centre within that region. Surrounding the city centre several smaller interdependent suburban centres are located (Brand, 2002). All together, the whole region is one functional area in which services and goods are evenly accessible (Zonneveld, 1991). The interdependent relationships between the suburban centres and the bigger centres within a given region were seen as a new development in which, due to the increasing car use, the unity of one city was no longer feasible. Instead, the services and goods from the city centre could now also be reached from suburban areas. Also, the living preferences influenced the formation of suburban centres

(Zonneveld, 1991). The resulting relationships between suburban centres and the main city centre concerning daily mobility between work- and living place, transport and increased traffic related to the use of urban services, are at the core of what a Stadsgewest entails (Vliegen, 2005).

The Stadsgewest concept had linkages with the compact city concept and the general idea that urban sprawl was not desirable (Korthals- Altes, 2007; Van der Burg & Dieleman, 2004). In order to handle the suburbanisation within the Stadgewest, the concept of concentrated de- concentration was established. Instead of thinking about how living areas should be developed in a compact way, the focus shifted towards the development of a varied network of (sub urban) living centres under direct influence of urban areas (Zonneveld, 1991). In order to restrict any sprawl between several urban areas (Stadsgewesten), the so-called buffer zones (or green belts) were implemented (Zonneveld, 1991). The policies and concept concerning the concentrated de concentration and the adjacent buffer zones are formulated in the Second Planning Report in 1966 (van Dam & Manting, 2015; Zonneveld, 1991).

4.2. Compact city: the fear for urban sprawl

Theory
Ever since mobility and flows of persons and goods have increased, and more specifically the increase in car use, ideas for more sustainable forms of cities have been a point of debate in academic literature (Hillman, 1996; Burton et al., 2003). The compact city theory is derived out of the idea that there is a strong link between an urban form and sustainable development (Jenks, 1996). According to Ekin et al. (1991), compact cities are characterized by an urban form appropriate for walking, cycling and the use of public transport. Besides that, the urban form should be compact enough to encourage social interaction. Dieleman et al. (1999) add to this that the meaning of a compact city can be divided into two directions. The first focuses on the fixed elements in a metropolitan region, such as infrastructure. The second focuses on flows of people and goods within the urban form. The way these two components are organised gives more insight whether or not a city can be qualified as a compact city (Dieleman et al., 1999). Proponents of the compact city believe that through the densely development of green fields and urban redevelopment and infill of existing urban fabric, car use and the distribution of goods will be reduced, and thereby decreasing toxic emissions (Hillman, 1992). Besides that, compact city development may generate more community- social patterns, because of the population density in cities (Katz, 1994).

On the other hand, there are academics that contest the idea of the compact city as the most sustainable form of urban development (Burton et al., 2003). More specifically, there are some doubts whether the compact city generates enough liveability for urban dwellers (Brehery, 1992, Scoffham & Vale, 2003). They propose more decentralised urban forms towards suburbs in order to balance the ''pains'' and ''gains'' of urban dwellers (Burton et al., 2003). Besides that, they believe that urban sprawl is a natural effect of urban growth, which even with strong governmental control cannot be stopped (Dieleman et al., 1999; Jenks, 1996). The best way to achieve urban compact development is by imposing patterns of de- concentrated concentration in order to manage urban sprawl.

Other academic writers do not believe in the compact city as most sustainable solution for urban growth at all (Jenks, 1996). Compactness in cities generates too much social, economic and environmental loss, such as health problems due to congestion. Reforming transport systems between cities and villages are seen as a better solution with more sustainable impact (Stretton, 1994). The idea that compact cities do no fulfil its sustainability objectives has connection with the so- called ''compact city paradox'' (Neuman, 2005). It is the paradox between urban desirability and suburban liveability, which results in population locating in suburban periphery rather than in the urban core (Neuman, 2005). Dempsey et al. (2012) acknowledge that in sustainable and social terms, high densities in compact urban forms do not contribute positively to the provision of green space,

personal safety and social relationships. On the other hand, higher densities have a positive influence on the use of local services and facilities and the accessibility of these services and facilities (Dempsey et al., 2012). Conclusively, Neuman (2005) plea for a different discussion on sustainable cities and mentions that instead of focusing on urban forms, sustainable goals should be measured according to the actions and lifestyles of urban dwellers within that urban form. In other words: there should be more emphasise on the process of city living (Neuman, 2005, p. 22).

From theory to policy and concepts: Growth centres and VINEX locations
Compact city theory, and urbanisation and urban- rural interplay, has been at the heart of planning policy for growth management since the 1970's (Korthals- Altes, 2007; van der Burg & Dieleman, 2004; Dieleman & Wegener, 2004; Faludi & van der Valk, 1994). During the 1980's compact city policies have had its peak in which the redevelopment and regeneration of inner cities was the primary concern (Korthals- Altes, 2007). The idea that urbanization of the Randstad area should be controlled does not stem from the 1970 and 80's policies. Rather, since 1966 under the de-concentrated concentration policy, concentration of urbanization was already a primary concern in planning (Van der Burg & Dieleman, 2004; Dieleman et al., 1997).

Policies concerning compact city ideas and de- concentrated concentration have one major aspect in common: both policies are based on the idea that urban sprawl is a threat for open land and accessibility to services (Korthals- Altes, 2007; Van der Burg & Dieleman, 2004). The idea of de-concentrated concentration differs from the compact city policies in ideas about managing growth and the lessons that had been learned after implementing these corresponding policies. As Van der Burg & Dieleman (2004) mention, de- concentrated concentration was characterized by the idea that urbanization was only desired in major cities and designated satellite towns, known as growth centres. However, after implementation (in line with the Third Planning Report in 1976) the increase of car use, since growth centres were mostly designed as mono functional living areas, and the decline of inner cities, because of the population flow towards these growth centres, the idea of satellite towns surrounding the major cities was abandoned (Korthals- Altes, 2007; Dieleman et al., 1997). The compact city concept served as a substitute for the de-concentrated concentration.

The concept of the compact city in the Netherlands is characterized as a continuous urban area that allows optimal use of existing infrastructure, services and employment. The urban size should be sufficient in order to allow this optimal use of the city (Zonneveld, 1991, p. 50). Just as the policies concerning growth centres, urban sprawl was seen as a threat. However, the compact city policy also restricted any further suburbanisation, as this have resulted in more car traffic and declining inner cities (Korthals- Altes, 2007). Embedded in local policy and with financial grants from the national governmental scale, three types of locations were appointed in which growth was feasible. The first locations were designated for inner city redevelopment in order to increase the optimal use of the urban area. The second locations were green field developments at the fringes of major cities. The third were locations adjoining other urban areas, such as the existing growth centres (Korthals- Altes, 2007). These locations should ensure a good accessibility of city centres by bike and public transport and gave preference to mixed- use developments (Van der Burg & Dieleman, 2004). The VINEX locations as the second- and third type locations are an example (Dieleman et al., 1997).

4.3. Network model: from mono central spaces towards a poly central network

Theory
According to Hajer & Zonneveld (2000), Dutch planning has been increasingly economized during the 1990's. The main question that has been asked was: how can we make The Netherlands, and specifically the Randstad, more competitive? This search for competition resulted in the development

of new and altered infrastructure. However, it extended far beyond infrastructure developments only: the improvement concerning the wish for an increase in competitive power resulted in interventions in nature perseveration, the supply of amenities and other spatial concerns (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000).

The network model theory has its origin in the sociological and geographical realm and gained scientific attention in the 1990's (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000). From a sociological perspective Beck et al. (1990), mention the "disembedding" of social forms from an industrial society towards a "modern" society. Due to victories in capitalism and (technical) modernization, which are seen as the drivers for change, society has been gone through a transition that have resulted in new forms of social organization (Beck et al, 1990; Castells, 2000). This new social organization is characterized by examples like new information technologies and globalization that works as a unit on a global scale with corresponding global networks (Castells, 2000). Hajer & Zonneveld (2000) mention the increasing mobility of people and goods that have resulted in social arrangements that stretch across space more than it did before. Moreover, they state that because of this, networks are formed that are operating with different time and distances, respectively less and shorter. Conclusively, Castells (1990) states that:

''...the diffusion of networking logic substantially modifies the operation and outcomes in processes of production, experience, power and culture''

Castells (1990), p. 469

The implication for the spatial context is focused on how these networks affect the organization and use of space. The rise in mobility and communication has resulted in the emergence of flows between nodes as new spatial configuration (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000). The emergence of flows means that communication and connectivity is important, rather that the proximity of goods and services. In other words: it is not necessary to live close by a city centre that provide goods and services, because the emergence of better connectivity due to new networks makes sure that services are provided everywhere. The impact of connectivity in spatial terms also means a shift in preferences for living space. One can live in a vast distance from work and services due to the increasing mobility and connectivity. The preference of proximity to services and goods, which meant generally speaking living in urban regions, went to the background and suburban living gained attractiveness from the 1970's onwards (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000; Kersloot et al., 2004). Due to the increasing interaction between cities, such as commute flows, and the resulting shifts in spatial preferences, networks of cities become more important. The Fifth Spatial Planning Report from 2001 and the Spatial Report from 2006 changed the general policy and conceptual thinking from compact city developments towards the Randstad as an urban network (De Vos, 2015). However, The Fifth Spatial Planning Report has never been implemented, because of the resignation of the Dutch government in 2002. It was said that the memorandum was too politically sensitive to be implemented before a new government was chosen (Bontje, 2003).

From theory to policy and concepts: corridor development & the Deltametropolis concept
The shift from compact city policies and concepts towards the focus on urban network developments is consolidated in the Spatial Report in 2006. The emphasis, among other things, on urban network developments is viewed in several policy aims. Urban development should be carried out within the framework of urban networks. However, the idea of compact cities and the corresponding idea that urban sprawl must be prevented was still a strong focus and have never left the spatial planning policy (De Vos, 2015). The general goal of the Spatial Report was to facilitate enough space for working- and living areas, as well as ensuring mobility between urban centres. In general, the formation of networks was the main focus (Snellen et al., 2006). First, on a national scale possibilities for concentration and development of urban centres were sought. These designated concentration areas are different from earlier policies and concepts concerning compact cities, as the aim was to strengthen cities within an

urban network. There was no central orientation towards one urban centre. Second, the focus shifted towards the urban scale for redevelopment and intensification of space aiming for more diversity and mix of usages. Finally, accessibility between cities as factor for economic competitiveness was improved (Snellen et al., 2006).

Up till the Spatial Report, plans on lower administrative levels had to correspond with national planning goals, formulated in these Reports. However, when the Report Infrastructure and Space was published in 2012, decentralisation of administrative tasks towards local administrations and municipalities resulted in abandoning the urban network concept (Bontje, 2003; De Vos, 2015; Koomen & Dekkers, 2013).

The Fifth Spatial Planning Report and the following Spatial Report were not the first publications and formulated policy goals concerning competition of the Randstad on an international scale and the corresponding urban networks that should facilitate this competition. Rather, in 1996 the spatial planning counsellors of the three major cities in the Randstad formed the idea of the Delta metropolis, which entails the idea that the four biggest cities should change from separate cities towards a single thinly populated region. By forming a metropolitan landscape, it was thought that the area with its unique location (water delta) was fit for competition on an international scale (Van Duinen, 2015).

The Delta metropolis concept focuses on the strengthening of working and living environments and transportation qualities. The concept aimed on far reaching effects, leaving the ''red and green'' dichotomy of the Randstad and its Green Heart behind. Due to the increasing household mobility and the dispersal of services, the concept aims for a mix of red and green developments, and thus living, working and recreating within the whole metropolitan area, which means that developments in the Green Heart are possible. These innovative ideas, and most specifically the idea of developing within the Green Heart, were too far reaching for the political realm. Some factors of the Delta metropolis concept have made it to the Fifth Spatial Planning Report and the Spatial Report, but in a very slimmed- down form. For example, the mix of red and green developments in the Green Heart never made both reports, which means that the twin concept of the Randstad and the Green Heart remained (Van Duinen, 2015).
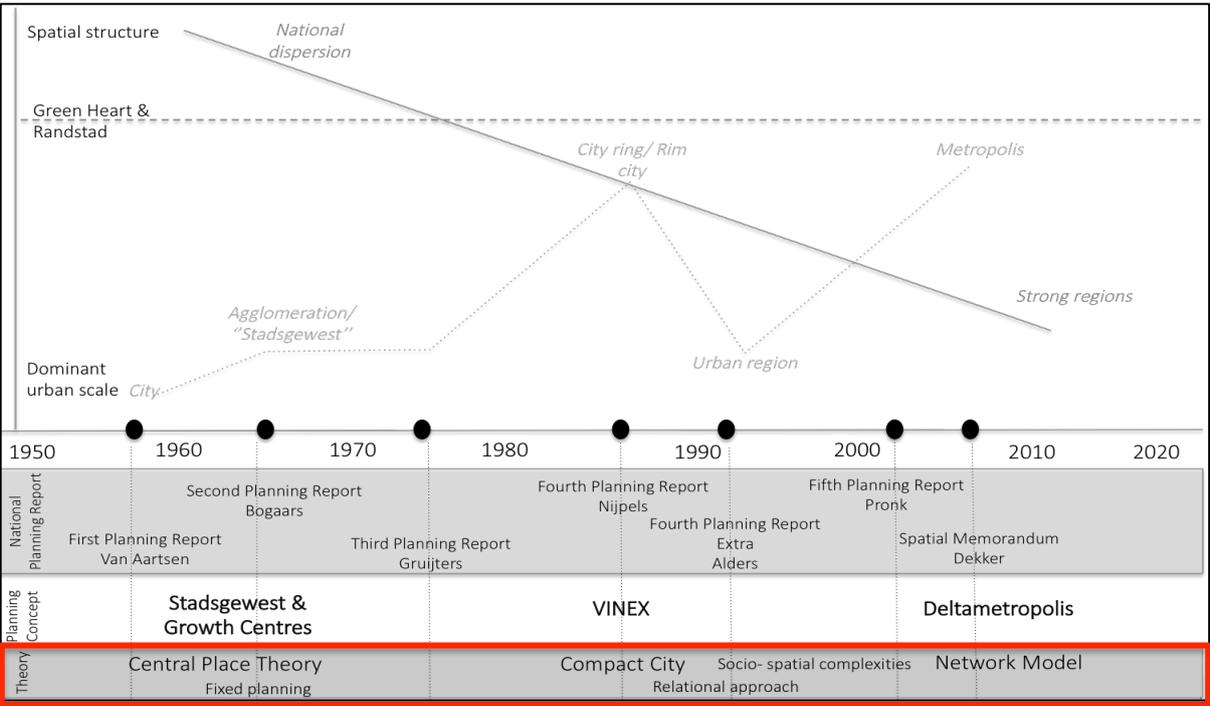
Figure 6: the position of theory in national planning concepts ((from: de Boer & Kooijmans (2007), own adjustments)

In Figure 6, the theories and corresponding planning concepts are pictured within the timeframe of the prevailing spatial targets and the planning reports. It shows the change in how theory has been used in planning practice and the prevailing theories that have links with the mentioned planning concepts. The use of theory- and theory itself has changed due to new insights in socio-spatial reality. The central place theory was focused on fixed planning and unitary space: the manufacturability of society. On the other hand, the network model approach focuses on the complexities in space due to the emergence of (social) networks. This shifts that have been occurred in planning theory in relation to planning practice is thus inherently rooted in societal- and contextual changes. In the next chapter these changes in relation to planning concepts are of main focus.

5. Planning concepts and its organizational-, and normative dimensions

Why certain planning concepts are implemented in the Netherlands throughout time is related to the analytical, organizational and normative dimensions that influence these planning concepts (Balz & Zonneveld, 2018; Figure 5). These dimensions give direction in how planning concepts are interpreted and how they are eventually implemented in the planning domain. Planning concepts incorporate analytical (or theoretical) knowledge, political agendas and territorial practices from which spatial ideas and logics are extracted (Balz & Zonneveld, 2018). As mentioned, Dutch planning is characterized as indicative planning, meaning that spatial plans are open enough to facilitate effective collaborations among different tiers of government (Janssen- Jansen, 2006). Also planning concepts give room for interpretation, meaning that these concepts are prone to normative and organizational influences, apart from analytical influence. In more general terms, Bontje (2002) mentions that explanations for chosen directions in terms of urbanization and growth management reside in economic- and technological developments, and social- and demographic trends.

This chapter focuses on the organizational-, and normative dimensions, which have influenced the previously selected planning concepts concerning growth management and urbanization. The selection of concepts in this research is dependent on the content and how they are related to growth management perspectives and the concept type. The typology of planning concepts is outlined in section 2.1.4 as strategic- and instrumental concepts and conclusively organization- and development concepts (see Zonneveld, 1991). This chapter focuses on the strategic twin concept the Green Heart and The Randstad, and the instrumental concepts, which are the Stadsgewest and growth centre concepts, the concept of the Delta Metropolis and the VNIEX neighbourhood concept. The choice for these concepts is given in Figure 2 under section 2.2. First, every concept is shortly introduced. Then, the organizational- and normative domains in which these planning concepts are designed are discussed.

5.1. The Green Heart and the Randstad concept

The twin concept of the Green Heart and Randstad may be seen as a planning doctrine; a concept that have guided thoughts and actions of planners, politicians and the public in such a way, that is has created a robust framework over time (Van der Valk & Faludi, 1997). Both are seen as one of the most important planning concepts, and present the fundament of Dutch national planning (Van Eeten & Roe, 2000). Van der Valk & Faludi (1997) give a clear overview of the shifts in politics and beliefs in terms of the Green Heart and Randstad and show how this twin concept have survived the test of time.

The term ''Randstad'' dates back from 1938, when aviation pioneer Albert Plesman, inspired by maps that showed a horse shoe ring of urban towns and an open central area, argued for a central airport within the ring of towns in the western part of the Netherlands. Up till 1956, this open green area was not mentioned any further, until the Work Commission of the Western Netherlands used the name of a Green Heart as metaphor for the vital heart, which the country as ''body'' was dependent on. This dependency entailed the need for agricultural land in order to keep the country as a whole vital. Besides that, the Green Heart served as a reserve area for urban development (Van der Valk & Faludi, 1997).

During the 1960's and 1970's the Green Heart metaphor was moved to the background. Politicians and planners mentioned the open area in terms such as ''agricultural central area''. In the Second Planning Report, the ideas about the Green Heart were rather vague. Even though the area was planned to be bigger than the Green Heart metaphors from the 1950's, an unambiguous function of the Green Heart was not very clear. Most importantly, the area was rather used for a counter balance

for the urban developments that should occur to catch the population growth in the Randstad. Fear of large-scale urban developments was very present under the public and also planners feared a doomsday scenario of major urbanization, which is frequently referred to the ''Los Angeles'' syndrome (Van Eeten & Roe, 2000). Until 1970, the Green Heart did not make any large impressions on the concerned provinces and other governmental tiers. Moreover, some housing and industrial development in the area occurred (Van der Valk & Faludi, 1997).

In 1970 under the Den Uyl cabinet (1973- 1977), a strong position against suburban growth, in particular in the Green Heart, was taken. Containment of the area began to be an important policy goal. The Third Planning Report focused on the intrinsic value of the Green Heart, instead of focussing on the role of the area within the Randstad. Next to its economic purposes for agriculture, nature preservation and recreation became important functions. However, debates about metropolitan development in the Randstad, and thus the urban development of the Green Heart, started.

During the mid- eighties, the term ''Green Heart'' was back in use, and the intrinsic appreciations of the area were growing. Instead of the counter balance role it has 20 years earlier, in the Fourth Planning Report the Green Heart was an integral part of the Randstad. The balance between urban development and ecological protection became important, leading to some designated settlements for housing developments (Van der Valk & Faludi, 1997).

Until the 1990's, planning concerning the Green Heart was rather restrictive, leading to tensions between the national government and lower tier governmental layers. The Green Heart became part of the so- called key planning decisions, whereby a firm demarcation line was drawn around the Green Heart in order to restrict any developments. The Green Heart became ''fixed in space'' (Korthals-Altes, 2018). However, one of the most important arguments of the lower tier governments was that the national government was rather inconsistent by restricting urban growth, but at the same time making far reached plans for infrastructure development, such as a high speed train network. Besides that, discussions around the future of the Green Heart were starting: should it remain an open green area, or is development necessary? Van der Valk & Faludi (1997) mention that this example shows the strong roots of the Green Heart concept. However, it was mostly public authorities and planners that were campaigners of the Green Heart and thus the centralised and hierarchical planning system that kept the concept that strong. From mid 1990's the trend of decentralisation and liberalization of the planning system has started (Janssen-Jansen, 2016). Moreover, as private parties and public participation got more influence in planning decisions (Dieleman et al, 1999), critical arguments against the Green Heart were rising. According to Van Eeten & Roe (2000) at the end of the 1990's, critics of the Green Heart argue that residential construction in the urbanized ring of the Randstad is much more expensive than in the Green Heart. Around the same year, Dieleman et al. (1999) predicted that the shifts in planning towards decentralisation leads to a weaker role for governments for designating where new residential areas may be developed, therewith abandoning restrictive planning practices. In general, the shift from centralised governmental action towards decentralised planning practices also resulted in the debate whether the Green Heart is just fictional, only existing through policy and public authority, or not (Van Eeten & Roe, 2000).

Current debates on the Randstad- and Green Heart concept are still based on the shifts in the Dutch planning system. Roodbol- Mekkes et al., (2012) mention the greater role for provinces and the rise of regional land development experiments. The full responsibility for critically assessing the Green Heart is not covered by the national government, neither by other governmental tiers or other parties (Roodbol- Mekkes et al., 2012, p. 390). This is reflected in the decision of the province of South Holland to not include the Green Heart in its new structural vision, leading to fragmented policy between provinces (Korthals- Altes, 2018).

5.2. Stadsgewest & growth centre concept: comprehensive, top down planning

The Stadsgewest concept and the corresponding planned growth centres are a result of societal views from the 1950's en 1960's (Jobse et al., 1991; van der Cammen & De Klerk, 2002). Moreover, both concepts show that in time of implementation people believed in the manufacturability of society (Priemus, 2005).

The Stadsgewest- and growth centre concept are first mentioned in the Second Planning Report from 1966. In order to manage urban growth it was believed that suburbanisation was unavoidable. In order to channel suburbanization effectively the idea of concentrated de- concentration was introduced. During that time demographic prognoses showed a growth towards 20 million inhabitants in the Netherlands by the end of the 20th century. Moreover, due to the post- war baby boom the demand for new dwellings was high (Manting & van Dam, 2015). Controlling urban growth and suburbanization were key factors in national spatial planning perspectives in the Netherlands: the fear for uncontrolled problems of the ''big city'' due to the expansion of population was very present (Jobse et al., 1991). As mentioned earlier, major urbanization was seen as a doomsday scenario (Van Eeten & Roe, 2000). The idea of the Stadsgewest was seen as an important tool to mitigate this scenario of rampant urbanization. It made it easier to control population growth. The Stadsgewest was seen as one functional area in which it did not matter whether development occurred in the central cities or in the periphery (Jobse et al., 1991). It shows how planners tried to control urbanization- and growth developments. The fear for uncontrolled growth and rampant urbanization also lead to the growth centres concept. In the eighteen designated urban areas population growth was allowed (Manting & van Dam, 2015). By restricting growth elsewhere, green spaces were persevered and expected congestion of the major urban centres should be mitigated (Priemus, 2015). The relationship between societal views, the way planning is organized and the designed planning concepts are reflected in the societal changes that occurred after the Second Planning Report and the final implementation of the growth centres within the Stadsgewest-frameworks (Jobse et al., 1991). The implementation of all eighteen-growth centres was fully completed in 1975, 10 years after the Second Planning Report. However, society had been changing which have lead to different perspectives on growth, mobility and congestion. During the 1970's the idea of overflow areas was contested: the growth centres were not complementing the biggest cities. Rather, the four biggest cities in the Randstad lost population. Besides that, most families and middle- and high-income groups moved to the suburban areas, leaving the less fortunate social groups in the city centres. It is said that the growth centres have resulted in depleting central cities (Priemus, 2015, Manting & van Dam, 2015; Jobse et al., 1991). Moreover, instead of combatting urban congestion, another problem emerged: the (environmental) costs of mobility. Finally, the hierarchical pattern of the Stadsgewest concept did not take off in reality. Rather, competition between cities and towns emerged, instead of the complementing character it was ought to have (Jobse et al., 1991).

5.3. VINEX concept: the turning point towards neo- liberalism in planning practice

The societal problems that emerged from the disadvantages of the growth centres concept during the 1970's and 1980's have resulted in a renewed vision of urban development and growth management. The environmental impact of increasing mobility due to suburbanization strategies was an important factor. It was believed that the compact city approach was more sustainable solution for urbanization and growth (Jobse et al. 1991).

The Fourth Planning Report Extra (VINEX) published new perspectives on population growth and the related demand for newly built houses. It was estimated that between 1995 and 2005, 455.000 new houses were needed in order to catch the increasing population. From these 445.000 dwellings, roughly 285.00 should be built in green field areas (Lörzing, 2006). The national political field was in favour of the plans for new developments at the edges of cities and large sums of money were hold out for the development of the designated VINEX locations. Besides the sum of money of 30 billion

euros, the national government gave directions in growth allocation and the extent of spatial compactness of 30 dwellings per hectare (Lörzing, 2006).

This framework of designated locations for urban growth made these sites prey for the private sector and land speculators, who bought most of the land on these sites (Lörzing, 2006; Waterhout, 2013). However, the influence of private parties on the development and urban form of the newly built neighbourhoods was contained by the installation of governmental panels from regional- and local authorities in order to win over municipalities for the development of these VINEX locations between their municipal borders (Lörzing, 2006). Moreover, exact numbers of houses were indicated. The robust framework of quantification of houses, urban density and the allocation of the neighbourhoods led to criticism for its monotony and the lack of urban character: the designated neighbourhoods were designed for predominantly housing, without a substantial program for services and amenities (Lörzing, 2006). Besides that, even though the VINEX locations were built at the edges of urban centres in order to reduce any environmental pollution through increasing mobility, the development of sufficient infrastructure and corresponding public transport was lagging behind (Kruythoff & Teule, 1997),

Even though the strong national policy of the VINEX developments are in line with the earlier concepts from a national scale concerning growth and urbanization, from the 1980's liberalization became an important influence in spatial planning policy (Bontje, 2003; Janssen- Jansen, 2006; Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000). The idea that development can be planned top- down and hierarchically was abandoned, and decentralisation, participation processes and liberalization emerge (Bontje, 2003; Zonneveld, 2005).

Liberalization and decentralisation in Dutch planning
The shift towards decentralisation and liberalization after decades of more or less hierarchical- and centrally steered planning can be explained by the multi faceted concept of neo- liberalism, started in England with the Thatcher government (Waterhout et al., 2013; Olesen, 2013; Bälz & Zonneveld, 2018). Without giving an extensive overview on the emergence of neo- liberalism since the 1980's and the implications on institutions and governance (for more information see: Olesen, 2014;), this section focuses on the effects of neo- liberalism on centrally steered planning practice.

Neo- liberalism refers to new modes of socioeconomic regulation, in which the distributive policies and welfare provision by public authorities are exchanged by more market- led and market- oriented approaches. These approaches are broadly aimed at pursuing economic growth and competition (Waterhout et al., 2013).

Since the mid- eighties neo- liberalism have emerged in the planning realm in the Netherlands, and has an influence ever since. These changes towards a more market oriented planning approach did also lead to the acknowledgement that planning resides in multiple realities, due to the emergence of participation and the increasing voice of the public and in multi- scalar contexts that goes beyond the nation state boundaries (Boelens & de Roo, 2016).

Waterhout et al. (2013) define two stages in neo- liberal turn in planning from which the first stage ranges from the mid eighties to 2000 and the second stage from 2000 to present day.

After the financial crisis in the 1980's, the influence of political figures such as Thatcher and Reagan, and some failed attempts of the Dutch government to aid industrial sectors, new approaches on planning emerge. This new approaches were focused on economic growth and competitiveness, instead of serving predominantly housing provision in earlier decades: the role of market parties increased in order to serve this economic growth (Waterhout et al., 2013; Van Duinen, 2015). The rise of public- private partnerships was clearly reflected in the VINEX concept as mentioned earlier, but later in time these partnerships were criticized. Criticism rose in 2001, with the Fifth Planning Report. Even though this report has never been published due to the resignation of the cabinet, the restrictive planning policy in this report by imposing red- and green contours for urban growth, led to debates

about whether governments had the right to impose any binding legislation on regional and local land use (Waterhout et al., 2013).

The second stage of neo- liberalism in Dutch planning is defined with the National Spatial Strategy in 2006 and the continuous line towards more market involvement and decentralisation of planning tasks. The new governance model did not provide a framework in which planning development should be carried out. Rather, independent projects were identified, leading to a more output- and performance oriented approach. Project managers dominated the planning practice and collective ideas on how developments should take place lost ground significantly (Waterhout et al., 2013). Moreover, the idea that planners should be integrated in a new emerging network of several actors and stakeholders, instead of designing an overarching framework for urban development, have led to the loss of significance of centrally steered planning concepts (Boelens & de Roo, 2016; Gerrits et al., 2012). Hajer & Zonneveld (2000) also mention the emergence of the network society, through the increasing importance of infrastructure for economic growth. The focus on infrastructure and increasing mobility have led to growing flexibility of people in terms of mobility flows and individualism, as people are no longer dependent on pre- given biographical formats: new social relationships are emerging, which are not bounded in one specific place.

Next to the emergence of neo- liberal thinking, Buitelaar & Bregman (2012) mention the financial crisis of 2008 as a turning point in land development. They mention that before the crisis, and in the decades before, integrated land projects have resulted in a tightly coupled system in which a shock in just one part of the system may cause a total collapse of the project. The crisis of 2008 made perfectly clear what such a shock entails. Concepts such as VINEX, but also the large-scale housing developments of the growth centre concepts are examples of integrative developments, in which developments take place all at once, and characterized by blueprint planning (Buitelaar & Bregman, 2012, p. 1288). Both authors mention the emergence of organic land development, which takes place gradually, with more room for small developers and individuals.

5.4. Delta Metropolis concept

The Randstad region is often referred to as a polycentric region, consisting of distinct but proximately located cities in which the relation between those cities is rather synergetic (Meijers, 2005). The region of the Randstad is also often proclaimed as a classic example of this polycentric urban region, and a stereotype of a network of cities. Synergy between cities has always existed, but the mutual relationships between towns and cities have changed. Whereas first urban areas have had rather ''Christaller- like'' vertical relationships, since the 1990's the relationships have changed towards a more horizontal- and proportional structures (Meijers, 2005). The political- and societal context has also changed, from emphasis on national welfare provision and dispersion (i.e. Stadsgewesten) towards a focus on international competition and recognition of the Randstad in European contexts (Meijers, 2005). However, a definite break with traditional idea of the Randstad as a rural- urban dichotomy has never occurred (Van Duinen, 2015).

The Delta metropolis concept has emerged during the 1990's as a new spatial planning concept. The concept is proposed in 1996 by the four major cities in the Randstad: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. The aim of the Delta Metropolis concept was to present the Randstad as a region that had the capacity to rival any other urban regions in Europe (Van Duinen, 2015). The urge for competitiveness in economic terms and the need for synergy in activities of people in the region started discussions about the value of metropolitan development (Meijers, 2005).

The Metropolitan debate was divided in to two groups. The first group were the major four cities, whose aim was to strengthen the economic position of the Randstad in order to overcome problems concerning urbanization. In the mid 1990's the persisting congestion in the four cities and the changing post- industrial economy resulted in selected migration of higher income households and companies towards the city fringes and regions outside the Randstad (van Duinen, 2015). The four

major cities believed that these developments would lead to a weak position in Europe. Besides that, the ministry of Economy included a new concept in an explorative report on the spatial future of the Netherlands, influenced by developments in Belgium and Germany: corridor development. However, the four major cities believed that corridor development was not the best way to enhance economic development. Rather, it would cause more dispersion (Van Duinen, 2015). Before the national government would enclose corridor development in their policies, the four cities came with their own vision on the future of the Randstad. Not only the economic competitive character of the region was important. Also how European legislation should be implemented in the Randstad was, and still is, an important goal (Regio Randstad, 2016, p.5).

The second group of debaters for the Delta Metropolis concept approached this concept slightly different. In 2000 twelve municipalities and four chambers of commerce established the Delta Metropolis Association. Later on, other parties such as housing corporations and firms were affiliated (Meijers, 2005). The association serves as a think- tank and lobby group for metropolitan developments in the Randstad. However, in contrast to the first group formed by the four major cities, the association focuses on the Randstad as one urban form, that serves as a great leap forward in order to face international competition (van Duinen, 2015). This means that in this view, there are no four separate cities in the region, but rather one coherent European metropolis. The association believes that the dominant urban scale of the four cities is not sufficient to tackle problems, such as congestion and household mobility (Van Duinen, 2015). In terms of urban form, this means that the rural- urban dichotomy is left behind and a merge of green and urban developments in the Green Heart in order to establish one coherent metropolis was advocated.

The new Delta Metropolis concept is different from other planning concepts with the Randstad as context, such as the earlier described VINEX neighbourhoods or growth centres. The Delta Metropolis concept, and the corresponding platforms and groups within the Metropolitan debate, was initiated by regional- and local actors and not by the national government (Meijers, 2005; Van Duinen, 2015). However, the importance of a national imposed policy framework remained important: there was a wish for new national planning report with a focus on metropolitan development. By introducing a Randstad Committee, it was believed that the thoughts about metropolitan development from the first group (strong position of the Randstad, but persistence of the rural- urban structure of the Green Heart) would be published in this new planning report, leaving the Delta Metropolis Associations as a think- tank without any political grounds (Van Duinen, 2015). However, even though the Minister of Planning favoured the ideas of the first group, the Minister of Transport was in awe of the ideas of the Association. The minister attempted to improve the transport and infrastructure in the Randstad, due to the large-scale congestion in the area. Instead of developing new roads and public transport in the existing ring of urbanization, the development of new transport modes through the Green Heart would solve the congestion problem more effectively (Van Duinen, 2015). At the end, the idea of the Delta Metropolis concept as one coherent European metropolis was dismissed. It was believed that the scale of this metropolis was too large for the daily activities of people. Also from an environmental perspective, the enhancement of nodes, rather than developing new ones seemed more promising. The Fifth Planning Report opted for a green- blue Metropolis, with concentration of urbanization near the Randstad ring, leaving the Green Heart open. All though the Fifth Planning Report has never been published, the statements made concerning the Randstad were endorsed in later spatial statements (Van Duinen, 2015).
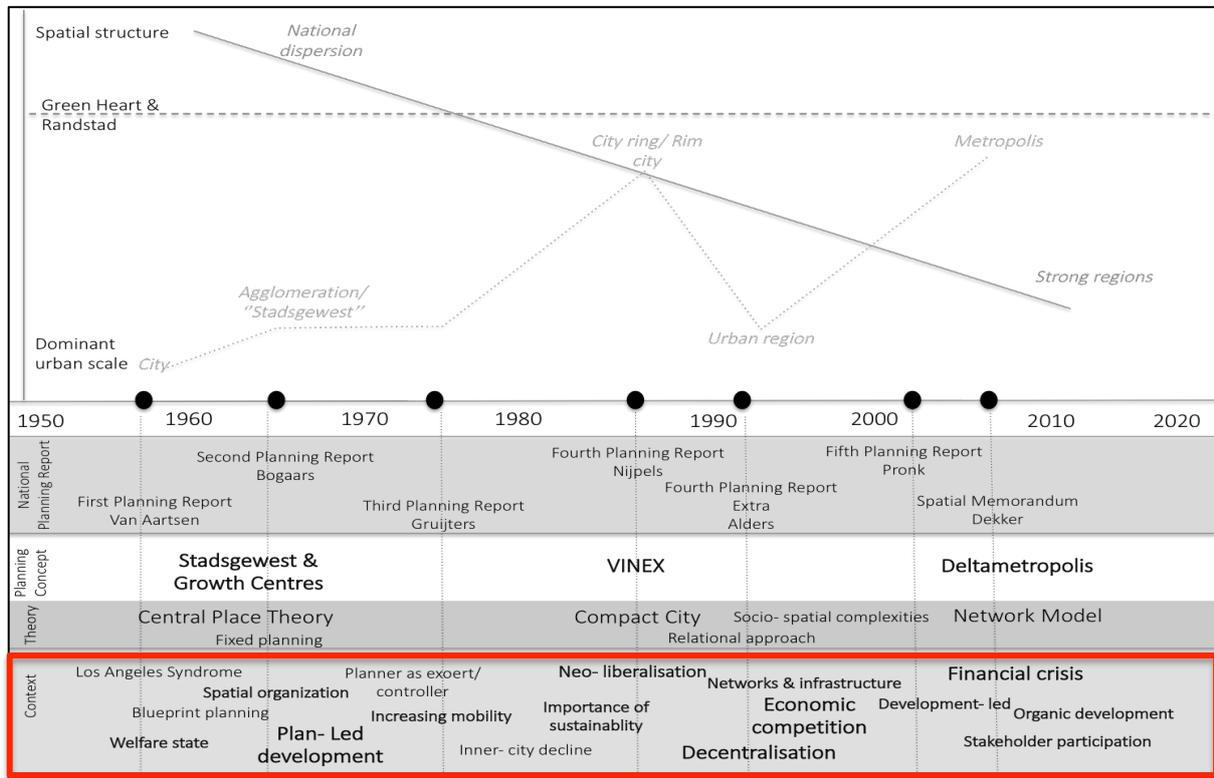
Figure 7: the organizational- and normative characteristics in relation to the national planning concepts (from: de Boer & Kooijmans (2007), own adjustments)

The dominance of rural- urban discourse & current socio- spatial challenges

The dominance of the dichotomy of urban and rural, which is rooted in national planning policy for decades, has remained. It shows the persistence of a specific discourse and how different actors, forces and power relations can prevent a new concept from succeeding. Even though a shift has occurred from the focus on spatial structure, housing developments and welfare distribution towards the importance of functional development and competitiveness, the rural- urban dichotomy is strongly institutionalized in Dutch spatial planning. Even in the last national vision on the Randstad , the Randstad 2040 report, the metropolitan character of the area is characterized with a metropolitan green ''park'' and the preservation of open spaces (Balz & Zonneveld, 2018). However, the latest national structural vision from 2012 (National Policy Strategy for Infrastructure, ''SVIR'') shows the effects of neo-liberalism and the urge or decentralisation of planning tasks, resulting in a weaker planning policy on a national scale. The national interest in this report has decreased to a bare minimum. Also, the structural vision mainly focuses on economic competition and reliable infrastructure and transport, meaning that any statement about the spatial organization of the Randstad on a national scale is not mentioned (Balz & Zonneveld, 2018; Structuurvisie Infrastructuur & Ruimte, 2012).

In the to be published National Area Vision (NOVI), the Green Heart is not directly mentioned. Rather, it focuses on how collective cooperation should be facilitated for new spatial developments and for which areas this is desired (Ministry of Infrastructure & Environment, 2017). It is the question whether the rural- urban discourse remains dominant. Moreover, the national government is steering on accelerating housing development plans, since demographical prognosis reveal an extensive population growth (Rijksoverheid, 2018). Also private parties envision this growth: real estate

developers and construction workers are aiming on developing 1 million houses before 2030 (NEPROM, 2018). Whether this assignment has impact on the prevailing Green Heart and Randstad structure is yet to be determined. Lastly, the decentralisation raises the question whether nationally steered planning, and especially the use of concepts on this level, have lost its relevance completely when it comes to growth management and urbanization in the Randstad or if a national planning concept still has value for the growth management challenges in current timeframe.

6. Methodology

6.1. Methods & techniques

The aim of this research is to investigate whether nationally steered planning concepts are still of relevance in current timeframe concerning urbanization and growth management challenges in the Randstad. As mentioned, earlier planning concepts on a national scale are researched through close examination of its normative-, organizational- and analytical dimensions. Moreover, structural changes in these dimensions are mentioned. These dimensions and it structural changes in relation to planning concepts are the theoretical bases on which empirical research is done.

This master thesis conducts deductive qualitative research in which theory forms the basis of empirical research from which recommendations are distilled. Theories concerned are the nature of concepts in general, whether scientific or societal, and the way concepts change over time through shifts in paradigms. Moreover, focussing on planning concepts, the three dimensions mentioned by Balz & Zonneveld (2018) for interpreting concepts are important as a basis of theory from which recommendation can be distilled. Finally, the relationship between theory and planning practice is of importance in this empirical research.

Deductive research is seen as the most common view on doing research in social sciences (Brymann, 2016). This type of research draws further on what is already known in a particular domain and relevant theories and distils hypotheses from these factors for own empirical research (Brymann, 2016, p. 21). Important here is to operationalize this, or these, hypothesis/ hypotheses. Theory is used to design the hypothesis, which in turn is the driving force behind empirical inquiry (Merton, 1967; Brymann, 2016). This master thesis have shown how national planning concepts are prone to change due to analytical, organizational and normative views and dimensions. It has also shown that decentralisation and neo- liberalisation have caused a conceptual break in national planning policy and concepts. Theory behind these changes is rooted in the paradigm shifts mentioned by Kuhn (1962), Lakatos (1970) and Zonneveld (1989). Moreover, theories concerning the compact city and urban networks have been a base layer for distilling planning concepts. The hypothesis that function as starting point for empirical research may be the following:

National steered planning concepts, both the content and effectuation are out of date due to structural changes in organizational-, analytical and normative thinking.

In order to confront this hypothesis through empirical research, semi- structured expert interviews are held. Qualitative research, in contrast to quantitative research, gives more insight in questions concerning ''how'' and ''why'' (Boeije et al., 2009; Rudestam, 2007). These are important questions to ask in this particular research, because it gives more insight in why changes in planning policy and concepts occur and how experts in the planning field think about nationally steered concepts and national planning policy. In contrast, quantitative research focuses on predicting and controlling information, whereas qualitative research aims on gathering knowledge from research participants, which was not accessible in any other way (Rudestam, 2007). It thus values the subjectivity of participants, which is not the case in quantitative research where objectivity and standardization are key factors.

Topic	No.	Function	Date
Spatial policy and connection between urban- and rural spaces	1	Spatial planning researcher	20th of June 2018
Spatial policy in Amsterdam concerning growth and the value of planning concepts in municipal policy	2	Urban planner at the municipality of Amsterdam	19th of July 2018
Relation between real estate developments, planning policy and planning concepts/ view on urbanization & growth	3	Spatial planning expert	24th of July 2018
Real estate developments in the Randstad area and the impact of planning policy and planning concepts/ view on urbanization & growth	4	Real estate developer	13th of August 2018
Real estate developments in the Randstad area and the impact of planning policy and planning concepts/ view on urbanization & growth	5	Real estate developer	13th of August 2018
Relation between policy and architecture in developments in the Randstad/ view on urbanization & growth	6	Architect	14th of August 2018
Spatial policy in Utrecht concerning growth and the value of planning concepts in municipal policy	7	Alderman at the municipality of Utrecht	15th of August 2018
National challenges concerning growth and urban development in the Randstad and the relation with coordination between administrative layers/ relevance of national planning concepts	8	High officer at the national government	23rd of August 2018
Investment strategy concerning housing and urban pressure in the Randstad and the relation with the government	9	Real estate investor	23rd of August 2018
Investment strategy concerning housing and urban pressure in the Randstad and the relation with the government	10	Real estate investor	23rd of August 2018
Investment strategy concerning housing and urban pressure in the Randstad and the relation with the government	11	Real estate investor	24th of August 2018
Real estate developments in the Randstad area and the impact of planning policy and planning concepts/ view on urbanization & growth	12	Real estate developer	24th of August 2018
Real estate developments in the Randstad area and the impact of planning policy and planning concepts/ view on urbanization & growth	13	Real estate developer	24th of August 2018
Aim of the Green Metropolis and related view on urbanization in the Randstad/ view on planning concepts concerning green spaces and networks	14	Employee Staatsbosbeheer	27th of August 2018
Aim of the ''Delta Metropolis'' association and related view on urbanization in the Randstad/ view on Delta Metropolis as planning concept	15	Employee Delta Metroplis association	6th of September 2018
Spatial policy in The Hague concerning growth and the value of planning concepts in municipal policy	16	Spatial planner at the municipality of the Hague	26th of September 2018
Real estate developments in the Randstad area and the impact of planning policy and planning concepts/ view on urbanization & growth	17	Spatial planning expert	14th of September 2018

Table 1: List of respondents

The choice for semi- structured interviews is made, because of the empirical aim to distinct the views and opinions of experts and stakeholders in the planning field concerning urbanization and growth management in the Randstad area. All the conducted interviews have a list of predetermined questions, but give room for new topics that respondents think were important to mention (Longhurst, 2003). It gives more flexibility in the interviews and makes it unfold into a conversation, rather than an interrogation of questions. Because of the distinct expertise of each respondent, the question list differs in each interview. However, the same topics are used. The topic list is based on the academic literature that is used in this thesis and the current views, stances and developments in the Randstad concerning urbanization pressure and growth management. In Table 1, the list of interviewees is displayed. The main goal of the research is to collect different views concerning the thesis topic within the given contextual framework. Because of this, a wide variety of actors are chosen: from public authorities, such as municipal counsellors to private parties, such as project developers, architects and real estate investors. Planning concepts all affect these actors in a different way. On the other hand, these actors may have opinions about desired spatial developments concerning growth and may give an indication whether planning concepts are useful to fulfil these

desires. When it comes to area developments, the following actors have key positions: the government (municipalities, but also other administrative layers), real estate developers, architects and real estate investors. All together, these actors ensure that the given development succeeds. As growth management challenges today are related to housing production, but also other urban functions, these actors are important respondents for this research. Together with researchers concerning spatial development and/ or spatial planning, this makes up the whole actor playing field.

6.2. Operationalization

Semi- structured interviews are held with experts and relevant actors within the field of urban development, growth management in the Randstad and the operation of nationally steered planning concepts. In total, twelve interviews are conducted with sixteen respondents. As mentioned earlier, these respondents have different backgrounds, ranging from governmental employees to real estate developers and investors.

The planning structure in the Randstad and the way development for housing and other urban structures takes place, have different scales, different policy fields and different actors (Boelens, 2010). All together these actors, fields and scales shape planning practice and the related urban developments. Because of this, in order to get a clear image of the general stance in urbanization in the Randstad and the value of planning concepts, it is interesting to gather views from all these different actors, who are all operating on different spatial scales and have different relationships with planning concepts, urbanization and growth management. As mentioned earlier, theory is used as a base from which questions and topics are distilled. In table 2, these theoretical backgrounds and related aspects are mentioned. By asking questions related to these topics and aspects, the goal is to generate knowledge that gives insight in how different actors think about the urbanization in the Randstad and the value of national planning concepts. The three dimensions for interpretation of planning concepts from Balz & Zonneveld (2018) are used as a theoretical base. Moreover, the research also focuses on views concerning structural shifts in these dimensions and the relation with planning concepts.

Theoretical background	Aspects
Discourses (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005; Zonneveld, 1989)	Change in discourse Social- and physical phenomena
Normative dimension (Balz & Zonneveld, 2018): *the most important debates about desired spatial developments*	Urban- Rural discourse Metropolis discourse Compact City development
Analytical dimension (Balz & Zonneveld, 2018): *The important theories that are linked to planning concepts, together with the relation between theory and desires for spatial developments*	Theory: compact city, network model, spatial interdependencies Relationship between theory and practice
Organizational dimension (Balz & Zonneveld, 2018) *the best use of organization, both in implementation and on which administrative scale*	Political dimension Planning strategy Administrative scale
Nationally steered planning concepts (Zonneveld, 1991; Van der Valk & Faludi, 1997) *The value of national planning concepts, together with its important characteristics*	Communicational power Desired development of spatial organization Nature of spatial interventions Planning doctrine

Table 2: Theoretical aspects

The respondents have been asked at the beginning of the interview whether they agree with the interview being recorded. Recording the interviews makes it more reliable to interpret the given answers correctly and thus is an important aspect for providing transparency and reliability. After the interviews are held, the recorded tapes are transcribed in detail. After transcribing, codes and sub-codes are formed according to the topics mentioned in table 2. With these codes the empirical results are analysed. Because the interviews are semi- structured, codes deriving from unexpected topics and conversational turns are distilled. An overview of these codes can be found in Appendix A.

6.3. Ethics, limitations and risks

Subjectivity of the researcher is an important aspect in social research through reflecting and interpreting the narratives from the conducted interviews. The researcher becomes in this stage also a ''narrator''. This so- called reflexivity is a fundamental construct in social research (Rudestam, 2007). The construction of knowledge is a key factor in doing research. This construction of knowledge should be handled delicately, because social research do not only involve the knowledge and opinions of its research respondents, but also the constructs and interpretations of the researcher (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). Reflexivity is used to reflect on, and to take a ''step back'' from, the conducted research. It is a process of critical reflection on how knowledge is generated and how this knowledge is eventually used in research (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). Being aware of how knowledge is used and generated does not mean that the research conducted is free from any values of the researcher. However, the use of reflexivity gives a notion of awareness to the researcher to act in the most ethical way possible.

The evaluation of this research is done through the three terms commonly used to evaluate qualitative research: reliability, replication and validity (Byrmann, 2012). The trustworthiness of the empirical results is in terms of reliability important. This research has involved the selection of a topic list, and question for the semi- structured interviews that are inherently linked to the used theory and the three dimensions of Balz & Zonneveld (2018). By doing so, the topic list and questions are held in line with the central question, and the related sub questions, of this research. Replication is also important, in which it should be possible that someone else may replicate the findings of this research. By giving a clear description of the methods used, and an exhaustive explanation of how the research has taken its operationalization measures, replication of the finding should be possible. In this case, transparency is an important factor that alters the reproducibility of the research (Life, 1994). In terms of validity, attention is drawn to the way the conclusion of the research can be generalized beyond the research context. Within qualitative research, validity is challenging, because of the incorporation of subjectivity and rigour (Whittemore et al., 2001). Whittemore et al. (2001) distinguish two kinds of criteria, in which the primary criteria are necessary to all qualitative inquiry, such as integrity, reflection and authenticity, and the secondary criteria are based on creativity and explicitness, which provides further benchmarks for adding quality to the research. The context related nature of this research is an example of the impact of these secondary criteria for validity: it provides more quality to the research by giving a clear contextual framework in which research has taken place. In this case, the Randstad area and the corresponding contexts in organizational, normative and analytical dimensions in terms of planning concepts is the leading framework in which research is taken place. This research does not aim on generalizing any outcomes of research, because these outcomes are inherently related to the contextual framework. Rather, validity of the research is possible through the primary criteria. In this case, validity is in qualitative research is stipulated by finding the optimal methodological techniques, and the room for critical reflection on the research. Generalization in terms of content is not the main goal.

7. Results & Analysis

Out of the held expert interviews data has been derived. This chapter will focus on the results from this data and relates it to the theory discussed in previous sections. Resuming to the central research questions and the related sub questions, these results should give answer on these formulated questions. These are the following:

How are planning concepts concerning growth management in The Randstad since the First Planning Report related to its corresponding planning contexts in analytical-, organizational and normative terms, and to what extent are nationally steered planning concepts still useful for current growth management challenges and corresponding planning context?

From this central question, four sub- questions are defined:

1. What are planning-related concepts and what are its (intended) functions in planning?
2. Which planning-related concepts concerning growth management appear on the stage since the first planning report and what were their perceived effects?
3. How did these concepts relate to the changes in planning context during this timeframe?
4. What is the (perceived) added value of these kinds of planning concepts within the present planning context?

The results will focus on the second-, third- and fourth research question, whereby the centre of gravity lies on the fourth sub question: the added value of national planning concepts concerning growth management in current timeframe. The second and third sub questions are already extensively discussed in the previous chapters. These chapters made clear which national planning concepts concerning growth management have appeared on stage since the First Planning Report and how these concepts are related to changes in planning contexts. The empirical results will give insight in which planning concepts are of relevance in current timeframe according to the respondents and how the context is related to the value of these concepts. The context is broken down in organizational- normative- and analytical dimensions, ensuring a clear image of current context. Moreover, the results will also focus on mentioned changes in context, which has been brought in line with the outcome of analysis of the national planning concepts and its related contexts in the previous chapters: are there any changes in which factors of contexts may have influence on the formulation of planning concepts? This change is related to the changes in discourses discussed by Hajer & Versteeg (2005).
The fourth- and last sub question is related to the value of national planning concepts in general. Respondents gave answer to questions such as: are national planning concepts of relevance or should we use concepts on lower administrative scales? Other related questions are the following: ''Do we need any general steering of the national government concerning growth management in the Randstad, and: do we need planning concepts in general to face growth management challenges in the Randstad?

The first part of the results will focus on the context in current timeframe, following the three dimensions of Balz & Zonneveld (2018). By representing these results first, a clear image of current context and related growth management challenges according to the respondents is given. With a clear idea about the exact challenges and the related context in mind, the second part of the results will focus on the value of national planning concepts in this current timeframe and context. Thereafter, these visions on the context of current timeframe are then compared to the thoughts and beliefs of the analysed contexts and the relating planning concepts in earlier chapters of this thesis. Are there any changes to observe?

In the second part, the results will focus on the meaning of planning concepts according to respondents. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the definition of planning concepts mentioned by Zonneveld (1991) is used throughout this thesis in order to analyse those concepts that fit this definition. When asking respondents about the added value of national planning concepts, it is interesting whether the respondents formulate the same definition as posed by Zonneveld (1991). In other words: are we discussing the same phenomenon? Then, the fourth sub question will be answered fully by focussing on the details of the definition, which have been discussed in the theoretical framework. By looking closely at these details, the results represented give more insight how respondents think about the value of national planning concepts in current time frame, and-/ or which aspects of the definition of Zonneveld (1991) are still of value in current timeframe with the related urban growth challenges.

7.1. Context in current time frame

The first part of the results represents the views on the current context in which national planning concepts may be of use and of value. Within this thesis, contexts and relating national planning concepts since the First Planning Report have been analysed to give a clear image on how these concepts are related the these specific contexts. Balz & Zonnveld (2018) formulate three dimensions, which are prone for interpretation when it comes to planning concepts, and show how these dimensions have shaped planning concepts, such as the VINEX. First, the results will represent the normative assumptions of respondents relating to society and spatial structures. Thereafter, the results related to the other two dimensions are shown: the organizational- and analytic dimension.

Normative dimension: innovative transitions and urgency of housing development

The normative dimension concerning planning concepts is related to the way in which spatial problems are framed, meaning that this activity is highly subjective (Davoudi, 2003; Faludi, 1996). In other words, the normative dimension is about how people perceive society and which views they have on society. These specific views have influence on which societal events people see as a problem, and for which they think a solution should be found. Faludi (1996) relates this to framing of problems, in which framing is a way to create a constructed image of reality: a reality that is built of subjective assumptions. An important aspect of this normative dimension is the need for broad support in order to make a certain spatial development reality. As earlier mentioned, the Green Heart is an example, where a broad support has resulted in a rather green open space and a ring of urban development around it (Balz & Zonneveld, 2018).

The economic crisis is often mentioned as a concerning moment in which too little has been added to the housing stock. For example, Respondent 18 mentions that the general idea during the crisis was that of a momentum in which new housing production was not needed, as the demographical growth prognosis for the near future was not urgently high. The views on the urgency of housing production in de Randstad vary between respondents. For example, Respondent 1 sees the assignment of adding 1 million houses as non- substantial: the urgency for that many houses has been from all times. From the perspective of the VINEX assignment, this may be true, since during that time 455.000 houses were planned for development in 10 years meaning an average housing development of 45.500 houses per year. On the contrary, other respondents mention that adding 1 million houses is exceptional and is seen as a totally new assignment in comparison to other timeframes. This discrepancy in urgency for the housing assignment results in different spatial designations where housing development should be taken place. The respondents with a rather ''moderate'' view on the housing development assignment believe that most of these developments can be solved in inner city boundaries. The respondents who believe in the high urgency of this assignment also see opportunities for bigger development designations on the urban fringes. However, all respondents

believe that most developments should be assigned first within inner city boundaries. An example of a rather moderate view on this assignment is the statement of Respondent 18:

''The primary task is not the development of 1 million houses; rather the primary task is the urban transition. Which does not mean you cannot build some houses around the city fringes, but that is not the primary task to conduct. It is about how do we reach that energy transition, how do we reach further compaction in the inner city?'' – Respondent 18

Moreover, the content of the assignment for growth management varies between respondents. Some see growth management in relation to the assignment of 1 million houses as a challenge: combining this growth with new transitions, such as mobility and energy is a hard task to conduct. These respondents state that the development of houses has first priority. However, Respondent 18 mention that the assignment of developing 1 million houses is not of primary concern. Rather, it is about making the city future-proof by integrating these new transitions in the existing urban fabric. This means that respondents frame the primary assignment of the Randstad in spatial terms differently, which leads to different ideas about spatial futures and relating planning concepts. As an example on how these transitions can be integrated, Respondent 7 states that transitions concerning energy and mobility, but also climate adaptation should first be consolidated into smaller development projects, which then can function as a pilot or example for the transition assignment in existing urban fabric as a whole:

''For that matter, the assignment of the Merwedekanaal zone is the assignment of Utrecht as a whole. The Merwedekanaal zone is a ''blank page'', but consolidated in an existing urban fabric, giving it the change to develop things in a different way from the beginning. For example, parking rates and mobility hubs.'' – Respondent 7

Transitions in relation to spatial development are an important subject, which has been mentioned by nearly all respondents. The transitions that should be a component of urban development, whether or not of primary concern or as supplement of the housing development growth, are related to new uses of energy (wind-, water-, sun- and other sustainable energy forms), smart mobility (transit oriented development, new forms of mobility often related to sustainability and network developments), agriculture and climate adaptation.

Organizational dimension: views on spatial- and administrative scales for spatial interventions

The role of politics and the mode of operation of planning on several administrative scales encompass the organizational dimension introduced by Balz & Zonneveld (2018). Governmental influences have shaped planning and the use of planning concepts the past decades, mostly through the national planning reports (Priemus, 2005; Gerrits et al., 2012). However, decentralisation policies after the Fourth Report Extra and consolidated in reports thereafter also gave more governmental influences on lower scales, such as provinces, regions and municipalities (Roodbol- Mekkes et al., 2012). Besides the extent of operation of decision making on several administrative scales, the organizational dimension also encompass the mode of operation between departments and other administrative entities. The definition of Schön (2005) is related to territories of political action, but Balz & Zonneveld (2018) additionally state that the organizational dimension is about all areas where distinct policy is made and all areas where policy measures take effect (Balz & Zonneveld, 2018, p. 366).

From sectorial- towards integrative decision-making
Societal developments seems getting more important in housing developments, which leads to a call

for a more integrative approach in these spatial developments. Respondents face problems in integration, due, in their beliefs, to the sectorial system of ministries and departments on the national administrative scale. Respondent 6 gives an example of an area development in which the concept of reducing health costs by developing in a certain way was prevailing. However, this plan never made it to realisation. In his view, the reason was that the ministry of healthcare and the ministry that is responsible for housing developments did not collaborate effectively. Moreover, respondents do also mention the lack of integral decision-making with regards to spatial developments and important future transitions, such as energy, climate change and mobility. Respondents feel that the assignments for urban growth should always be intertwined with these transitions, meaning that the sectorial structure of decision- making and administration should change.

''We cannot divide the city in sectors anymore, even though they do exist. Within the city these sectors are highly integrated. There already are large researches when it comes to the transition from sectorial to a more integral approach. However, at this moment there are hundreds of small projects combining sectors, such as windmills and nature. So that is something where we should work on. I am convinced that succeeding in this is highly needed.''- Respondent 13

Conclusively, most respondents see opportunities in more integrative collaborations between departments and ministries in order to stimulate a better integration of societal developments and future transitions with urban development. The next section focuses on the territories posed by Schön (2005), and represents results concerning the most effective geographical scale to face growth management challenges. Besides focusing on which scale is best suitable for collaborations concerning decision-making, this section also represents results concerning the three layers of administrative decision- making (national- provincial- and municipal scales), and the extent which respondents think that this three tier ''Thorbeckian'' system is effective enough to face growth management challenges.

The metropolis as administrative or integrative scale for decision- making
The idea of a metropolis consolidated in the Randstad area was already mentioned in the first planning reports. However, the Deltametropolis concept that emerged in the beginning of 2000 did also plea for the metropolis as an administrative entity. Discussions about changing, or even adding a layer to the ''Thorbeckian'' structure of administration (The national-, provincial- and municipal scale), leads to interesting views on which administrative scale is best suitable for the implementation of housing developments and other growth management strategies. Respondent 7 mention that strategies and decision- making concerning housing developments and urban growth can be best taken care of by city agglomerations, instead of the classic administrative structure that exists now.

''In my opinion, deleting the provincial scale and forming solid urban agglomerations is a more logical approach for urban collaborations. This is in my view a more logic administrative unit. And maybe the idea of sub municipalities just like the divisions in Amsterdam is also very interesting. So it could be an interesting debate whether you should stick to the classic ''Thorbeckian'' structure or something else. It could be possible to make the distinction between districts, urban agglomerations and then the national level. So keeping three administrative layers, but with a different layout.''- Respondent 7

Other respondents, such as Respondent 9 do not see any chances for a re evaluation of the Randstad as a integrative metropolitan scale, believing in the power of smaller ''metropolises'' without redefining the classic administrative structure of national- provincial- and municipal levels. Respondent 3 is also sceptical about the metropolis or the Randstad as suitable level for collaboration, because there are too many different opinions in that debate.

''So taking the Randstad level as administrative scale, we have tried this in the past with the Randstad Report, but it was not a great success. So actually, I think we are again focussing on the ''wing-approach'' (vleugelaanpak): the North- and South wing.''- Respondent 9

''Well, it will give so much hassle, the whole organisation. I think it is better to leave that behind. Do you know what I mean? There is so much difference in views and it will lead to so much hassle if you really want to work on the metropolitan scale. The content of what really matters will not benefit from that.'' – Respondent 3

On the other hand, Respondent 5 do see opportunities in the Randstad metropolis as a suitable scale for decision- making and collaboration, saying that this will benefit the designation of development areas and could give a clearer picture of what is possible in terms of real estate development in the Randstad as a whole. Also Respondent 10 & 11 see opportunities in strengthening the role of the metropolis in organizational and administrative terms, because they believe this will benefit metropolitan development, which is for them a major focus for real estate investments.

''In my opinion, it is important that from a higher scale, higher than municipalities and regions, markings should be set in which developments may take place. And I think that you could do that beautifully from the idea of a Randstad metropolis I would say. Thereafter, it is up to real estate developers, investors and building contractors to ''fill in'' these designated areas.'' – Respondent 5

Other respondents mention the level of ''daily urban systems'' as crucial layers for housing- and urban growth development. These systems are found between regions and municipalities and resemble the distance people cover daily. Besides that, respondents see more opportunities in using the daily urban system as scale for implementing area developments, in which housing- mobility- and other developments are taken place at the same time. Respondent mention that the Metropolitan Region Amsterdam covers the daily urban systems surrounding Amsterdam perfectly. Respondent 1 and Respondent 7 also mention daily urban systems, where the latter clearly indicates that this scale is best related with the pace of urban development and collaborations:

''So that ''in between space'' is the level where area developments are taking place. So it is not local, but also is it hard to define as regional. It is rather the place where daily urban systems are taking place.'' – Respondent 1

''These urban agglomerations with logical connections in terms of urban planning, traffic and employment opportunities are in fact daily urban systems. This scale really fits the way how Utrecht is developing and how collaborations are evolving.'' - Respondent 7

In general, the idea of a metropolis as an important level for housing development and growth management is rejected. There is more faith in the idea of daily urban systems, which covers the daily distances people cover. On the other hand, the ''Vleugelbenadering'', which was already been introduced in 2006 within the Spatial Report, is also preferred. What is clear is the fact that all respondents see opportunities in collaborations on the regional scale, whether these are taken place between municipalities, or in forms such as the Metropolitan Region Amsterdam.

The urgency for a national vision
As shown above there is diversity in opinions about the potential of the Randstad as important layer for collaboration concerning growth management strategies and decision- making. However, it seems that all respondents opt for a clearer role of the national government when it comes to general vision about how growth should be managed in the Randstad, but also in the Netherlands as a whole. Decentralisation and liberalization of the planning system are still seen as good developments, but respondents feel that the national level is lacking in formulating a general vision. It is believed that the urgency for the production of 1 million houses, whether or not together with important transitions and bottle- necks, such as mobility and climate adaptation, needs a general vision on the national

level, which is now absent. The wish for a clear vision from the national government stems from nearly all respondents: from government officials, spatial planning experts to market parties, such as real estate developers:

''Right now we are on a crossroad: what are we going to do? Maybe we should go back to the organisational structure of the VINEX: the content could have been different, but the organization was working well. And some say you should leave the decision-making to the regions: I think that is not desirable.'' – Respondent 3

''An important aspect is the accessibility of the Randstad by car and public transport: that is of crucial importance. In my opinion, it is very important that this will be organized from a central, national level.''- Respondent 5

Not only private parties and lowers governmental levels opt for a more active role of the national government. Respondent 9 also acknowledge this urgency:

''The question is with the assignment that we have today whether the movement towards decentralisation has been gone too far. Actually, we think that too. So we are thinking about a new organizational approach, without going back to the original situation with a strong national government. We are thinking about a shoulder to shoulder approach, rather than the hierarchy of decentralisation.''- Respondent 9

It is clear that respondents face problems in the assignment of housing production and other related growth management developments, such as infrastructure networks. Even though collaborations on regional levels and within daily urban systems are seen as very preferable, respondents mention that the assignment is transcending this level when it comes to defining a clear vision. This means that a clear national framework is needed, but the implementation and developments should still be taken place between stakeholders on lower governmental tiers. In that sense, the deployment of decentralisation of planning since the Fifth Planning Report is still broadly supported. However, during these decentralisation processes, respondents feel that the national government has lost an important task in planning and decision- making: a general framework of the important spatial assignments is highly needed.

Lack of knowledge in Dutch planning and decision- making
The challenges of housing production and the related transitions and societal challenges are seen as very extensive. However, most respondents see problems in facing these challenges, because of the lack of knowledge in governmental tiers, and the absence of spatial planning departments. During the financial crisis, which started in 2008, governments and other administrative bodies have economized on its spatial planning departments, eventually losing expert knowledge within their governmental boundaries. A few respondents mention the absence of the National Planning Department (Rijksplanologische Dienst):

''Those people who have knowledge about spatial- and environmental planning, they are no longer there. Previously the National Planning Department existed. So, when you do not have the know- how anymore, what can you expect?''- Respondent 3

Others criticize the disappearing of other knowledge bodies, both on local- and national scales. Respondent 13 mentions that the assignment we face today is one that has never occurred before. Because of this, she opts for a new discipline in which knowledge can be gathered. Also Respondent 2 mention the diminishing of local knowledge bodies as a negative development:

''In Amsterdam, we have had a public housing service. Next to the fact that this service subsidized social housing, they also had a lot of knowledge. During the 1990's this service completely diminished'' – Respondent 2

''We really should develop a new discipline, together with the extensive assignment and challenges we face. Besides that, we need to build up knowledge, also for our companies so that they can be internationally competitive. I think there are some opportunities, because the assignment is huge: 1 million houses.''- Respondent 13

In general, the given fact that on a national scale there is no special ministry or department concerning housing and spatial planning is worrisome for most respondents. Respondents relate this most of the times with the extensive assignment in housing and urban development we face today. Expert knowledge seems to be highly needed in order to overcome these challenges effectively.

Analytical dimension: the use of theory as fundament for spatial interventions and patterns

The analytical dimension has links with theoretical knowledge, which can be found in planning concepts and ideas about spatial development. Following the statements of Balz & Zonneveld (2018), analytical knowledge and theory is used as a base layer for understanding planning concepts or spatial structures, but also gives room for own interpretation. As Davoudi (2003) mentions, theoretical assumptions are related to societal- and spatial events, potentially leading to different interpretations of theory in practice. Earlier in this thesis, some theories are explained and eventually connected to nationally steered planning concepts from the past decades: compact city development, the network model and the central place theory. By relating these theories to planning practice, how theory is interrelated can be revealed. For example, the compact city theory has been used as a fundament of thought for designating satellite towns as a part of the growth centre concept.

Compact city thinking is still rooted in the views of respondents when it comes to new spatial developments. The idea of just developing on green field sites without any relation with the existing urban structure has no preference. As mentioned earlier, depending on the normative assumptions about the housing assignment of 1 million houses, some respondents think that all developments should and could be taken place within the existing urban structure. Others think that developing around city fringes is unavoidable. For example, Respondent 7 gives an example of new urban development from which he fears that this planned development will be less compact than desired:

''We also have a conversation with the municipality of Woerden. They are planning for a development near the station, whereof we are saying that if you are planning to do so, make it as compact as possible. However, they are aiming on lower densities and flexible parking rates. But the question is: is that desirable?''- Respondent 7

Other respondents mention that compact development is most desirable in relation with public transport and mobility. When new housing developments occur at the fringes of urban structures or even in green fields, this may lead to a urgency for big investments in infrastructure, since these new urban developments should also be well connected to the existing urban fabric. Respondent 17 state that developing around city fringes and in green fields will eventually lead to more costs for public authorities:

''There is an extensive discussion going on about how we should increase public transport nodes. I think a part of this problem is a result of the green field developments from the past decades: we did not develop any qualitative public transport infrastructure. We are procrastinating and the bill should eventually be paid.''- Respondent 17

When asking further about what respondents gather under ''compact city development'', the ideas partly deviate the theoretical assumptions, mentioned by Dieleman et al. (1999) and others. Literature assumes that compact city development prevents urban sprawl, by developing cities in such a way that it is appropriate for walking, cycling and the use of public transport, making the urban form very important (Ekin et al., 1991) Even though Dieleman et al. (1999) state that compact city developments can occur in polycentric regions, there is always the assumption that compact city development is related with existing towns and cities (Thomas et al., 1996). However, some respondents mention that compact city developments in their view can also occur around existing infrastructure, meaning that the theoretical assumption is extended from development in- and around towns only towards the potential for further development around modalities too. For example, Respondent 2 and Respondent 4 state that developing between cities, ensuring that the urban ring of the Randstad is strengthened, is desirable, which they also see as compact urban development. This means that urban development partly follows important transport nodes, such as highways and train infrastructure:

''I told you about the planned developments between Schiphol and Amsterdam, but you also have the area between Utrecht and Amstel Station in Amsterdam. Those are directions from which we think these have potential. And the most interesting, is that between Utrecht and Amsterdam a lot of infrastructure is already there. Those are areas where it is possible to develop housing and other urban functions. And will we see how far that may happen: up till Utrecht, Breukelen, who knows.''- Respondent 2

''The Randstad will become an urban fringe more and more. So from Amsterdam via Leiden, The Hague, Delft, and Rotterdam and then in the direction of Gouda, Bodegraven and Woerden: that will be developed fully. I really see that happen in the future.''- Respondent 4

In that case, the network model approach is also still of importance and is highly mentioned by respondents. However, it seems that the network model approach, meaning the social arrangements that stretch across space (Hajer & Zonneveld, 2000), and spatially noted as infrastructural developments, is in many cases viewed as space that belongs to the compact city form.

Besides the fact that the network model is in the views of respondents not infrastructure only, but inherently part of the urban structure, the notion of networks is also extended in meaning in other ways. Respondent 15 mention the use of green as infrastructure, but also as utility, like electricity or water supply.

''We really want our areas to function well, and therefore it should be part of a green network. At one given time the idea of green as utility emerged. We think that green infrastructure then function just like electricity, on which every house should be connected.''- Respondent 15

Conclusively, the way the compact city theory and the network model theory are interpreted partly deviates the exact meaning of these theories. Networks are much more than infrastructure for mobility purposes only. Compact development does not only occur in- and round existing towns and cities, but also around infrastructure as part of the urban fabric.

The last subsection of the first part of the results represents the results of potential change in context when comparing the findings discussed above with the contexts analysed in the previous chapters of this thesis. By analysing the former national planning concepts in relation to their contexts since the First Planning Report, one aspect seems always be present: the valuation of the green landscape and the presence of the urban- rural discourse. The next section represents the statements of the respondents concerning this discourse: is the green landscape still of high value and how do they perceive the relation between urban structures and green space?

Discourse thinking & potential changes

As Hajer & Versteeg (2005) mention, discourses are sets of ideas and concepts, which gives meaning to social and physical phenomena. In spatial planning, and in planning concepts more specifically, these discourses entails a general notion over a specific timeframe, until a set of ideas are getting out of date. According to Zonneveld (1989) the changes in discourses may be called conceptual breaks or conceptual shifts. An example of a change in discourse is the shift from a rather plan led development strategy towards a more organic approach of developments and the decentralisation and liberalization of planning (Buitelaar & Bregman, 2014; Balz & Zonneveld, 2018). Discourse thinking during the interviews is revealed in the way respondents think about the use of planning concepts; the way planning should be carried out in relation to the discrepancy between urban- and green spaces.

In general, respondents feel a certain degree of appreciation for the landscape in the Randstad and mention that they think this is a general feeling, with a lot of support from society. Respondent 11 shows this general appreciation by giving the example of the VINEX concept in which a general feeling of maintaining the landscape has arisen, after the VINEX developments around city fringes occurred.

''So this feeling is deeply rooted in society. The idea of the VINEX concept, the idea of just ''throwing'' these houses in green fields has lead to a certain feeling. The feeling of being frugal with our open space: we do not want that anymore.''- Respondent 11

Most respondents also mention the Green Heart as a planning concept where the value for open green space is very much present. The Green Heart is still seen as an important concept: is should stay green, without any expansive urban developments. However, there are clear nuances about the idea that the Green Heart defines a sharp distinction between green and urban areas. Some respondents see opportunities for developing houses and other urban functions at the fringes of the Green Heart. This seems to place the future of the area on a crossroad: on the one hand the Green Heart as planning concept seems to be still of importance. On the other hand, respondents do see opportunities in developing at the fringes of the area. This is reflected in the views of respondent 15 and 12:

''If the Green Heart is a true dichotomy, these two sides would really exist. But I you look at the boundaries of the area from the past decades, you see that no boundary is the same. The Green Heart is still being adjusted.''- Respondent 15

''You know that the Green Heart is the area where most developments have been taken place the past decades? It is a beautiful planning concept, but I am not sure whether it will last.''- Respondent 12

This thesis have analysed the characteristics of the Green Heart concept as a planning doctrine, following the statements of Van der Valk & Faludi (1997). When reflecting on the views of the respondents, stating that the Green Heart is a planning doctrine is maybe partly true. In the minds of respondents, the Green Heart has still a certain value. However, it seems that nobody is actively defending the boundaries of the area, resulting in developments at the fringes. The fact that a planning doctrine is characterized by a strong national consensus, as stated by Roodbol- Mekkes et al. (2012), Van der Valk & Faludi (1997) and Korthals- Altes (1995), does not seem true when following the views from these respondents.

Redefining the boundaries of the Green Heart also lead to interesting views on integrating red- and green space. Even though some respondents have specific views for integrating urban and rural landscapes around city fringes as a solution for designating and developing the assigned 1 million houses by the national government, they have the feeling that these ideas will lead to resistance among the public. Anyhow, the ideas for integrating ''red'' and ''green'' are versatile. It is important to note that these views on integrating red and green space are all located around city fringes with a

connection to the existing urban fabric. In that sense, the red- and green ''dichotomy'' is still present among respondents, but only the boundaries of existing urbanities are redefined.

''The idea of preserving these meadows, whereas lot of different urban programs should be given space like water, infrastructure and greenery, is not achievable. Otherwise, functions and programs will not have the amount of space it should have and get stacked up on each other.''- Respondent 13

''You have to protect your landscape, but also promote it: be actively working with your landscape and connect it to the cities. You should make sure that (green landscape) is actively part of the life of the cities, and the surrounding cities. And I think this will stay, it is one of our major themes.''- Respondent 12

Conclusively, according to the responses of the respondents, the idea of developing in green landscapes for urban functions at the cost of nature is highly contested. Some respondents have ideas about the integration of green and urban space, but are not willing to develop urban functions without any physical relation to the existing urban fabric. In that sense, the prevailing red- green discourse still remains. What potentially has been changed is why green space should be preserved. During the first planning reports, the idea of a big metropolis, known as the Los Angeles Syndrome leaded to compact developments. Recent views are more related to the quality of nature and green space.

The next section will focus on the added value of national planning concepts, with emphasis on the definition of Zonneveld (1991) and how respondents define planning concepts themselves. By looking closely at these details, the results represented give more insight how respondents think about the value of national planning concepts in current time frame, and-/ or which aspects of the definition of Zonneveld (1991) are still of value in current timeframe with the related urban growth challenges.

7.2. Added value of national planning concepts

As mentioned earlier, the definition of planning concepts of Zonneveld (1991) reveals some detailed characteristics of planning concepts:

''A planning concept expresses through a concise form, through images and words, the way in which an actor is looking upon the desired development of spatial organization, as well as the nature of the interventions that are deemed necessary''

(Zonneveld, 1991)

Following the same structure as from the theoretical framework, the results are shown per detail of the definition: communicational power, the desired development of spatial organization and the intervention that are deemed necessary for reaching that desired development.

The results are twofold. Not only is researched whether respondents formulate the same definition as Zonneveld (1991), or mentioning these three details of the definition when speaking about planning concepts. Moreover, their views on which type of communication, which development and which interventions are necessary to face the challenges concerning growth management are shown. By representing the results in this way, the fourth sub question can be answered fully: the added value of planning concepts is not only related to the value of planning concepts as spatial instrument, but also the content of these planning concepts. First, the views from respondents about what a planning concept specifically entails is represented. Then, the opinions about the specific content of a national planning concept in current timeframe are represented according to the three details out of the definition of Zonneveld (1991).

The meaning of planning concepts

During the interviews, all respondents have mentioned planning concepts, but all slightly in a different way. In some cases, concepts were seen as specific urban developments or types of architecture. Others see planning concepts as decision- making tools only, in which communicational power or the desired development of spatial organization was not of primary concern. These differences also influenced the views on whether nationally steered concepts could be still of use in current timeframe. For example, Respondent 13 states that planning concepts are also related to building maps and the appearance of spatial developments. Whereas Respondent 2 mentions that planning concepts are used as a conversation starter about desired spatial structures. However, it seems that on one aspect nearly all respondents agree, which is clearly formulated by Respondent 17:

''It is about possible futures: how do you translate these possible futures towards desirable futures?''- Respondent 17

On the other hand, when mentioning older nationally steered planning concepts, such as VINEX and growth centres, nearly all respondents did not think that such concepts could be still useful. Respondents mention the strong national governmental steering and the too defined spatial structures as negative components of these concepts. However, when asking about the current use of these developed urban forms and neighbourhoods, respondents see opportunities for further compaction and new inner urban developments. For example, Leidsche Rijn is now used for inner urban developments, as this VINEX location is now part of the existing urban structure, according to Respondent 8. Respondent 13 see opportunities in developing within the urban structures of former growth centres:

''I think within the actual the growth centres; there is still a lot of space. I see opportunities for a second phase of these growth centres, and to use these centres for further compact development.''- Respondent 13

This mean that, even though the concept of these developed spatial structures are out of date, respondents do think that the spatial outcomes of these concepts can now be put in good use for the urban challenges we face today. Besides that, most respondents do see a role for the national government when it comes to planning concepts. However, this should always be an interaction between generic planning concepts as a framework of collective vision, and related specific projects or concepts fit for specific areas. Relating this to the difference between strategic- and instrumental concepts, the latter is still of use, but only when adjusted to specific locations. Strategic planning concepts that function as a framework formulated on the national scale is seen as very important, because it will lead to a national collective vision about how we have to handle the challenges concerning housing development and growth management. Sleutelprojecten were often mentioned as projects that were related to specific areas, but were linked with each other by a clear strategic concept: enhancing the international competitive character of the Randstad. Both respondent 9 and respondent 18 clearly mention these projects as highly valuable for current time frame and related challenges:

''In the past we have had the concept of ''key projects'' (Sleutelprojecten) around train stations. It has succeeded in Rotterdam, and Utrecht is following that pace. So what you are seeing is that such a concept works, while ate the same time you are focussing on specific projects.''- Respondent 9

''The ratio between concept and project is essential. So when you are talking about ''voorkeursgebieden'' or ''sleutelprojecten'': it does not work when there is not an underlying sentiment. It should not be just one drawing or something, but it is about: what do we want to transmit?''- Respondent 18

The meaning of planning concepts, and thereby the added value of national planning concepts, is then closely related to the nature of concepts and how these concepts are eventually implemented in specific areas. The overall vision is that of a national strategic planning concept as underlying sentiment and with a clear strategy, combined with specific projects that give tailor- made solutions for specific locations.

The desired content of a national planning concept

In order to find out what respondents think are necessary ingredients for new planning concepts, the definitions of Zonneveld (1991) is broken down in three characteristics: communicational power, desired developments and the nature of interventions that are deemed necessary to effectuate these desires. As shown in the previous section, most respondents do see a important role of a national planning concept concerning growth management in the Randstad, but indicate that this concept should be used in a strategic way, rather than steering on specific details, such as the designation of housing development or the desired housing density. What the specific content of these rather strategic planning concepts should be is represented in this section. First, the communication aspect will be discussed. Is a clear communication important according to respondents when it comes to planning concepts? And if so, what kind of form should a planning concept have: an image, metaphorical words or something different? Second, the desired development in the views of the respondents will be represented. Finally, the interventions that are deemed necessary to reach that development according to the respondents are discussed. Eventually, this section is the last part for formulating a clear answer on sub- question 4.

Communicational power

In general, respondents do not directly mention communication as an important aspect for planning concepts, nor do they see communication as an important condition for planning concepts. However, a few respondents mention the importance of clear communication, together with strong images or words. For example respondent 18 mentions the importance of imagination during the ''Sleutelprojecten'', started at the end of the 1980's. The goal for strengthening the international character of the Netherlands was clearly reflected in specific projects:

''I was director urban development in Rotterdam and I thought: this is going to fun. We were contributing to a specific world. The first generation ''sleutelprojecten'', such as the Kop van Zuid, were mainly created because of the idea of an international world. So we thought we needed projects within the city that could be the imaginations of that international reality.''- Respondent 18

Besides that, he thinks that clear communication and strong imagination are an important condition for success in certain planning projects. Also Respondent 1 and Respondent 2 mention the positive contribution of images and words for planning concepts. Moreover, they see the use of strong communication through image and words as a driver for debate and conversation. Also, it may boost creativity and positive contributions in formulating desirable futures. For example, Respondent 2 mentions the debate about the right word for defining the metropolitan landscape in the Randstad, which later became the driving force for debates around this topic:

''We have had a metropolitan debate, and we have talked very long about what the exact word was for what we were talking about. That was very striking. If you look op the word ''metropolitaan'' in a dictionary, you would not find it. And ''metropolitain'' did not sound right according to us. Meanwhile, everyone is using that word ''metropolitaan''. And it became a completely new conversation.''- Respondent 2

These statements concerning communication give a small insight in the value of strong communication when formulating national planning concepts. However, the exact type of communication, whether this should be in images or words, and the supposed effects of clear communication, whether this should be used for opening discussions or should seduce people to use and implement this specific planning concept is not clear.

Desired development

Respondents are asked what kinds of developments are most crucial and desirable in terms of growth management and the related demand for housing developments. Moreover, respondents are asked how these developments can be related to the use of planning concepts: what should be the focus of attention when formulating such a national concepts? What are the crucial factors relating to growth management that should be handled from the national government? This section is broken down into several sub-sections, which are related to the most common heard views of respondents. First of all, the urge for a more integral approach is highlighted. Whereas former national planning concepts were mainly focused on spatial structures and phenomena, such as VINEX and growth centres, a national planning concept in current timeframe should entail much more. Second, according to most respondents there should be a greater focus on quality, rather than quantity, in developments in order to ensure some flexibility when housing demands are changing. Finally, in line with the wish a wider focus of attention in national planning concepts in contrast to a spatial focus only, respondents mention that national planning concepts should give opportunities for a better integration of housing development and the landscape, by giving attention to- and making use of land degradation or water. These three highly mentioned aspects gives a indication about what the overall focus should be when making use of national planning concepts in order to face growth management challenges in the Randstad.

Integral approach: a broader scope for reaching desired developments in planning concepts
As earlier mentioned, some respondents state that former planning concepts, such as VINEX, have always had a spatial scope, such as dispersion and compactness, which is not effective anymore when looking at the important transitions the Netherlands, and specifically the Randstad, is facing today. Respondent 13 mention that a clear image or concept concerning growth management is not one with a spatial focus only: mobility is of great importance and should be integrated in this concept. Besides mobility, the importance of sustainability in new spatial developments is often mentioned. Respondent 18 state that an integration of spatial developments and sustainability programs is needed in order to reach the formulated sustainability goals of the United Nations. Another aspect that is mentioned as important when formulating a planning concept is of societal importance. Some also think that societal values should be reflected in housing developments, whether as housing product or during the development process. Respondent 7 state that new urban developments should give attention to building up new communities, which is in his view of great importance in this timeframe. Respondent 16 formulates this general urgency for the integration of spatial scopes with other scopes very clear:

''I do not know if it is such a concept, but it is the relation with other big challenges that are coming from other sectors for example, climate change and the need for energy transition. First we were really looking at the perspective of space and urbanization, but now urbanization has to have a much broader scope.'' – Respondent 16

However, most respondents see problems in formulating a national planning concept in which these subjects are fully integrated. Compartmentalisation of the national government is mentioned as a problem. It seems hard to set up new collaborations between departments that serve one common planning concept. Respondent 18 mention that the integration of sustainability and urban development is happening due to the efforts of market parties, but foresees problems of these types

of integration on the national administrative level. Respondent 6 have faced this lack of integration on the national administrative level himself:

''The compartmentalisation makes it very inconvenient. You should have people who believe in integration of disciplines, but a lot is needed to reach that synergy.''- Respondent 6

If there will be made use of national planning concepts in current timeframe, the scope of desired development should be much broader than spatial only. The urgency for intertwining different scopes seems to be high, and should be given more attention.

Quality before quantity: taking care of flexibility in developments
Even though the assignment for 1 million houses and the goal for developing roughly 70.000 houses per year reveal a rather quantitative assignment, respondents feel that the quality of these developments is very important. Some give examples on how developments can be flexible enough to catch up with fluctuating demands for housing types and changing demographics. Besides that, respondents mention that a differentiation in living milieus is important, meaning that living areas should not be mono- functional in housing supply. When these statements were made during the interviews, this was often related to the spatial outcome of former national planning concepts. Respondent 7 mention that the VINEX concept was very a- typical: in his eyes it was a top-down formulated concept, which revealed that the quantitative nature of the VINEX was in sharp contrast with the natural growth of cities. Respondent 1 mention that during the growth center concept, the believe in the manufacturability of society was very present and resulted in living areas which where not in line with the preferences of citizens, nor did this concept focus on sustainable urban forms (i.e.: standing the test of time). It seems that all respondents are in accordance when it comes to ensuring quality in urban developments, whether the respondent works for a market party or the government:

''Funds are increasingly coming up with products that are fit for the greying population. This means the investments in dwellings that are fit for those who need, whether or not medical, care. This trend is very much present.''- Respondent 10

''So you really have to provide a certain variation. It may not be the case that you only provide housing in highly urban areas. You really need to offer variation, mostly because you can get problems in other timeframes…Look, right now people are happy when they even get a house, but there will be a time when those people will have other options again. It is then the question whether developments are only desirable at one specific moment, or are more sustainable.''- Respondent 9

These statements, combined with the relations drawn with former national planning concepts, reveal that a new national planning concept should be flexible enough to ensure the best matches between citizens and the built environment and to give space for variations of housing types fit for specific locations.

Developments in combination with land degradation/ water
Besides that integration of several scopes for formulating new national planning concepts concerning growth management is highly mentioned, respondents also see an urgency in making use of- and give attention to the surrounding landscape when urban development is taken place. Respondents mention that some areas in the Randstad face land degradation and soil subsidence. The integration of urban development and land degradation is seen as an important challenge that has to be faced. It made respondents very creative in finding solutions for actively using these soils in urban developments. For example Respondent 2 mentions the development of the ''Amsterdam Wetlands'' as an example of using the status of the landscape for developments that are a best fit: the landscape largely consists of morass, making it unusable for agricultural purposes or urban development. Other respondents came with other ideas on how to use these kinds of landscapes:

‘‘And because they are facing soil subsidence, the assignment concerning water is enormous. So we thought about how we could serve several assignments all together by actively using that landscape.’’- Respondent 13

‘‘There are some areas, which consist of great amount of peat. So maybe it is an idea to use these areas, because due to drainage of the landscape, these areas face soil subsidence. It could be interesting to look whether it is possible to make small islands in these areas, and consequently fill the area with water. What you get are these islands that are perfect for urban development.’’- Respondent 15

In line with the first sub section; the integration of several scopes, other than a spatial scope only, this section also reveal the wish for a better integration of urban development and the existing spatial surroundings: how can we use landscapes that seems to be at first sight useless? The added value of national planning concepts is then also related to the extent of attention that is given to such spatial qualities.

Nature interventions

As Hajer & Zonneveld (2000) mention, planning concepts consists of basic core tasks that are object of policy, or are incorporated in policy. It reveals the instruments needed to fulfil a certain development (Zonneveld, 1991, p.1). Respondents have been asked what they expect from the national government when it comes to implementing new concepts, and in general national visions. The scope of the national government is important here, because it reveals something about the necessity of national planning concepts in current time frame. This section is broken down in to several sub sections, related to the general answers given by respondents. These are: the urge for a national vision (whether in the form of a concept or not) and the need for financial resources from the national government.

National vision

Respondents feel that there is no clear general vision about how developments should be taken place concerning growth management and what kind of developments this should be. The creation of this vision is seen as important, mostly because of the great transitions that respondents feel should be taken place, such as energy, mobility and climate adaptation. Moreover, most of them mention that these transitions are always intertwined with spatial developments, meaning that new planning concepts on a national level should always be an integration of assignments, rather than just a ‘‘spatial’’ planning concept. Others mention that the decentralizations of policy and administrational tasks from the past decades have led to a fragmentation in nature of interventions, which is seen as undesirable when it comes urbanization and the demand for 1 million houses. Most of all, respondents feel that the goal set by the national government for building 70.000 houses per year is unreachable when there is no clear national strategy:

‘‘I think that the assignment for the Randstad is that big, that you really need the national level as a important player in order to make sure that municipalities and other market parties will collaborate and will make the right decisions.’’- Respondent 5

‘‘In that sense these national planning concepts have had continuity with ‘‘Ruimte voor de Rivier’’. With that, integral conceptual spatial thinking has been resumed.’’- Respondent 3

As above mentioned, ‘‘Ruimte voor de Rivier’’ is mentioned as a national planning concept that is currently set out. However, this national concept does not focus on growth management, revealing that a national concept for these related challenges is absent.

Financial resources

When it comes to direct action that is needed from the national government and what is seen as crucial for implementing any planning concept are financial resources from the national level. Respondents give examples from other planning concepts during the past decades, such as VINEX, which have had substantial financial injections. When a national planning concept will be of any value for growth management challenges, respondents state that finances are highly needed. Without money, a national concept is hard to implement. Respondent 3 state that not only project money for urban development is needed from the national administrative scale, but also money that benefit the whole process of development. Other respondents are relating the urge for money more clearly with the effectiveness of national planning concepts:

The VINEX was consolidated in contracts with money. ''Ruimte voor de Rivier'' was regionally and locally consolidated in contracts with money. So, when that does not happen, it is hopeless.''-
Respondent 18

Other respondents are relating the wish for more national governmental money with the assignment of 70.000 new houses per year. It is seen as unfeasible when the national government is more or less absent in financial terms:

''So the minister thinks that with a fee of 38 million [we will get it done], but if you seriously look at the assignment for transforming former business parks to housing, then it will take like 10 years for repositioning some of these businesses and the 38 million will be gone. So it is very nice that she has contrived that amount of money, but we need more.''- Respondent 13

Even though not all respondents relate the urge for financial resources from the national development with the added value of national planning concepts, it still gives an indication about what is needed to make a new national planning concept valuable and workable. Decentralization of planning tasks to lower administrative scales is often mentioned as the biggest problem: lower administrative scales are destined to arrange financial resources themselves, mostly in collaboration with private parties. However, the assignment for housing development in the Randstad is seen as too high: without any substantial financial resources from the national government, it is unreachable to reach the goal set by the national government itself.

7.3.Synthesis

The results represented are constantly linked with the formulated research question and the related sub- questions. First, the results helped to draw an image of the current context by using three dimensions: the normative-, organizational- and analytical- dimension. Also, potential changes in discourses are represented in these results. In the second part of the results, the context and contextual changes in comparison with analysed contexts and planning concepts from the past decades are related to the added value of national planning concepts in current timeframe: Do we need a national planning concept for handling the current debates concerning growth management and other related challenges? Overall, the most important conclusions are the following:

1. There seems to be a demand for a national planning concept concerning growth management. Most respondents relate this demand to the lack of a clear national vision and strategy. A national planning concept should help with formulate an unambiguous vision. The fear for new developments around urban fringes and in green fields, and thus no unambiguous strategy for housing development, is often related with the wish for a clear national concept. In that sense the value of a national planning concept is related to its function for clear communication, whether in images or words.

2. The added value of a national planning concept in current timeframe is only present, when this national concept is strategic in nature. It is been stated that a top down, in detail formulated planning concept is not preferable. Providing a framework of strategy combined with specific tailor made projects are applauded. These tailor made projects should then be adapted at the scale of daily urban systems. This means that new national planning concepts should provide a general idea about the desired development, but the detailed projects should be formulated on a lower geographical scale.

3. During the interviews respondents often recall the extent of effectiveness of former planning concepts. Mostly stated is the fact that these planning concepts were always complemented with a large sum of money in order to let the given planning concept succeed. Respondents feel that also in current timeframe together with current challenges a national planning concept is only valuable when the national government is providing financial resources.

4. The most mentioned challenges concerning growth management show that a new national planning concept should involve a much wider scope than spatial only, which was the case in former national planning concepts, such as VINEX, growth centres and 'Stadsgewesten'. Challenges concerning mobility, energy, climate adaptation, but also societal challenges are highly mentioned. This also has effects on the organization of the national government. A national planning concept should be designed in collaboration with several ministries and national departments, which is in contrast with former national planning concepts. These were all stemming from one ministry, such as the ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM).

8. Conclusion

The main problem addressed in this thesis is the change in the use of nationally steered planning concepts, which is related to the liberalization and decentralisation of planning since the National Spatial Strategy in 2006 (Waterhout et al., 2013). As the focus shifted towards more output- and performance oriented approaches on local scales, the significance of national planning concepts seemed to lose ground (Boelens & De Roo, 2016; Gerrits et al., 2012). Moreover, decentralisation of planning tasks and the urge for liberalization in spatial planning resulted in a different role for the national government, from actively involved in planning implementation towards a more strategic role (Buitelaar & van der Wouden, 2012). This shows how societal- economical and political changes influence the role of the national government in planning in general and the use of planning concepts on a national scale specifically. It also shows that due to the complexity of society it seems hard to formulate a desired spatial order, which is inherently plan- led in its approach (Janssen- Jansen, 2016; Boonstra & Boelens, 2011). More specifically, the complexity of planning, both in theory and in practice, and the use of planning concepts do not seem to match, as the interests of private parties and stakeholder participations is growing and tailor- made solutions on local scales are more preferable (Dieleman, 1999; Roodbol- Mekkes et al., 2012).

Because of the relation between societal- political and economical changes, the changing use of theory in planning practice, the role of the national government and the use of national planning concepts, it is relevant to investigate whether a national vision on growth management, together with national planning concepts, is useful and needed with challenges in current timeframe. These challenges are generally defined by population growth in combination with the urgency for the production of 1 million houses before 2040 and related challenges, such as mobility and energy transition.

The central question, and thereby the focus of this research is:

How are planning concepts concerning growth management in The Randstad since the First Planning Report related to its corresponding planning contexts in analytical-, organizational and normative terms, and to what extent are nationally steered planning concepts still useful for current growth management challenges and corresponding planning context?

From this central question, four sub- questions are defined:

1. What are planning-related concepts and what are their (intended) functions in planning?
2. Which planning-related concepts concerning growth management appear on the stage since the first planning report and what were their perceived effects?
3. How did these concepts relate to the changes in planning context during this timeframe?
4. What is the (perceived) added value of these kinds of planning concepts within the present planning context?

By making use of qualitative methodology in the form of semi- structured expert interviews, the potential usefulness of nationally steered planning concepts together with the views on urbanization and growth management challenges in the Randstad is explored. These experts are chosen by looking closely at the actor playing field when it comes to urban development in relation with spatial strategy and planning concepts: who shape these developments and-/ or strategies? From this question a broad palette of actors are formulated, from spatial planning professors to institutional real estate investors and real estate developers, and from civil servants from the national government to those of municipalities of the major cities in the Randstad.

The Randstad as scope of research is chosen, because it is believed that in this area the biggest growth will occur in the decades to come. Moreover, former nationally steered planning concepts, such as the VINEX and growth centres, were mostly aimed at locations in- and near the Randstad area, as the Randstad has been a centre of growth for decades (De Boer & Kooijmans, 2007; Needham & Faludi, 1999). Finally, the Randstad, together with the Green Heart, is also a strategic national planning concept, making it interesting to investigate whether this twin concept is still of relevance in current time frame. Both the Randstad and the Green Heart have served as the decor of growth management in planning in the past decades (Needham & Faludi, 1999)

8.1. Sub questions

First the definition of planning and its intended functions are discussed. Second, the perceived effects of the chosen national concepts concerning growth management are illustrated. Third, the relation between the context and the planning concepts are illustrated and shows which context related factors may influence the design and use of planning concepts today. Finally, the value of national planning concepts in current timeframe is discussed.

Sub question 1: The definition of planning concepts and its intended functions in planning
Zonneveld (1991) has defined the general characteristics of planning concepts and its intended function in the following definition:

''A planning concept expresses through a concise form, through images and words, the way in which an actor is looking upon the desired development of spatial organization, as well as the nature of the interventions that are deemed necessary''

(Zonneveld, 1991)

Besides that, Zonneveld (1991) makes a distinction between strategic- and instrumental planning concepts, in which the former is used for defining a specific framework in which planning action and implementation is possible, whereas the latter is intended for specifically defining desired developments. For example, within the VINEX concept not only the designation of areas were included, but also the exact amount of houses and the extent of urban density (Lörzing, 2006).

All interviewed experts state that a national planning concept in instrumental terms is not desirable. The overall intended function of a planning concept on a national scale should have a more strategic character, which only then can be combined with specific target projects on a local scale to ensure tailor- made solutions. Moreover, respondents feel that the national government should not intervene in these projects. Respondent 17 for example, mentions that when the national government provides a strong strategic concept on housing development, municipalities can manage their housing developments by themselves easily.

Sub question 2: the perceived effects of nationally steered planning concepts since the first planning report concerning growth management.
This research has focused on nationally steered planning concepts concerning growth management in order to grasp the perceived effects and eventually relate them to the actual spatial- and societal outcomes. The researched planning concepts are: the twin concept of the Randstad and Green Heart, the VINEX locations, the growth centres and the Delta metropolis concept. For example, the VINEX concept was designed and implemented in order to catch the growing population, but was simultaneously aiming on reducing air pollution by developing these houses in- and mostly around urban structures. However, the spatial outcome of these VINEX locations has been criticized: infrastructure development for public mobility lagged behind resulting in an increase of car use (Kruythof & Teulle, 1997). The perceived effect of implementing the growth centre concept; controlling population growth by designating places where growth is possible, did not match with the

changing societal context when these centres were eventually developed after ten years of policy implementation (Jobse et al., 1991).

During the interviews, the question has been asked whether these concepts may be still of use with the current challenges concerning urban growth in the Randstad. Most respondents relate this to the effects of these concepts and the potential learning points that can be drawn from the implementation. Respondents see opportunities for a new national planning concept when there are financial resources involved. Besides that, most respondents see opportunities for a more integral planning concept in relation with current context and challenges. A national planning concept stemming just from one ministry, such as the former national planning concepts, is not preferable.

Sub question 3: the relation of planning concepts with its planning context and timeframe

Three dimensions influence the room for interpretation of planning concepts, designed by Balz & Zonneveld (2018). These dimensions provide a contextual framework in which planning concepts are designed and eventually implemented. The analytical- organizational- and normative dimensions that give room for interpretation of planning concepts make up this contextual framework.

The shift from blueprint and plan- led planning towards more liberal and development- led approaches shows how politics and organization have influence on the use of planning concepts: nationally steered planning concepts were left behind, focussing more on organic- and performance led developments (Gerrits et al., 2012; Buitelaar & Bregman, 2012). Moreover, the use of theory as base layer for planning concepts also change when societal changes occur. Whereas the growth centre concept has strong linkages with theoretical assumptions on hierarchy in spatial order (Vliegen, 2005), the notion of the complexity of society resulted in other theoretical assumptions as base layer of planning practice, such as the network model (Snellen et al., 2006). Finally, normative assumptions also influence the use of planning concepts, for example the fear for urban sprawl known as the Los Angeles syndrome leaded to planning -policy and –concepts focussing on compact city development (Van Eeten & Roe, 2000).

Current debates are mostly revolving around the most suitable geographical scale, on which growth management strategies should be handled. The metropolitan debate consists of a wide variety of opinions. However, daily urban systems are often mentioned as potentially appropriate scale for handling growth management and housing developments.

Moreover, the feelings of respondents concerning the pressure on the Randstad are also quite ambiguous: some feel that this pressure is very urgent and others are more nuanced. Moreover, there are some differences in views when it comes to the desired spatial development in terms of growth management, even though all respondents still believe in compact city development. Respondent 14 mentions that even though compact city developments are of primary concern, developing at the fringes is sometimes needed. Whereas respondent 17 states that fringe- development will eventually lead to a loss of pressure on city centres, leading to a weaker position for building in existing urban structures. Also respondent 7 & 6 acknowledge this. Not only the views on developing in- or around existing urban structures are relevant, also the interpretation of what compact city development specifically entails, is interesting. A few respondents state that compact city developments are also possible around infrastructure and not only around cities- or towns, showing that normativity can shape theoretical assumptions.

Sub question 4: the added value of nationally steered planning concepts

The general view on spatial planning policies being executed from the national governmental scale is rather negative. As mentioned, decentralisation- and liberalization of planning made the implementation of nationally steered planning concepts rather unnecessary. However, respondents state that some current challenges concerning growth management are exceeding the local- and even the regional level, resulting in a general need for a clear strategy from the national government. Challenges concerning mobility, energy and climate adaptation are mentioned. Respondent 13 mentions that a clear national concept is needed in order to adequate handling any mobility issues.

Also respondent 18 states that a clear vision, together with corresponding programs, is needed in order to reach the Paris sustainability goals of 2030.

This does not mean that the national government should help with defining instrumental concepts fit for implementation. Rather, respondents state that an overarching framework and a clear conceptual vision for the Randstad on a national level is needed. Together with a national framework, other administrative layers, and sometimes even on the scale of agglomerations or daily urban systems, are fit to develop and implement specific tailor-made programs. The ''Sleutelprojecten'' are mentioned many times as an example from which an overarching framework is combined with specific tailor-made programs. However, respondents state that besides a clear national vision, the national government should also provide financial resources for developing these projects. Also, respondents see a great task in ensuring better integration of challenges and developments, such as the integration mobility, sustainability and urban development, by finding ways to de- compartmentalise national government departments. Planning concepts concerning growth management, whether on the national scale or other administrative scales, can no longer be interpreted as merely a spatial concept only. Rather, due to other challenges that influence the built environment, planning concepts should be more inclusive and should give room for other focuses of attention rather than primarily aiming on spatial steering mechanisms, such as dispersion or compaction, which was the case in former planning concepts concerning growth management.
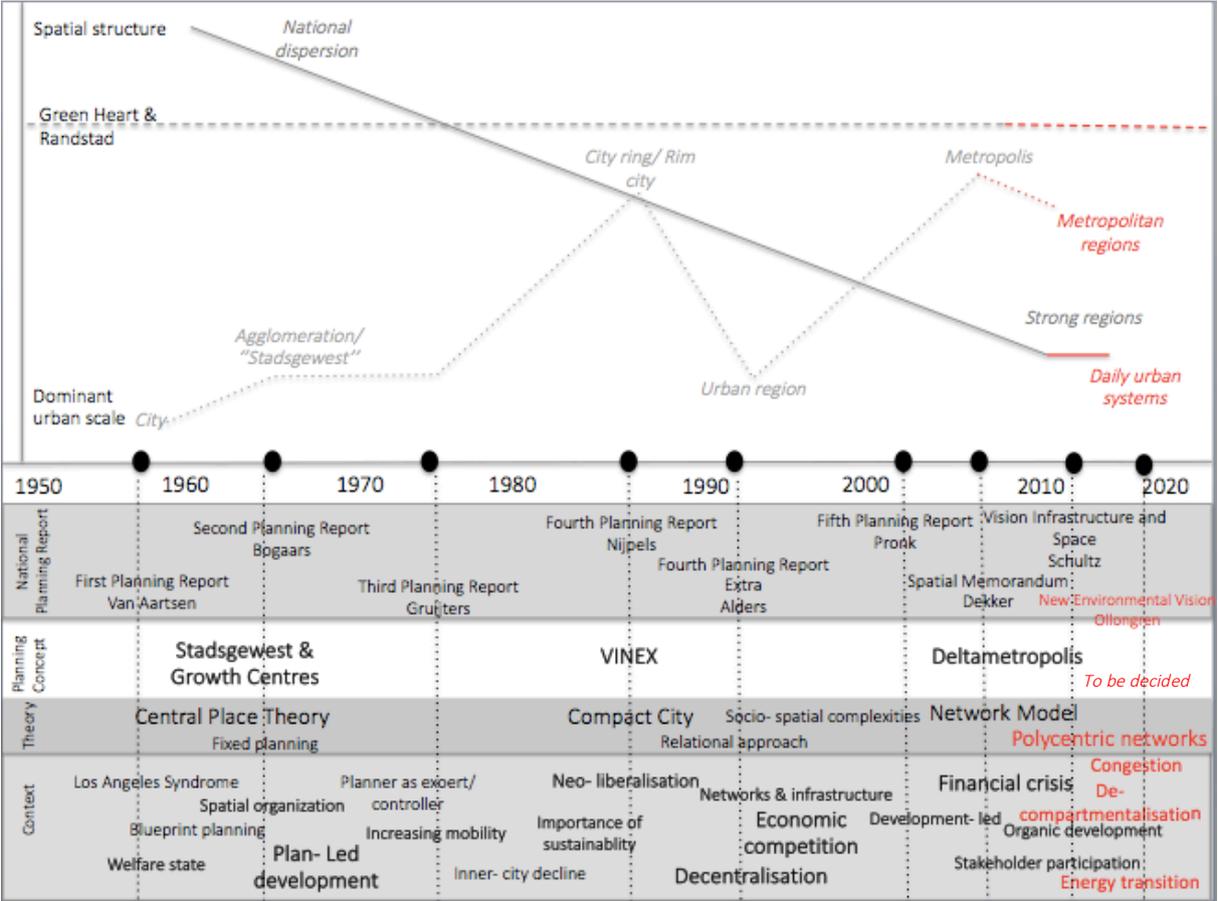

Figure 8: the complemented overview on planning concepts, - reports and its context (see appendix C for bigger size)

In Figure 8, the overview on all national planning reports, the prevailing planning concepts, and the related theory and contexts from the past decades is complemented with the gathered insights from the interviews. Some context related factors, which are seen as important in relation with the value

and content of planning concepts concerning growth management, are highly mentioned during the interviews. However, even though respondents acknowledge the importance of a new strategic planning concept from the national government, the exact content of this concept is still ambiguous. It is clear that this new concept should define a broad variety of challenges, which do not only have a spatial scope. Besides that, it seems that these challenges show a great potential for daily urban systems. There seems to be consensus that a national planning concept in current timeframe is of value. However, there are some differences with former national planning concepts, with less steering power from the national government and still enough space for tailor made implementation on lower geographical scale. Besides that, a new planning concept should be integrative in nature; not only in content, bus also in collaboration between ministries.

8.2. Discussion & recommendations for further research

This research has primarily focused on the use of national planning concepts in current time frame and the related challenges concerning growth management. However, during the research process it seems that the fundament of the research question was the preferable role of the national government concerning growth management issues. This shows how the research question was positioned in a wider debate about centralisation and decentralisation of planning in the Netherlands combined with the urgency of population growth. This research may have found just a part of the answer on whether the national government should have a more active position in the spatial planning field, by only focussing on the relation with the added value national planning concepts.

Moreover, this research followed the definition of planning concepts explained by Zonneveld (1991), ensuring clarity in what a concept is, and what is not. What has been revealing is the fact that the definition of planning concepts is rather diffuse. Some respondents state that planning concepts are related to the design of the built environment. Others mention that concepts are used for shaping planning processes. It is interesting to further investigate this diversity in definitions, even though this may lead to a more psychological research.

During the interviews, respondents mentioned the value of daily urban systems as ideal scale for tackling growth challenges and housing developments. However, this research did not dig in deeper on the exact value of this scale for these challenges. Moreover, it did not give a clear specification of what a ''daily urban system'' specifically is nor did this research relate this to any theoretical assumption. Whether these daily urban systems are valuable for coping with growth challenges may be of interest for further research. Building further on the general opinions of respondents is the wish for more integrative approaches on the national governmental level. Whether this wish for de-compartmentalisation has any fundament, and how integration of department on the national governmental level could be realised and whether it has any positive effects on the integration of several sectors in urban development, has not been made clear in this research.

This research has made clear that a national strategic concept concerning the growth challenges in the Randstad is highly needed. It has also made clear that there is still quite a challenge in integrating several sectors, such as mobility issues and climate adaption, in urban developments. Finally, debates on whether or not developments around urban fringes are needed raise different opinions. This research may be seen as a starting point for digging deeper into the details of implementing national strategic planning concepts: what should it entail and how should it be implemented? The answer on this research question, whether national planning concepts are of use in current time frame, may be answered with a clear yes. However, with this answer it raised new questions that may be suitable for further research.

9. Reflection

9.1.Theoretical reflection

In the beginning of the research a clear definition is given on planning concepts, elaborated by Zonneveld (1991). The definition state that planning concepts entail clearly how an specific actor is looking upon a desired development of spatial organizations, together with the interventions that are deemed necessary. Besides that, these planning concepts express this desire through a concise form of images or words. What has been interesting is that during the empirical research, these desires were clearly put forward in opinions. Moreover, the value of planning concepts as support for these desires was highly mentioned. However, the exact form and the communicational power of concepts were less mentioned. By breaking up the definition posed by Zonneveld (1991) in three details, research made clear that the definition of planning concepts is not unambiguous. Reflecting on this, in the beginning of the research process it never came in mind that the definition of planning concepts could be interpreted differently. It may have had some influences on how respondents have interpreted the usefulness of planning concepts, leading mostly to views on the political decisiveness of the national government in general.

The three dimensions of interpretation posed by Balz & Zonneveld (2018) were used to identify how planning context may influence the value and performance of planning concepts. Besides the normative- and organizational dimension, the analytical dimension is of importance. This research made an overview of planning theory that partially shaped planning concepts, such as the compact city theory and the network model theory. During the empirical research, the use of theory as a base layer for planning in general and planning concepts specifically has never been mentioned. It seems that theory is not consciously used when formulating desired developments or desired spatial structures. This means that this research did not really formulate an adequate answer on to what extent theory has influence the use and value of planning concepts specifically, even though the desires of development and spatial organization seem to reveal some linkages with theory.

9.2. Methodological reflection

Expert interviews are conducted in order to give a wide overview in opinions within the actor playing field concerning growth management and housing development in the Randstad. These experts are chosen, because they have, more or less, influence on how population growth is handled in the area. Even though most respondents were fully capable of answering the posed question during the interviews, some respondents were not able to. Real estate investors are important in urban development strategies. However, these investors are primarily looking at the potential future revenues from investments. Real estate investors are rather looking at ''what is already there'' and what kind of housing product ''works'', rather than thinking about potential developments and spatial structures themselves. Questions about developments strategies were sometimes remained unanswered.

A potential problem with expert interviews in general is whether the respondent is giving a complete answer on the posed questions or not. This may be the case when question are politically sensitive, or when the specific position of an expert prohibits him or her to give personal answers. Even though it seems that all respondents were giving answers quite freely, sometimes the answers were quite ''objective''. For example, a few experts referred to specific reports instead of giving personal answers to the posed question. Because of this, it has made it hard to define whether question concerning the desires for certain developments were answered in a personal way or whether these answers are more or less extracted from policy reports.

Within this research, interviews are conducted with 18 experts. When looking at the research question (the value of national planning concepts in current time frame), it is hard to give an adequate

answer when only a fraction of experts in this specific playing field are interviewed. Even though most of the experts have had more or less the same opinion about desired spatial developments, a few have posed different opinions. It is hard to say whether most of the experts out there are thinking the same, or it is just a coincidence that most of these respondents are having the same opinions. In that sense, this research should be seen as explorative, by giving some food for thought, rather than one that gives clear recommendations for planning concept- implementation on the national level.

References

- Altes, W. K. K. (2007). The impact of abolishing social-housing grants on the compact-city policy of Dutch municipalities. Environment and Planning A, 39(6), 1497-1512.

- ABN Amro (2018), Huizenprijzen stijgen verder in 2018 én 2019. https://www.abnamro.nl/nl/prive/hypotheken/huizenmarkt/woningmarktmonitor-januari-2018.html. Accessed at: 20th of August 2018.

- ABN Amro (2018), Huizenmarkt ontwikkelingen en verwachtingen. https://www.abnamro.nl/nl/prive/hypotheken/huizenmarkt/woningmarktmonitor-juli-2018.html. Accessed at: 20th of August 2018.

- Albrechts, L., Healey, P., & Kunzmann, K. R. (2003). Strategic spatial planning and regional governance in Europe. Journal of the American Planning Association, 69(2), 113-129.

- Albrechts, L. (2004). Strategic (spatial) planning re-examined. Environment and Planning B: Planning and design, 31(5), 743-758.

- Balz, V., & Zonneveld, W. (2018). Transformations of planning rationales: changing spaces for governance in recent Dutch national planning. Planning Theory & Practice, 1-22.

- Beck, U., Giddens, A., & Lash, S. (1994). Reflexive modernization: politics, tradition and aesthetics in the modern social order. Stanford University Press.

- Boelens, L., & de Roo, G. (2016). Planning of undefined becoming: first encounters of planners beyond the plan. Planning Theory, 15(1), 42-67.

- Bontje, M. (2003). A planner's paradise lost? Past, present and future of Dutch national urbanization policy. European urban and regional studies, 10(2), 135-151.

- Bontje, M. A. (2002), Van groeikern tot Deltametropool. Bevolkingsdynamiek, dagelijkse mobiliteit en het Nederlandse verstedelijkingsbeleid. Mens en Maatschappij, 1, 10-14.

- Boonstra, B., & Boelens, L. (2011), Self-organization in urban development: towards a new perspective on spatial planning. Urban Research & Practice, 4(2), 99-122.

- Brand, A. T. (2002), Het stedelijk veld in opkomst: de transformatie van de stad in Nederland gedurende de tweede helft van de twintigste eeuw. Universiteit van Amsterdam.

- Breheny, M. (ed.) (1992a), Sustainable Development and Urban Form, Pion, London.

- Bryman, A. (2012), Social research methods. 4th Edition, Oxford, Chapter 2.

- Buitelaar, E., & Bregman, A., (2016), Dutch land development institutions in the face of crisis: trembling pillars in the planners' paradise. European Planning Studies, 24(7), 1281-1294.

- Buitelaar, E., R. Van der Wouden (2012), Binnenstedelijk ontwikkelen. RO Magazine 30 (6), Planbureau voor de Leefomgevng.

- Burton, E. (2000), The compact city: just or just compact? A preliminary analysis. Urban studies, 37(11), 1969-2006.

- Burton, E., Jenks, M., & Williams, K. (2003), The compact city: a sustainable urban form? Routledge.

- Cammen, H. van der & L. de Klerk (2006), Ruimtelijke ordening; van grachtengordel tot Vinexwijk. Het Spectrum, Utrecht.

- Castells, M. (2000), Toward a sociology of the network society. Contemporary sociology, 29(5), 693-699.

- CBS (2018), Huizenprijzen stijgen harder dan het Europees gemiddelde. https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2018/28/huizenprijzen-stijgen-harder-dan-europees-gemiddelde. Accessed at: August 20th 2018.

- Cuthbert, A. (2011). Understanding cities: method in urban design. Routledge.

- Davoudi, S. (2003), European briefing: polycentricity in European spatial planning: from an analytical tool to a normative agenda. European planning studies, 11(8), 979-999.

- De Boer, J., J.W. Kooijmans (2007), Vijftig jaar Rijksbeleid voor Randstad Holland. Rooilijn 40 (6), 395- 403.

- De Roo, G. (2016), Shifts in planning practice and theory: From a functional towards a communicative rationale. In Fuzzy planning, 115-126. Routledge.

- De Roo, G. (2017), Environmental planning in the Netherlands: too good to be true: from command-and-control planning to shared governance. Routledge.

- De Roo, G., & Porter, G. (2016), Fuzzy planning: the role of actors in a fuzzy governance environment. Routledge.

- De Vos, J. (2015), The influence of land use and mobility policy on travel behavior: A comparative case study of Flanders and the Netherlands. Journal of Transport and Land Use, 8(1), 171-190.

- Dempsey, N., Brown, C., & Bramley, G. (2012), The key to sustainable urban development in UK cities? The influence of density on social sustainability. Progress in Planning, 77(3), 89-141.

- Dieleman, F. M., & Musterd, S. (1992), The restructuring of Randstad Holland. In The Randstad: A Research and Policy Laboratory (pp. 1-16). Springer, Dordrecht.

- Dieleman, F. M., Dijst, M. J., & Spit, T. (1999), Planning the compact city: the Randstad Holland experience. European Planning Studies, 7(5), 605-621.

- Dieleman, F., & Wegener, M. (2004), Compact city and urban sprawl. Built Environment, 30(4), 308-323.

- Elkin, T., McLaren, D. and Hillman, M. (1991), Reviving the city: Towards sustainable urban development. Friends of the Earth, London.

- Fainstein, S. S. (2005), Planning theory and the city. Journal of Planning Education and Research, 25(2), 121-130.

- Faludi, A. (1996), Framing with images. Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design, 23(1), 93-108.

- Mastop, H., & Faludi, A. (1997).,Evaluation of strategic plans: the performance principle. Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design, 24(6), 815-832.

- Faludi, A. (1994), Coalition building and planning for Dutch growth management: the role of the Randstad concept. Urban Studies, 31(3), 485-507.

- Fischer, K. (2011), Central places: the theories of von Thünen, Christaller, and Lösch. Foundations of location analysis, 471-505. Springer, Boston, MA.

- Gellner, E. (1970), Concepts and society. Sociological theory and philosophical analysis, 115-149. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

- Gerrits, L., Rauws, W., & de Roo, G. (2012), Dutch spatial planning policies in transition. Planning Theory and Practice, 336- 341.

- Guillemin, M., & Gillam, L. (2004), Ethics, reflexivity, and "ethically important moments" in research. Qualitative inquiry, 10(2), 261-280.

- Goertz, G. (2006), Social science concepts: A user's guide. Princeton University Press.

- Graham, S., & Healey, P. (1999). Relational concepts of space and place: Issues for planning theory and practice. European planning studies, 7(5), 623-646.

- Gunder, M., & Hillier, J. (2016), Planning in ten words or less: A Lacanian entanglement with spatial planning. Routledge.

- Hajer, M., & Versteeg, W. (2005), A decade of discourse analysis of environmental politics: Achievements, challenges, perspectives. Journal of environmental policy & planning, 7(3), 175-184.

- Healey, P. (2006), Relational complexity and the imaginative power of strategic spatial planning. European Planning Studies, 14(4), 525-546.

- Healey, P. (2009), The pragmatic tradition in planning thought. Journal of Planning Education and Research, 28(3), 277-292.

- Heurkens, E., & Hobma, F. (2014), Private sector-led urban development projects: Comparative insights from planning practices in the Netherlands and the UK. Planning Practice and Research, 29(4), 350-369.

- Hillman, M. (1992), Cities, transport and the health of the citizen. Environment, Traffic and Urban Planning, European. Academy of the Urban Environment, Berlin.

- Hsu, W. T. (2012), Central place theory and city size distribution. The Economic Journal, 122(563), 903-932.

- Innes, J. E., & Booher, D. E. (2015), A turning point for planning theory? Overcoming dividing discourses. Planning Theory, 14(2), 195-213.

- Janssen-Jansen, L. (2016), Taking national planning seriously: A challenged planning agenda in the Netherlands. Administration, 64(3-4), 23-43.

- Jenks, M., Burton, E., and Williams, K. (eds) (1996), the Compact City, a sustainable urban form? London: E&FN SPON

- Jobse, R. B., Kruythoff, H. M., & Musterd, S. (1991), Groeikernen in een veranderend ruimtelijk en demografisch krachtenveld. Geografisch Tijdschrift, 25(2), 148-160.

- Katz, P. (1994), The new urbanism: Toward an architecture of community. New York: McGraw-Hill.

- Kersloot, J., & Kauko, T. (2004), Measurement of housing preferences: A comparison of research activity in the Netherlands and Finland. Nordic journal of surveying and real estate research 1, 144-163.(1994).

- Koomen, E., & Dekkers, J. (2013), The impact of land-use policy on urban fringe dynamics. Modeling of Land-Use and Ecological Dynamics (pp. 9-35). Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg.

- Koomen, E., Dekkers, J., & van Dijk, T. (2008), Open-space preservation in the Netherlands: Planning, practice and prospects. Land use policy, 25(3), 361-377.

- Kruythoff, H., & Teule, R. (1997), Vinex policy moves into the implementation phase. Netherlands journal of housing and the built environment, 12(1), 113-133.

- Kuhn, T.S. (1962), The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Lakatos, I. (1970), Falsification and the methodology of scientific research programmes. Criticism and the growth of knowledge, 4, 91-196.

- Life, R. S. (1994), Qualitative data analysis. Social Research Methods (145), Chapter 4, 57- 64.

- Longhurst, R. (2003), Semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Key methods in geography, 117-132.

- Lörzing, H. (2006), Reinventing suburbia in the Netherlands. Built Environment (1978-), 298-310.

- Mastop, H. (2001), Dutch national planning at the turning point: Rethinking institutional arrangements. National-level Spatial Planning in Democratic Countries: An International Comparison of City and Regional Policy-making, 219-256.

- Meijers, E. (2007), From central place to network model: theory and evidence of a paradigm change. Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie, 98(2), 245-259.

- Ministerie Infrastructuur en Milieu (2012), Structuurvisie Infrastructuur en Ruimte. Rijksoverheid, March 2012.

- Moughtin, C., Cuesta, R., Sarris, C., & Signoretta, P. (2003), Urban design: Method and techniques. Routledge.

- Nabielek, K., S. Boschman, A. Harbers, M. Piek, A. Vlonk (2012), Stedelijke verdichting: een ruimtelijke verkenning voor binnenstedelijk wonen en werken. Den Haag, Planbureau voor de Leefomgeving,

- Needham, B. (1988), Continuity and change in Dutch planning theory. The Netherlands journal of housing and environmental research, 3(1), 5-22.

- Needham, B. (2014), Dutch land- use planning: The principles and the practice. Surrey, UK: Ashgate.

- Needham, B., & Faludi, A. (1999), Dutch growth management in a changing market. Planning practice and research, 14(4), 481-491.

- NEPROM (2018), Thuis in de Toekomst: routekaart voor duurzame verstedelijking. https://www.neprom.nl/downloads/neprom/Thuis_in_de_toekomst_Eindrapport.pdf. Accessed at: Octobre 9th 2018.

- Nersessian, N. J. (2010), Creating scientific concepts. MIT press, p. 3.

- Neuman, M. (2005), The compact city fallacy. Journal of planning education and research, 25(1), 11-26.

- Olesen, K. (2014), The neoliberalisation of strategic spatial planning. Planning Theory, 13(3), 288-303.

- Öztürk, B., van Dijk, D., van Hoenselaar, F., & Burgers, S. (2018), The relation between supply constraints and house price dynamics in the Netherlands.

- Priemus, H. (1998), The Randstad and the central Netherlands urban ring: planners waver between two concepts. European Planning Studies, 6(4), 443-455.

- Priemus, H. (2004), Spatial Memorandum 2004: turning point in the Netherlands'spatial development policy. Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie, 95(5), 578-583.

- Regio Randstad (2016), Europastrategie. https://www.nl-prov.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/europastrategie-regio-randstad.pdf. Accessed at: August 20th 2018.

- Rijksoverheid (2018), Nationale Woonagenda 2018-2021. https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/publicaties/2018/05/23/nationale-woonagenda-2018-2021.

- Rijksoverheid (2018), Meer ruimte voor versnellen woningbouw. https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/actueel/nieuws/2018/09/07/meer-ruimte-voor-versnellen-woningbouw. Accessed at: October 9th 2018.

- Rittel, H. W., & Webber, M. M. (1973), Dilemmas in a general theory of planning. Policy sciences, 4(2), 155-169.

- Roodbol-Mekkes, P. H., van der Valk, A. J., & Altes, W. K. K. (2012), The Netherlands spatial planning doctrine in disarray in the 21st century. Environment and Planning A, 44(2), 377-395.

- Rudestam, K. (2007), The research process. In: Surviving your dissertation: a comprehensive guide to content and process. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Schön, P. (2005), Territorial Cohesion in Europe? Interface. Planning Theory & Practice, 6(3), 389-400.

- Scoffham, E., B. Vale (1996), How compact is sustainable- How sustainable is compact? The compact city, a sustainable urban form, 56-62. Routledge.

- Scott, A. J., & Roweis, S. T. (1977), Urban planning in theory and practice: a reappraisal. Environment and planning A, 9(10), 1097-1119.

- Skaburskis, A. (2008), The origin of "wicked problems". Planning Theory & Practice, 9(2), 277-280.

- Snellen, D., Farjon, H., Kuiper, R., & Pieterse, N. (2006). Monitor Nota Ruimte: de opgave in beeld. Milieu-en Natuurplanbureau.

- Spit, T. & P. R. Zoete, A. Beek (2013), Ruimtelijke ordening in Nederland.

- Stretton, H. (1994), Transport and the structure of Australian cities. Australian Planner, 31 (3), pp. 131–136.

- Van Dam, F., D. Manting (2015), Nieuwe perspectieven voor groeikernen. Real Estate Research Quarterly, December 2015.

- Van Den Brink, A., Van Der Valk, A., & Van Dijk, T. (2006), Planning and the challenges of the metropolitan landscape: Innovation in the Netherlands. International Planning Studies, 11(3-4), 147-165.

- Van Der Burg, A. J., & Dieleman, F. M. (2004), Dutch urbanisation policies: from 'compact city'to 'urban network'. Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie, 95(1), 108-116.

- Van der Valk, A., A. Faludi (1997), The Green Heart and the dynamics of doctrine. Netherlands Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 12 (1), 57- 75.

- Van der Wouden, R. (2016), Success or failure? Fifty years of urbanization policy in the Netherlands. Ruimte & Maatschappij, 8 (1), 6-26

- Van Duinen, L. (2015), New spatial concepts between innovation and lock-in: The case of the Dutch Deltametropolis. Planning Practice & Research, 30(5), 548-569.

- Verhage, R. (2003), The role of the public sector in urban development: Lessons from Leidsche Rijn Utrecht (The Netherlands). Planning Theory & Practice, 4(1), 29-44.

- Vliegen, M. (2005), Grootstedelijke agglomeraties en stadsgewesten afgebakend. Voorburg/Heerlen: CBS.

- Waterhout, B., Othengrafen, F., & Sykes, O. (2013), Neo-liberalization processes and spatial planning in France, Germany, and the Netherlands: An exploration. Planning Practice & Research, 28(1), 141-159.

- Werkcommissie Westen des Lands (1958), De ontwikkeling van het Westen des Lands. Staatsdrukkerij- en uitgeversbedrijf, 's-Gravenhage.

- Whittemore, R., Chase, S. K., & Mandle, C. L. (2001), Validity in qualitative research. Qualitative health research, 11(4), 522-537.

- Zonneveld, W. (1989), Conceptual complexes and shifts in post-war urban planning in the Netherlands. Built Environment (1978-), 40-48.

- Zonneveld, W. (1991), Conceptvorming in de ruimtelijke planning: encyclopedie van planconcepten. Amsterdam: Institute for Planning and Demography, University of Amsterdam. Planologische Studies.

- Zonneveld, W., F. Verwest (2005), Tussen droom en retoriek: de conceptualisering van ruimte in de Nederlandse planning. NAi Uitgevers: Rotterdam. Ruimtelijk Planbureau: Den Haag.

Appendix A: Coding Scheme

Code	Explanation
Planning concepts	
Communicational Power	The extent in which concepts are seen as communicative
Desired Development	The extent in which known concepts contribute to own desired development
Nature Interventions	The operation of planning instruments and other modes of interventions
Planning Doctrine	The extent in which a planning concept is seen as robust and unchanged over certain amount of time
Normative Dimension	
Urban Rural	The way how urban and rural development dichotomy is present in valuations of the landscape
Metropolis Discourse	The way how the idea of a metropolis is present in thinking about growth management, urbanization and development
Compact City	The extent of prevalence of compact city discourse
Analytical Dimension	
Urbanization Theory	The extent of reference to former prevailing theories, such as compact city, network model & spatial interdependencies
Practical Relationship	The extent in which theory is mentioned in practical planning and decision-making examples.
Organizational Dimension	
Societal Context	The way how societal, political and economical events are used in describing the operation of planning and concepts, as well the planning system
Spatial Context	The way how urban form, scale and organization as dominant context is used in describing the operation of planning and concepts, as well the planning system
Discourse thinking	
Changes in discourses	The extent of change in both planning, society and use of theory

Appendix B: Topic list

Topics	Questions (examples)	Probing questions (examples)
Living preferences of consumers	What trends do you currently see in the housing market with regard to the wishes of the consumer?	
Demographical change	To what extent should demographic changes be taken into account in urban development designs?	What kind of demographical change will pose the most challenges on growth management strategies in the Randstad?
Government intervention	How will the central government facilitate cooperation within the framework of the housing assignment and growth management between various government layers and other (market) parties?	To what extent is there a role for national planning concepts?
Centralisation versus decentralisation of planning tasks	It is indicated that regional harmonization is expected for the perspective areas mentioned in the NOVI. What is your opnion about handling this on a regional scale?	
Sectoral versus facet planning	What role should the national government take in the light of the new environmental vision?	
Metropolis formation	To what extent do you believe in the power of metropolis formation in the Randstad to absorb growth?	How does metropolis formation relate to the challenges of urbanization in the Randstad?
Relevant scale for growth management	The urban transformation program is a collaboration with, among others, municipalities and G40. How do you view this form of cooperation?	Is this cooperation sufficient enough?
Growth management challenges	What are the important challenges concerning growth management in the Randstad we face today?	Are there any decent measurements to handle these challenges?
Spatial challenges	What kind of spatial movements can be distinguished in current timeframe in the Randstad?	Is it mostly pressure on the four biggest cities or are there other spatial movements?
Societal challenges	To what extent is it important to include social phenomena in formulating solutions for growth management?	
Urban development	To what extent is the demand for homes in the Randstad substantial in nature?	
Allocation of developments	To what extent is the city more desirable for housing development in comparison with areas outside and around cities?	To what extent is it possible to allocate all new housing developments within the urban boundaries?
Nature of developments	How should additional homes be developed to accommodate the large demand for homes in the Randstad?	
Value of national planning concepts	To what extent do you think that national planning concepts can still be relevant in these times?	To what extent are planning concepts valuable for area development?
Relevance of former national planning concepts	Which planing concepts, or parts of them, do you think can be of great value for the current challenges in urban pressure for the Randstad?	
Contemporary planning concepts	What value do you attach to contemporary approaches to urban pressure and development?	Such as inner city redevelopment or Transit Oriented Development?
Green Heart and the Randstad	To what extent is development in this area inevitable in the perspective of the housing construction task?	What will be the status of the Green Harts when developments are needed?
Future perspective	Which development will have the greatest impact on how we live in the Randstad in the future?	Why does this development have the most effect?

Appendix C: overview on planning concepts, contexts and planning reports until 2020.
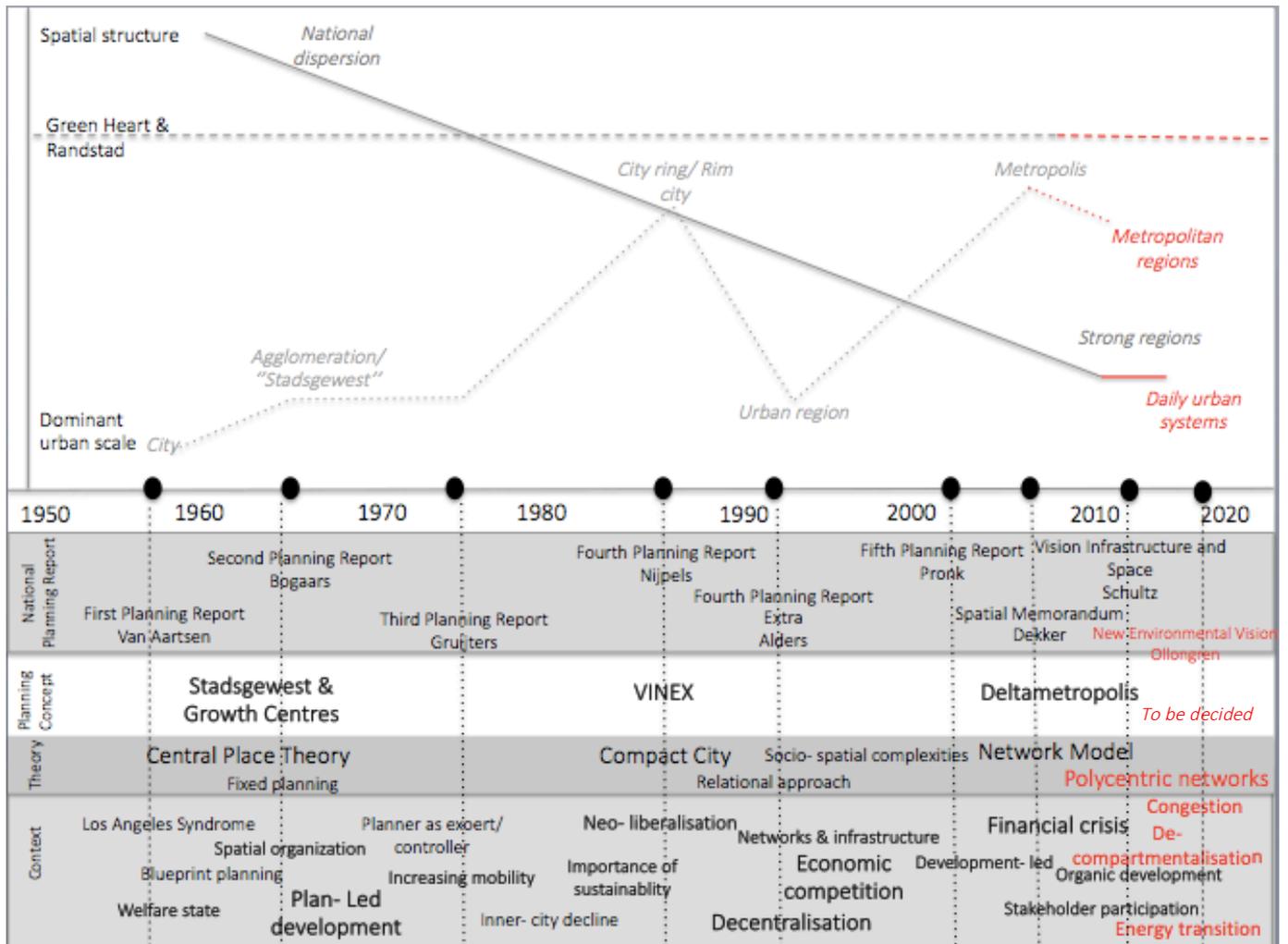
Appendix D: Summary in Dutch

De demografische- en stedelijke druk op de Randstad is sinds de Tweede Wereldoorlog een belangrijk thema in ruimtelijke ordening. Niet alleen de Randstad, maar ook het Groene Hart heeft een grote rol gespeeld in het omgaan met groei in dit gebied. Demografische- en stedelijke druk op dit gebied is dus niks nieuws, maar de uitdagingen op het gebied van deze thema's waren de afgelopen decennia steeds anders. Dit heeft te maken met de verschillende uitdagingen op dit gebied, gezamenlijk met de gerelateerde context waarin deze uitdagingen zich begaven. De verschillen in context en uitdagingen hebben geresulteerd in een variatie van ruimtelijke oplossingen. Deze oplossingen zijn veelal terug te herleiden naar de verschillende Ruimtelijke Nota's die na de Tweede Wereldoorlog zijn uitgebracht. In deze Nota's werd gebruikt gemaakt van ruimtelijke planconcepten, die diende ter communicatie om zo op een centrale wijze ruimtelijke ontwikkelingen te sturen én om daarbij oplossingen te bieden voor hoe deze ontwikkelingen uiteindelijk zouden moeten worden geïmplementeerd. Voorbeelden van nationale planconcepten zijn de Vinex, de groeikernen en de stadsgewesten. Ruimtelijke planconcepten zijn gekarakteriseerd met een duidelijke vorm voor een heldere communicatie. Een concept kan te vatten zijn in een beeld, maar ook in tekst of in een kaart. De inhoud van een planconcept laat zien wat de meest wenselijke ruimtelijke ontwikkeling is, en geeft daarbij aan welke instrumenten en interventies nodig zijn om deze wenselijke ontwikkeling te doen slagen.

Het belangrijkste onderwerp wat in deze scriptie naar voren komt is de plotselinge verandering in het gebruik van deze nationale planconcepten in Nederland. Deze verandering kan in verband worden gebracht met inzet op liberalisatie en decentralisatie in de Nederlandse ruimtelijke ordening. Deze inzet op liberalisatie en decentralisatie is terug te vinden na de Vierde Nota Extra en ten tijde van de Nota ruimte uit 2006. De significantie van nationale planconcepten leek steeds minder te worden, naarmate op lokale schaal steeds meer focus kwam te liggen op prestatie gerichte ontwikkelingen: het verdienmodel werd steeds belangrijker naarmate private partijen ook steeds meer invloed kregen op het ruimtelijke ordeningsbeleid. Liberalisatie en decentralisatie zorgden ook voor een andere rol van de nationale overheid: van een vrij pro- actieve rol in ruimtelijke ordening naar één die meer strategisch van aard is. Nationale planconcepten, zoals deze werden geïmplementeerd in de decennia daarvoor, leken niet meer passend te zijn in die veranderende context.

De financiële crisis, die ongeveer ten einde was na 2013, heeft gezorgd voor economische progressie. Deze economische voorspoed resulteerde ook in een vergrote demografische- en stedelijke druk op de Randstad. Ook de prognoses voor de komende decennia laten zien dat de druk op de grootste vier steden in Nederland (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Den Haag en Utrecht), zal blijven aanhouden. Deze vier steden liggen allemaal in het Randstedelijke gebied. Daarbij zijn ook nieuwe uitdagingen ten tonele verschenen, zoals de energie transitie en klimaat adaptatie, maar ook de druk op mobiliteit door de groei wordt gezien als een grote uitdaging voor de nabije toekomst. Deze nieuwe vorm van stedelijke- en demografische druk op de Randstad resulteert in de vraag of nationale planconcepten wellicht van waarde zijn of nodig zijn, ook al zijn liberalisatie en decentralisatie binnen de ruimtelijke ordening al vergaand doorgevoerd.

De nationale planconcepten sinds de eerste ruimtelijke nota, en de daarbij verschillende contexten waarin deze planconcepten zijn ingebed, zijn in deze scriptie geanalyseerd. Hierdoor is er een helder beeld ontstaan van hoe context en concept zich steeds tot elkaar verhouden. De analyse is uitgevoerd aan de hand van drie dimensies die zijn geformuleerd door Balz & Zonneveld (2018). Via deze dimensies kunnen planconcepten worden geïnterpreteerd, maar via dimensies is ook te achterhalen hoe planconcepten zijn bedacht en uiteindelijk zijn ingebed in de Nederlandse ruimtelijke ordening. Het gaat hier om de normatieve-, organisatorische- en analytische dimensie. De normatieve dimensie laat zien hoe mensen de maatschappij waarnemen en welke meningen zij hebben over de maatschappij. Deze persoonlijke beeldvormingen hebben invloed op wat mensen zien als een maatschappelijk probleem, en wat niet. De organisatorische dimensie kenmerkt zich door

beleidsvorming en samenwerking op zowel geografische schalen als tussen departementen en sectoren. De analytische dimensie is gerelateerd aan theoretische kennis, die te herleiden zijn naar planconcepten en ideeën over ruimtelijke ontwikkelingen. Deze scriptie volgt de uitspraken van Balz & Zonneveld (2018), waaruit blijkt dat theorie als onderlegger gebruikt kan worden, om op die wijze planconcepten beter te begrijpen. De dimensies zijn gebruikt om een beter beeld te krijgen van de verschillende contexten en tijdsgeesten gerelateerd aan de nationale planconcepten van die tijden. De verkregen inzichten zijn daarna gebruikt om uit te zoeken of een nationaal planconcept van waarde kan zijn in de huidige tijd en met de huidige uitdagingen rondom demografische- en stedelijke druk in de Randstad.

Er lijkt een vraag te zijn naar een nationaal planconcept voor de bovenstaande beschreven uitdagingen in de Randstad. Deze vraag komt voort uit het feit dat er rondom deze uitdagingen geen heldere nationale strategie is geformuleerd. Echter, of bij het formuleren van een strategie een nationaal planconcept van waarde kan zijn heeft te maken met welke aard het concept heeft. Een nationaal planconcept is alleen van waarde als deze strategisch van aard is, zonder gedetailleerde formuleringen over hoe de ruimtelijke ontwikkelingen vormgegeven moeten worden. Hierbij wordt een combinatie van een helder strategisch nationaal concept gecombineerd met passende lokale projecten toegejuicht. Daarnaast wordt de waarde van een nationaal planconcept alleen onderschreven als hier ook financiële middelen vanuit het Rijk bij gebaat zijn, net zoals dit bij planconcepten zoals de VINEX en groeikernen het geval was. Ten slotte, een nieuw nationaal planconcept moet een veel bredere strekking hebben dan alleen een ruimtelijke focus. Uitdagingen rondom energie transitie, klimaat adaptatie en mobiliteit moeten verweven worden in de ruimtelijke conceptualisering op nationaal niveau. Deze bredere strekking lijkt dan ook consequenties te hebben voor de organisatie van het Rijk. Een nieuw nationaal planconcept zou dan in samenwerkingen met verschillende ministeries en departementen moeten worden opgesteld. Wanneer deze vier bovengenoemde factoren goed worden georganiseerd, kan een nationaal planconcept in deze tijdsgeest van waarde zijn.