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Autor: Schaafsma, Maurits

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Globalization and growth: a new planning agenda for North-Holland

► Maurits Schaafsma

Globalization asks for an active, dynamic attitude of the governments and an keen eye of regions to respond to international developments. But at the same time growth and change are not that not that self-evident any more to the people, even in a man-made environment as the Randstad Holland. Balanced policies and an excellent communication from governments to the people are crucial.

The effects of globalization and neo liberalism effect Dutch planning issues in two ways. On the one hand the orientation on the international competition, leading to the will to accommodate international flows and offer internationally competing environments, on the other hand the awareness that we should be more careful with our cultural heritage and the environment.

The basic attitude in Holland has always been to accommodate change and growth. In the Randstad Holland both countryside and cities are primarily considered as spaces that are economically exploited. Both are man-made. Big works used to be subject of national pride: the Delta project to protect Zeeland, the IJsselmeer-dike and -polders, Europoort (reclaimed land on which the Port of Rotterdam extended), Schiphol in the Haarlemmer-meer polder.

Most of the polders have been made to create agricultural land. The landscape could change if it was necessary to make better agricultural use of it. The landscape urbanised both to accommodate growth of the cities and the infrastructure, and to accommodate urbanisation trends of the countryside itself: greenhouses, huge agricultural trade and auction buildings. The policy to separate the big cities of the Randstad by creating buffer-zones led to new recreational landscapes. Also in the cities there has always been an open attitude towards growth and change, culminating in Rotterdam, the most change-eager city of the Randstad.

But now the big projects are no longer subject of pride, they are more like a battlefield. The Betuwe cargo-railway and the high speed railway to Belgium and France could only be conceived at considerable extra costs. Not only to diminish the



Fig. 1 view on IJburg

nuisance for people living along the proposed trace, or to avoid damage to nature, but to preserve the man-made landscape of the Green Heart (a 900 million guilders tunnel will be built).

The battles

There are two aspects : One sees growth and change as a challenge.

The other wants to protect nature, landscape and the present physical character of Holland. The ones in favour of change argue that there is still a need to accommodate growth and change. Compared to other Northwest European countries, the Randstad has a relatively young population, due to the post-war baby-boom. For this reason we still face a considerable need for housing and economic development in the next decades. To safeguard the position of the Randstad as an international center of transportation and distribution, infrastructural developments are inevitable. As we are a man-made country, our real challenge is to find new ways of shaping the country.

The counterpart is the increasing awareness of the ecological, cultural and historical values of the

► Ing. Maurits Schaafsma,
Provincie Noord-Holland

Globalisation et croissance: un nouveau programme de développement du territoire pour le nord de la Hollande

Les effets de la globalisation sont désormais au centre des préoccupations en matière d'aménagement. L'augmentation du flux de capitaux, de personnes et d'informations par-delà les frontières est un effet direct de cette globalisation. Celle-ci est parallèle au développement de la technologie et à la libéralisation de l'économie. Mais elle a aussi des conséquences sur la culture.

Dans le nord de la Hollande, une nouvelle législation est mise en place pour faire face à l'urbanisation persistante et à la croissance rapide du trafic aérien. L'aspect principal de ce travail politique consiste à se demander comment contrôler la croissance.

La globalisation est un phénomène qui exige une attitude active et dynamique de la part des gouvernements; les régions doivent se montrer perspicaces pour pouvoir résister à l'évolution internationale.

La croissance et le changement ne sont plus des notions tellement évidentes pour la population, même pas dans un pays entièrement fabriqué par l'homme comme la Hollande.

environment. The need for increasing urbanisation and new infrastructure is questioned. Ecologists promote the return to more natural balances: to create new marshes along the big rivers and in the peat meadow areas, to give nature a free hand at the North Sea coast, to make new woods on the sand-grounds. Agriculture should either be more biological or high tech (in which case you only need one quarter of the present area). Water is one of the crucial regional environmental issues. In spite of the surplus of rainfall, the soil dries out, due to the way we treat water in the cities and the water management in the polders. The stock of drinking water diminishes, which will make drinking water expensive in the next decades.

The cultural-historians don't always agree with the ecologists. From the cultural perspective the preservation of the typical Dutch man-made landscapes like the peat-meadow areas and the different polders is advocated.

The battlefields

These days in the province of North-Holland there are two battlefields: IJburg and Schiphol Airport.

IJburg

It is about a proposed housing development of 18.000 houses in the lake IJmeer, east of Amsterdam. Although it is an expensive development, it was chosen in the Fourth Report on Physical Planning because of some important advantages: it is as close as possible to the city, reducing the mobility and giving maximum support to the city. The development is dense, the design will be very environmental in its approach. To compensate for the loss of water, nature will be developed at the IJmeer-shores surrounding IJburg. In March, the people of Amsterdam voted in a municipal referendum contra IJburg. But because the turn out was just short of the threshold, the project will go on. The battle on the referendum was extremely fierce. The organisations opposing IJburg argued that it is a valuable nature-reserve, the water that is lost can never be compensated for. "Now they are taking IJburg, next they will build in the dunes and in the woods. Planners argued that the natural values are not really that high (the IJburg part of IJmeer is outside the official ecological zone) and can be compensated for. We made our country, we make our own nature.

The main lesson from the fierce media-competition is that the people are no longer proud of the big projects, but are fed up with the loss of landscape and water. This puts the principles for urbanisation in the Randstad in a new perspective.

Schiphol Airport

The second battle is on the way we accommodate for the increasing flows of people and goods by air, and on the way we enable KLM to be a global

player in aviation. In the Fourth Report on Physical Planning internationalisation inspired a market-led and selective approach. The Randstad should further develop its position as an international center for transportation and distribution. The big cities should improve their attractiveness for international businesses by developing new inner city projects like Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam and IJ-oeveren in Amsterdam. Big investments were planned in the Mainports Rotterdam and Schiphol and their connections to the Hinterland. In the case of Schiphol a double objective was chosen. The airport should be extended, but at the same time the nuisance to existing houses should diminish. Only in 1996 the final planning decisions have been made to build a fifth runway, to be opened in 2003. Thus Schiphol can grow to 44 million passengers per year in 2015 without increasing the noise nuisance in existing houses. This maximum of 44 million passengers is an environmental limit that is related to the double objective; when the fifth runway is completed, the technical capacity of the airport increases to approximately 80 million passengers per year.

Schiphol (KLM) is growing so fast now, that the 44 million limit will be reached in 2001 instead of 2015. So a decision about the future of aviation in Holland after reaching this limit has to be prepared already now. For this reason the cabinet has decided to launch a four months 'national public debate' on the question whether or not we should accommodate further growth of air traffic in the Netherlands. After this debate, most likely to result in a 'yes plus conditions', the second question will be where to accommodate this growth. Options are:

- 1 "remote runways" without a terminal in the North Sea at 10 km from the coast line, connected to the terminals at Schiphol by high speed transportation. In the longer run this sea-airport could replace Schiphol;
- 2 a second airport in Markermeer with an own terminal, additional and very well connected to Schiphol;
- 3 a second airport south of Rotterdam.

The decision about the future location of a new airport is vital to the economic future of North-Holland and will be crucial for the physical planning agenda.

The decision whether to accommodate further growth of air traffic in Holland is basically a national one. Even a decision about the location is mainly a national decision, but the province of North-Holland can have an important say there. North-Holland will develop a policy on the regional conditions on which it may cooperate. These conditions will be related to the extension of the regional public transportation network, to closing down runways at Schiphol in order to improve the conditions to use the area surrounding the airport,

to a good physical integration of developments in the existing or a new landscape, and last but not least to the urbanisation strategy at large. The cultural dimension is to create an environment that is 'generic' enough to be attractive for international companies, and specific enough to be recognisable as Dutch, Randstad, North-Holland or Amsterdam. The Airport has turned into a generic city in the past decade: shopping centers, an indoor golf course, hotels, high quality offices, a World Trade Center with extensive conference facilities. A city without citizens. The Schiphol development is indirectly linked to the South Axis of Amsterdam, which is developing into an international CBD, the first anonymous international skyscrapers have been built, mega-shopping malls will be opened in a few years. To improve the quality of the region a 1600 ha green project is being developed now in Haarlemmermeer. For the next development stage of Schiphol, this will not be enough.

North-Holland

The position North-Holland has to take towards the future of aviation is one of the key issues for the new urbanisation policy the province is preparing for the post-2005 era. One of the other issues is the urbanisation policy in the post-IJburg era. Now that the government is retreating from the public transportation and housing markets (only maximum 30% of the houses in projects like IJburg can be subsidised), the question is if the market is willing to develop IJburg-like estates and can operate the necessary public transportation. These developments are expensive, difficult to phase once you have started, and the differentiation in housing is limited. Is IJburg the last of the dinosaurs?

The provincial politicians choose growth as the key political issue in the preparation of the new policy: do we want to accommodate the growth in the consumption of space. There is general hesitation: do we really need all this consumption of space, is there never an end to diminishing the green open spaces? Thus the positions in the battle on the big projects are represented. From this central issue three scenarios for the future of North-Holland are being prepared:

1. *stabilisation*: Take more time to develop the present programmes for urbanisation. Growth will decrease in the next decades and if not, we don't want to accommodate it in North-Holland. We want to protect the present character of the province.
2. *growth-concentration*: The space we need for housing and economic development has to be found within the confines of the present urban areas by intensifying the use of space. Intensify the cities, extensify the countryside.
3. *growth-dispersal*: Accommodate growth in the province there where the demand is. Follow the trend of suburbanisation and offer nice green environments for living and working.

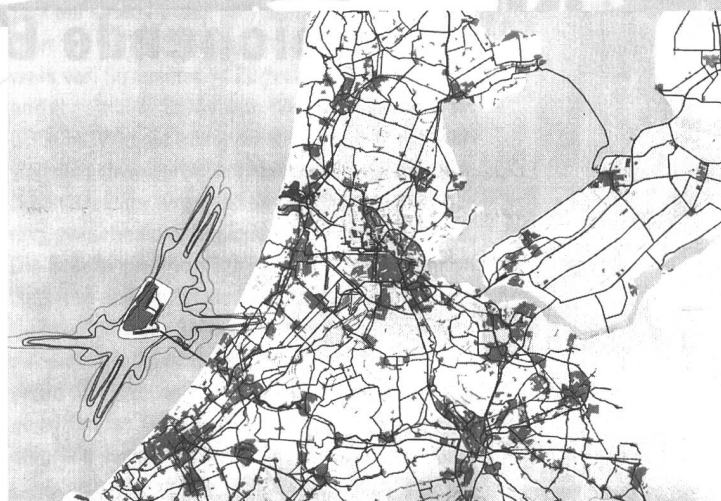


Fig. 2 On of the alternatives for Schiphol: the North-South location

The scenario's will have to cope with the autonomous developments. For the 2005-2030 period we expect to have to build another 100.000 to 200.000 houses in the province. Additionally a major part of the badly built post-war housing stock will have to be replaced. Employment might grow with up to 300.000 jobs, mainly in business services, financial services and transportation and communication. We also face important changes in the use of the countryside. Much of the agricultural production will face sharp competition on the world-market. Environmental restrictions will make it harder to produce, specially near urban areas. Cattle breeding for milk and bulk agriculture will suffer. The prospects for horticulture are much better. This development might threaten the characteristic peat-meadow landscapes.

The scenario's partly interfere with the Randstad scenario's as mentioned in the article by prof. Max van den Berg. In the North-Holland case they are elaborated more specifically for North-Holland and on a different, lower scale level. The debate on the scenario's will start soon. Comparing the scenario's will go along some key questions:

- how do the scenario's cope with the autonomous developments;
- how do they address the issues of globalization;
- are they realistic, considering the changing role of the governments and the increasing dominance of the market. ■