

SERIE RESEARCH MEMORANDA

Revised **Version**

Urban development in the Netherlands:

New Perspectives

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Research Memorandum 2002-1A

January 2002



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EARLY URBAN HISTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS¹

The socio-economic development of nations centers around cities. Cities are the fuelplaces for **economic** growth and play a critical role in the **economic** history of the Developed World. They **create** unprecedented, and as yet unexploited agglomeration **economies** to the **benefit** of the **whole** country (Glaeser, 1998). This observation is **also** reflected in the urban history of the Netherlands.

New cities originated along the banks of the large Dutch waterways in the feudal era **between** circa 1000-1433, mainly due to the revival of trade. From the 13th century onwards, Dutch **fishing**, shipping and trading showed rapid growth. The city of Dordrecht which had **a** favourable location was the **first** city to attract **economic** activities of major **significance**. **Also** the IJssel-delta (Kampen and Deventer) became **a** focal point of business in the 13th -16th centuries.

In the year 1500, the Netherlands consisted of 17 **provinces** that had emerged **from** the Roman Empire. In 1587, the country was officially referred to as the Republic of the United Netherlands. Despite its impressive name, no **such** thing as **a** single Dutch **State** ever existed. The Eighty Years' **War** (1568-1648) led to the **independence** of the Republic and turned the United Netherlands into **a** formidable sea power. In the course of the 16th century **the** city of Amsterdam took **a** leading position as the most important (financial) trading town of Holland.

. The authors wish to thank Cees Gorter for his **helpful** suggestions during the **preparation** of this paper. Unfortunately he passed away in October 2001.

¹ Data has been drawn **from** the Historische Winkler Prins Encyclopedie (1959), Grote Winkler Prins Encyclopedie (1976), Grote **Winkler** Prins Encyclopedie (1992) if not elsewhere indicated.

Migration and urban systems

At the end of the 16th century the colonial expansion started. The **first** journey to India occurred in 1595 which led to the founding of the Dutch East India Company in 1602. In 1621 the Company of the West **Indies** was founded, which enabled the Dutch to expand to the New **World**. Between 1580 and 1675 the **economy** of Holland showed continuous growth. For this reason, the 17th century is regarded as the Golden Age of the Republic of the United Netherlands.

In 1622, **almost** 60 per cent of the Dutch population, which numbered about 400000 people, lived in cities. By then 33 cities **already** existed, although 18 had a population of less than 5,000 residents **each**. Amsterdam was the largest city in 1670 with approximately 200000 inhabitants. This was about half of the total population, but even on an international level, it was **quite considerable**. The most important cities at that **time**, besides Amsterdam, were Leiden, Haarlem, Delft, Gouda, Hoorn, Enkhuizen, Rotterdam and Middelburg. In certain **areas** even the countryside was urbanised and especially the Zaan region near Amsterdam developed into an important industrial area (Van der Ham, 1998).

Also foreigners were attracted by the Dutch prosperity. Between 1580 and the beginning of the 18th century, about half a million immigrants settled in the Republic. In those days one **out of every** two employees was of foreign origin. At the same **time**, approximately 500000 people were immigrating to the colonies or started working on one of the **many** ships (van der Ham, 1998).

As a **result** of the urban upsurge in the 17th and 18th century, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and to a lesser extent The Hague and Utrecht expanded strongly. At the same **time**, the previously important towns in the South and East of the country began to stagnate. In this way a pattern of several large towns, a number of medium-sized towns, and **many** small towns emerged. In 1849 more than 40 per cent of the Dutch population lived in these towns. By 1930 this percentage had **risen** to 65.6 per cent, but it gradually dropped to just below 53 per cent in 1970 (Deurloo *et al.*, 1980). At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Netherlands was still largely rural in **nature**, but over a period of one century it **changed** into an urbanised country. The Industrial Revolution which prompted the development of new **infrastructure** (harbours, rail **infrastructure**, roads) which, in turn, stimulated **the** growth of the most **accessible** urban **centres** since the beginning of the 20th century.

URBAN CLASSIFICATIONS IN THE NETHERLANDS²

Urban development in The Netherlands over the past 50 years **cannot** be **fully** understood without an explanation of the different approaches to urban classifications that were implemented over the years. The history of measuring the degree of urbanisation in the Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) **dates** back to the 1950s **when** a multi-dimensional classification of the **smallest** administrative geographical unit, the municipality, was developed. In this classification a distinction was made between: rural municipalities, urbanised rural municipalities, and urban municipalities. These degrees of urbanisation were based on population density, the **structure** of the economically **active** population, and the urban character of the built-up area (Hoekveld, 1981).

Each of the above categories of urbanisation **can** be further subdivided. For this paper only the subdivision of category C is relevant. Depending on the population **size** of the municipalities category C **can** be subdivided into 5 categories. Small rural cities with between 2 000 and 10 000 inhabitants **fall** in category C1. Small cities with 10 000-30 000 inhabitants belong to category C2. The third and the fourth categories are the medium-sized cities. C3 numbers 30 000-50 000 inhabitants and C4 consists of 50 000-100 000 inhabitants. The final category C5 covers large cities with more than 100 000 inhabitants.

Although the degree of urbanisation (or ABC-classification) had been widely used in the past but doubts about its **usefulness** have been raised in recent years. **However**, an update of the classification is not possible because of the decision to abandon a national population census (the last one **dates** back to 1971). Since 1992 a new measure has been **introduced**: the **address**-density of an area. It is based on the concept of concentration of **human** activities according to **building** addresses. The degree of urbanisation of an area has been defined as the **average** number of addresses in an area with a radius of 1 km around a central **address**. Five categories have been **identified**: **very** strongly urbanised, strongly urbanised, moderately urbanised, **under-urbanised** and non-urbanised.

For the description of urbanisation patterns in the Netherlands **from** 1950-1992, the degree of urbanisation (or ABC-classification) has been widely used. For the period from 1992 to 2000 **address** densities are being used. Another classification that is of interest was used by Van den Berg *et al.* They **classified** 24 Dutch agglomerations (see **also** Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1) for the period of 1950 to 1982 according to three development stages: **cores** (urban **areas**), rings (suburban **areas**) and agglomerations.

The classifications of the CBS and the Van den Berg group overlap to a large extent. If the two classification systems are compared one could say

² Data in **this section** has been drawn from Den Dulk *et al.* (1992).

that ‘cores’ correspond to ‘urban municipalities’ (category C) and ‘rings’ to ‘urbanised rural municipalities’ (category B). ‘Agglomerations’ could be regarded as a combination of categories B and C. The remaining A-category or ‘rural municipalities’ falls outside the scope of the division of Van den Berg *et al.*, but can be regarded as peripheral areas.

It should be noted that a direct comparison of the latter two classifications is hard to achieve because the sizes of cities in category C varies greatly, and this complicates the specification of this category simply as ‘cores’ or urban areas. We have tried to overcome this by subdividing it into the five subdivisions, which have previously been described, and by analysing these separately. Consequently, category C1 consists of peripheral or rural areas, category C2 and C3 are suburban areas (rings) and category C4 and C5 are regarded as ‘urban areas’ (cores). Also urbanised rural municipalities cannot simply be categorised as ‘rings’. To give an accurate picture, they do not only exist of urbanised rural municipalities (B1 and B2), but also of commuter municipalities (B3).³

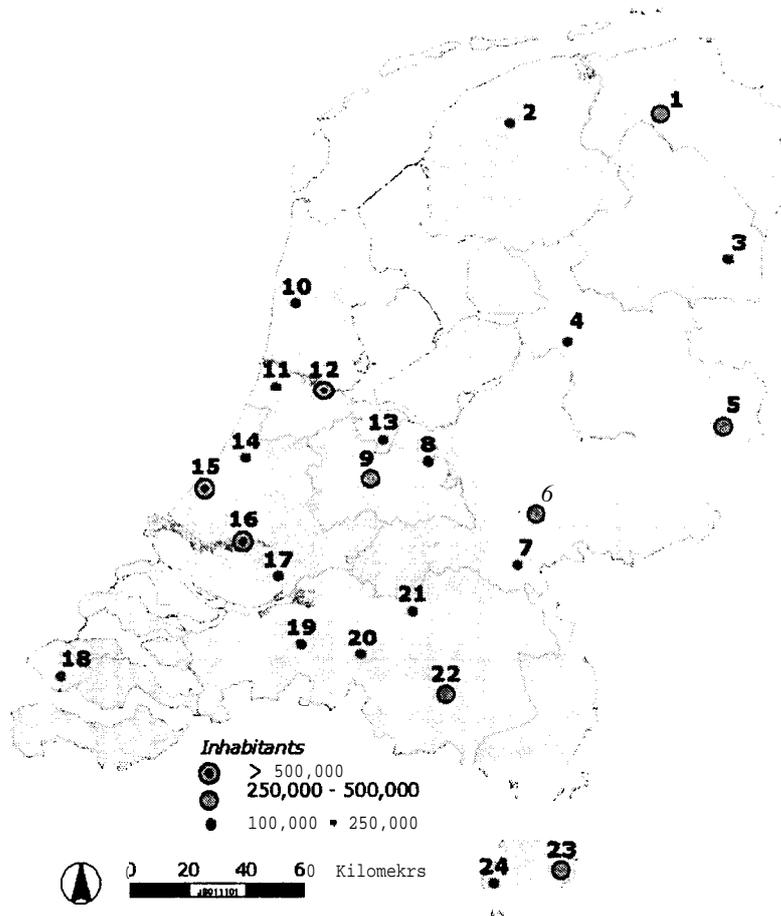
Table 7.1: The sample of Dutch agglomerations of Van den Berg *et al.* (1981 and 1987)

| Size | Randstad | Emanation zone | Peripheral zones |
|--------------------------------|--|---|---|
| > 500,000 inhabitants | Amsterdam (12) Rotterdam (16) The Hague(15) | | |
| 250,000 to 500,000 inhabitants | Utrecht (9) | Arnhem(6) Eindhoven(22) | Groningen (1) Enschede/Hengelo (5) Heerlen/Kerkrade (23) |
| 100,000 to 250,000 inhabitants | Leiden(14) Hilversum (13) Amersfoort(8) Dordrecht/ Zwijndrecht (17) Haarlem(11) | Nijmegen(7) Breda(19) Alkmaar(10) Tilburg (20) Den Bosch (21) | Leeuwarden(2) Zwolle (4) Emmen(3) Maastricht (24) Vlissingen/ Middelburg (18) |

Note: Numbers in brackets identify the locations of agglomerations on the map of The Netherlands shown in Figure 1.

³ For the sake of this discussion this subdivision has not been made. For the same reasons mentioned in this section, a comparison between the degree of urbanisation and address density is not feasible and therefore has not been attempted.

Figure 7.1: The sample of Dutch agglomerations of Van den Berg et al. (1987) on the map of the Netherlands



MIGRATION AND URBANISATION IN THE NETHERLANDS: GENERAL OVERVIEW FOR THE PERIOD 1950-2000

To describe 50 years of urban developments, we start with a general overview of the entire period. Around 1950 about 10.11 million people lived in the Netherlands. This **number** has increased by 58 per cent to 15.86 million by the year 2000. This growth has not been equally dispersed over the period. In the 20th century the population of the Netherlands grew on **average** by 100 thousand inhabitants per year. Although the surface of the country has expanded somewhat through land reclamation in the formally known Zuiderzee, this was not **sufficient** for the strong increase in population. It has **also caused** an increase of population density. Table 7.2 shows the population numbers and population densities of the periods considered. The continuous increase of population and population density in the Netherlands has resulted in migration flows and strong urbanisation. The largest population concentration has always been in the west of the country, **where** the four largest municipalities are located: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht (Prins et al., 2000).

Table 7.2: Population and population *density* development for the period 1950-2000 (*composed from: CBS data*)

| | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1990 | 2000 |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Total population | 10026773 | 11410843 | 12953731 | 14091014 | 14892574 | 15863950 |
| Population density per km ² | 309 | 352 | 384 | 415 | 439 | 46% |

Over the past 40 years the percentage of people living in urban municipalities, has remained around 50 per cent of the total Dutch population. This accounted for 6 million people in 1960 and 7.5 million people in 1990. This percentage is more **difficult** to determine for people living in rural municipalities and urbanised rural municipalities because it has **changed** over the course of the years. **Between** 1960 and 1990 the share of the population living in **rural** municipalities has declined continuously but not constantly **from almost** 25 per cent in 1960 to below 11 per cent in 1990, a drop of 13.25 per cent over the period. In this period 1 119 276 people left the rural municipalities. During the same period, the share of the urbanised **rural** municipalities increased. **Where** in 1960 more **than** 20 per cent of the Dutch population lived in urbanised rural municipalities, in 1990 this share had increased to **almost** 38 per cent. In absolute terms, the number of people living in urbanised **rural** municipalities has more than doubled with 3 201 248 inhabitants to 5 643 381 inhabitants. The largest leaps occurred in the 1970s.

During this period the rural municipalities lost 10 per cent of their population share (1 204 9 14 residents) and the share of urbanised rural municipalities increased by 11 per cent (1 844 899 residents). For **specific numbers** and percentages, we refer to Table 7.3. A graphical overview of these periods is provided in Figure 7.2 and 7.3.

Table 7.3: Population numbers and percentages related to degree of urbanisation for the period 1950-1990 (composed from: CBS data)

| Population | 1960 | Share | 1970 | Share | 1980 | Share | 1990 | Share |
|--------------------------------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|-------|
| Rural municipalities | 2800463 | 24.54 | 2843908 | 21.95 | 1638994 | 11.63 | 1681187 | 11.29 |
| Urbanised rural municipalities | 2442133 | 21.40 | 3271385 | 25.25 | 5116284 | 36.31 | 5643381 | 37.89 |
| Urban municipalities | 6168247 | 54.06 | 6838438 | 52.80 | 7334190 | 52.06 | 7566370 | 50.82 |

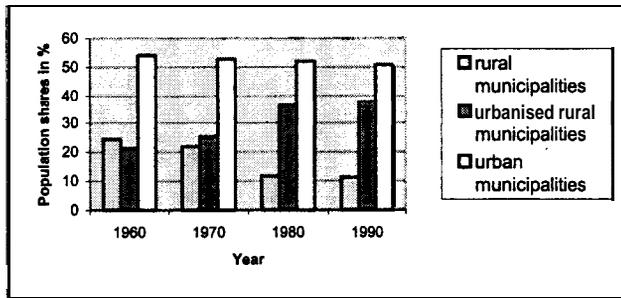


Figure 7.2: Development of population distribution related to degree of urbanisation for the period 1960-1990 (deduced from: Table 7.3)

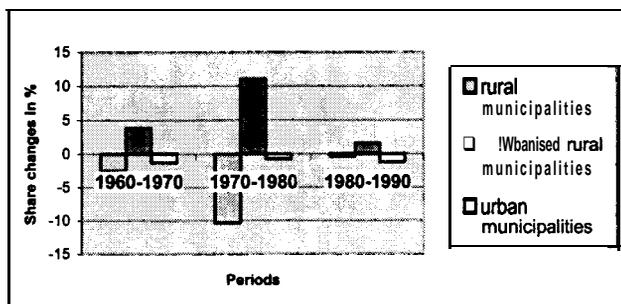


Figure 7.3: Changes in population distribution between 1960 and 1990 (deduced from: Table 7.3)

As has been previously mentioned, the Netherlands experienced a continuous growth in population since 1950. This growth has diminished from 13.8 per cent in the 1950s to 5.7 per cent in the 1980s. The 1990s showed a different picture, **however**, because in this decade the population rose suddenly by 6.5 per cent. At the level of urbanisation, population increases occurred, **except** for the rural municipalities in the 1970s. In that period the rural municipalities were **faced** with a population decrease of more than 42 per cent, while the population of the urbanised rural municipalities increased by 56.4 per cent. This is in line with the changes that have previously been **recorded**. The growth percentages of urban municipalities declined gradually, but remained positive. In Table 7.4, the growth percentages of population are shown for the period 1950-2000.

Table 7.4: Percentage population growth in related to the degree of urbanisation for the period 1950-2000 (deduced from: Table 2 and 3)

| Population growth in % | 1950-1960 | 1960-1970 | 1970-1980 | 1980-1990 | 1990-2000 |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Rural municipalities | | 1.55 | -42.37 | 2.57 | |
| Urbanised rural municipalities | | 33.96 | 56.4 | 10.3 | |
| Urban municipalities | | 10.87 | 7.25 | 3.17 | |
| Total population | 13.8 | 13.52 | 8.78 | 5.69 | 6.52 |

Table 7.5 gives an overview of the number of municipalities over the course of the years, and **where** available, the degree of urbanisation. From this Table it **can** be concluded that the total number of municipalities has decreased by 47 per cent from 1015 in 1950 to 537 in 2000. With **regard** to the degree of urbanisation per decade data are only available for the years 1980, 1990 and 1992. From this data it **can** be seen that during those years, rural municipalities on **average** represented 27 per cent, urbanised rural municipalities approximately 56 per cent, and urban municipalities 17 per cent of the total number of municipalities in the Netherlands. In absolute terms, the number of municipalities has diminished in **all** three **categories** of the ABC-classification, although the number of urban municipalities declined only slightly by 2.5 per cent and has been stable at 117 municipalities since 1990. Compared to the total number of municipalities, the urbanised rural municipalities and the urban municipalities have gained in share and only the **rural** municipalities have diminished, but it should be noted that the changes are relatively low.

Table 7.6 has been **compiled** because of **the lack** of data in Table 5. In Table 7.6 the number of municipalities is **specified** in **categories** of numbers of inhabitants for the period 1950-1999. It shows that some of the **smallest** municipalities have had a large decrease **from** 624 in 1950, to only 20 in

1999. The second category gained municipalities until 1980 (from 314 in 1950, to 407 in 1980), after which it dropped to 292 municipalities in 1999. Categories 3, 4 and 5 all showed increases, and category 3 increased by almost one third from 53 in 1950, to 167 in 1999.

Table 7.5: Number of municipalities related to degree of urbanisation for the period 1950-2000 (composed from: CBS data)

| Number of municipalities | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | Share | 1990 | Share | 1992 | Share | 2000 |
|--------------------------------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|
| Rural municipalities | | | | 239 | 29.5 | 177 | 26.3 | 165 | 25.5 | |
| Urbanised rural municipalities | | | | 452 | 55.7 | 378 | 56.3 | 365 | 56.4 | |
| Urban municipalities | | | | 120 | 14.8 | 117 | 17.4 | 117 | 18.1 | |
| Total | 1015 | 994 | 913 | 811 | | 672 | | 647 | | 537 |

Table 7.6: Number of municipalities related to categories of numbers of inhabitants for the period 1950-1999 (composed from: CBS data)

| Number of municipalities | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1990 | 1999 |
|-----------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1: > 5000 inhabitants | 624 | 556 | 406 | 246 | 105 | 20 |
| 2: 5000-20000 inhabitants | 314 | 344 | 389 | 407 | 384 | 292 |
| 3: 20000-50000 inhabitants | 53 | 61 | 78 | 114 | 130 | 167 |
| 4: 50000-100000 inhabitants | 13 | 19 | 26 | 27 | 36 | 34 |
| 5: > 100000 inhabitants | 11 | 14 | 14 | 17 | 17 | 25 |
| Total | 1015 | 994 | 913 | 811 | 672 | 538 |

The population increase in the different urban zones and in the Netherlands as a whole, is not only the result of natural growth, but also of internal and international migration. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, the definition of internal migration is the number of changes of residence of the population within the Netherlands, i.e. a move from one municipality to another⁴. When studying interregional moves, it could generally be said that more people want to move to the west of the country. Moreover, the agricultural provinces (the northern and south-western parts of the country) are normally confronted with a surplus of people wishing to

⁴Except for changes caused by municipal border changes.

move away to another part of the country. The eastern and southern parts of the country fluctuate in general around the neutral line⁵.

Immigration relates to all individuals whose arrivals result in entries in Dutch population registers. Up to September 1994 the entry criterion was 30 days of residency for Dutch nationals, and an expected residency of at least 180 days for non-Dutch residents. Since October 1994 the criterion has changed to residency for two thirds of a year irrespective of nationality. Emigration relates to all individuals departing from the Netherlands whose departures result in cancellations from the Dutch population registers. The basis for removal from the registers has changed from 8 months abroad to 12 months, irrespective of nationality. Net migration equals the number of arrivals minus the number of departures (CBS, 2001).

Table 7.7: Immigration and emigration figures for the period 1950-1999 (adapted from: Prins et al., 2000)

| (* 1000) | 1950-1959 | 1960-1969 | 1970-1979 | 1980-1989 | 1990-1999 |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Immigration | 486 | 644 | 934 | 850 | 1129 |
| Emigration | 621 | 558 | 605 | 587 | 605 |
| Average yearly growth of immigration* | 4.5 | 5.3 | 6.9 | 5.9 | 7.3 |
| Idem of emigration* | 5.8 | 4.6 | 4.5 | 4.1 | 3.9 |

Notes:

* Per 1000 of population

The post-war period showed an emigration surplus in the Netherlands. The Dutch emigration reached its peak in 1952 when 8 1,000 people emigrated out of Holland. From then emigration diminished somewhat with some recovery in the 1970s and 1990s at an absolute level and a continuous decrease with regard to the yearly growth figures. Immigration has risen since 1960 with a small decline in the 1980s, both at an absolute and relative level. The rise of immigration occurred because foreign employees were attracted by Dutch welfare and were recruited by companies that could not find enough labourers in the Netherlands. It is assumed that the Dutch welfare was also the reason why emigration decreased in the Netherlands. Between 1960 and 1990 the number of foreigners in the Netherlands increased by more than five times. In 1960 less than 120 000 foreigners were living in the Netherlands. By 1990 the country had approximately 640 000 foreigners, which equalled 4.3 per cent of the total population. Especially because of family reunions and the influx of refugees, the Netherlands can currently be regarded as an

⁵ This picture has been portrayed by Ter Heide (1965) for the period 1880-1960.

immigration country, although in comparison to other **countries** immigration to the country is still at a relatively low **level** (Grote Winkler Prins, 1992). Table 7.7 illustrates the immigration and emigration **figures** for the Netherlands between 1950 and 1999. Subsequently, we **discuss** the decade periods separately and in more detail.

MIGRATION AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE PERIOD 1950-1960⁶

In the period 1950-1960, the population of the Netherlands increased by 13.8 per cent **from** 10 million inhabitants to 11.4 million inhabitants. This was the largest increase in the past 50 years. **Also in regard** to the **economy**, the years **after the war** can be described as a boom. The 1950s showed significantly lower unemployment **figures** than in the years before the **war**. Because of advanced industrialisation, **the** southern part of the Netherlands had to deal with a positive balance of migration and the agricultural **provinces** (north and **south-west**) were consequently **faced** with **out-migration**. The western part of the country **still** showed positive migration although this balance was relatively low in the early 1950s. In 1954 the migration balance in the west increased and reached a peak in 1956, **after** which the balance declined **sharply** but remained positive, albeit at a relatively low level. The drop in migration in the western part of the country **can** partly be attributed to the decentralisation of **industry** and to the expense cuts in 1956. The eastern part of the country showed a sudden increase in migration at the end of the 1950s and it even reached a **higher** peak than the western part in 1960.

Although an impression **may** have been given that the level of internal migration has been high, the volume of internal migration was always **rather** low. This was especially the case in the short distance **markets** (within the **provinces**). The intra- and outer-provincial migration was more **or** less at the same (low) level (about 42 percent). This was exceptional because before the **War** intra-provincial migration was always at a **much higher level** (around 75 per cent), than outer-provincial migration. One reason for the lower **intra-provincial** volume was the increase in the **average sizes** of municipalities. A decrease of 60 municipalities between 1940 and 1960 (respectively 1054 and 994) **indicates** that the municipalities became larger and that the migration volume between adjacent municipalities consequently declined. Moreover, the population density increased **from** 268 in 1940 to 352 in 1960. The demographic composition did not change dramatically over this period and **can** therefore not be used as grounds for this phenomenon. One effect of the low **short-distance** migration was the 6.8 per cent increase in commuting between **homes** and work between 1947 and 1960.

⁶ Based on Ter Heide (1965), CBS-data and other indicated references.

From the 1950s urbanisation mainly resulted from migration flows to the smaller cities. **After** 1950 the largest cities faced the heaviest migration losses, while the population of **many** other municipalities increased (Hoekveld, 1981). This **can** be deduced **from** Table 7.8, **where** the municipalities together show a bigger increase (**but** at a slower **pace**) **than** the individual municipalities. Due to the limited territories of the large cities, other locations were sought to **accommodate** the increasing city population. **The** three largest agglomerations suburbanised in the 1950s, but generally speaking, the period 1950-1960 was one marked by of urbanisation (see Table 7.9).

Table 7.8: Average annual population growth of the individual C-municipalities, of the C-municipalities as a whole and of the Dutch population between 1950-1970 (adapted from: Hoekveld, 1981)

| Average annual growth in % | 1950-1960 | 1960-1970 |
|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Of individual C-municipalities | 1.6 | 1.9 |
| Of all the C-municipalities | 1.2 | 1.2 |
| Of the total Dutch population | 1.3 | 1.3 |

Table 7.9: Urban developments between 1950 and 1978 (deduced from: Van den Berg et al., 1987)

| | 1950-1960 | 1960-1969/70 | 1969/70-1978 |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| Large Randstad agglomerations | Suburbanisation | Sub-disurbanisation | Disurbanisation |
| Remaining Randstad agglomerations | Urbanisation | Urb.-suburbanisation | Suburbanisation |
| Emanation-zone agglomerations | Urbanisation | Urb.-suburbanisation | Suburbanisation |
| Peripheral agglomeration | Urbanisation | Urbanisation | Suburbanisation |

The CBS-classification in the study of Ter Heide (see Table 7.10) shows a more or less similar picture **when** urbanised **rural** municipalities are considered as smaller cities'. From this study it turns **out** that in the 1950s especially the **rural** municipalities (or peripheral **areas**) were faced with large

⁷ This **also** appears **from** the **figures** of the subdivision of category C, see Ter Heide (1965) p. 209.

migration losses, whereas the urbanised rural municipalities saw an increase in inhabitants. These two flows together **indicate** an urbanisation **process**, all the more because the urban municipalities were only **confronted** with minor migration losses. **Also** the **study** of Van den Berg *et al.* **Comes** to the same conclusion, that urbanisation dominated in the 1950s. They discovered that in the **1950s**, an overall increase in **cores** and rings of the agglomerations occurred, **where** the **cores** **grew** the fastest. This is termed an urbanisation phase, because the agglomerations grew at the **cost** of the surrounding rings. The urban developments between 1950 and 1982 are shown in Table 7.11.

Table 7.10: Number of municipalities, degree of urbanisation, and migration balance of the determined categories for the period 1948-1960 (adapted from: Ter Heide, 196.5)

| Type of municipality | Migration losses (in ‰) | | | | | Migration gains (in ‰) | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|------------------------|-------|--------|------|-------|
| | 0-39 | 4-79 | 8-199 | > 120 | Total | 0-39 | 4-079 | 8-0-19 | >120 | Total |
| Rural municipalities | 173 | 135 | 181 | 16 | 505 | 132 | 17 | 8 | 3 | 160 |
| Urbanised rural municipalities | 44 | 29 | 7 | 1 | 81 | 100 | 11 | 20 | 11 | 142 |
| Urban municipalities | 36 | 12 | 7 | 1 | 56 | 26 | 16 | 5 | 4 | 51 |

Table 7.1 1: Annual growth rate of 24 selected Dutch agglomerations in % of the total agglomeration population 1950-1982 (derived from: Van den Berg et al., 1987)

| Location | 1950-1960 | 1960-1970 | 1970-1974 | 1974-1978 | 1978-1982 |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Cores | +0.82 | +0.19 | -0.66 | -0.47 | -0.10 |
| Rings | +0.51 | +0.81 | +0.90 | +0.64 | +0.51 |
| Agglomerations | +1.32 | +1.00 | +0.24 | +0.17 | +0.41 |
| Netherlands | +1.38 | +1.35 | +1.03 | +0.75 | +0.70 |

In the period 1951-1956, 17.9 per cent of the migrants were family members and 82.1 per cent, single persons. Single persons did not only dominate the migration market; they migrated also over longer distances. Among the outer-provincial migrants, a minority of 16.1 per cent consisted of families and among the intra-provincial migrants the families represent only 19.9 per cent. The dominance of single persons in the migration process can be linked to the age of the migrants. Table 7.12 gives the percentages of migrants related to age for the years 1951 and 1960. It can be concluded that in the 1950s the largest number of migrants was between 20 and 24 years of age and that more than 50 per cent were between 15 and 30 years. The dominance of adolescents and young adults and therefore mostly single

people in migration is a **normal** phenomenon. It **can** further be noted that seniors above 65 years tend to change residence more **often** in the analysed period. This **can** be explained by the decline in the involvement of older people in **economic** activities which gives them more **freedom** in choosing a new place to live.

Table 7.12 Percentages of internal migrants in relation to age for the years 1951 and 1960 (adapted from: Ter Heide, 1965)

| Age category | 1951 | 1960 |
|------------------------------|------|------|
| 0-15 (1951) or 0-14 (1960) | 8.2 | 7.0 |
| 16-19 (1951) or 15-19 (1960) | 11.1 | 15.0 |
| 20-24 | 24.5 | 24.6 |
| 25-29 | 20.5 | 18.1 |
| 30-39 | 17.3 | 15.7 |
| 40-49 | 7.7 | 7.3 |
| 50-64 | 5.7 | 6.0 |
| 65+ | 5.0 | 6.3 |

Table 7.13 gives a **rough** classification of occupations together with the corresponding percentages of migrants and of the total working **population**⁸. From this Table it is **clear** that the employers and the self-employed are represented with a low migration percentage, but that this category of occupation at the same **time** represents a relatively large share of the total working population. The low migration percentage **can** be explained because this category frequently consists of owners of **companies, who** tend to **stay** at the same place for years. The migration percentage of employers **and self-employed** has **risen** somewhat in the 1950s while the share of the working population has declined. **Furthermore**, the employees were relatively more mobile than the manual workers in 1951, whereas the opposite was the case in 1960. For the total working population both these **categories** have **risen** in share. As regards the migrants without an occupation, it **turns out** that the **women** dominate and that, logically, the youngest and oldest age **categories** are strongly represented in the migration **flows** of the 1950s⁹. The migrating **women** are probably divorced **women**, widowers and brides.

⁸ Because of a **lack** of data the total **working** population here only **refers** to working male heads of families, **and** therefore, Table 7.12 **can** only **be** used as a **rough** indication.

⁹ For detailed **figures** we refer to Ter Heide (1965) p. 309.

With regard to income and status in the 1950s, it can be said that in general migration to the suburbs tended to attract high-income and high-status occupational groups, except around the youngest cities such as Arnhem and Eindhoven (Ter Heide, 1965). To study the urban income distribution for the period 1950-1978, the Netherlands has been divided into three areas (Van den Berg *et al.*, 1987):

- *The Randstad*, the most intensively urbanised section of the Netherlands that contains the three largest agglomerations;
- *The periphery*, the economically weaker frontier of the nation on which the central government has focused its socio-economic development policy since the 1950s;
- *The emanation zone*, the transitional zone between Randstad and periphery.

Table 7.13 Migration related to category of occupation in percentages of the total number of migrants with an occupation for the years 1951 and 1960 and total working population (male heads of families) related to category of occupation for the years 1947 and 1960 (adapted from: Ter Heide, 1965)

| Occupation | Migrants | | Total working population | |
|-----------------------------|----------|------|--------------------------|------|
| | 1951 | 1960 | 1947 | 1960 |
| Employers and self-employed | 4.0 | 5.8 | 33.6 | 23.6 |
| Employees | 42.0 | 51.0 | 19.8 | 27.9 |
| Manual workers | 54.0 | 43.2 | 46.6 | 48.4 |

In the 1950s the urban incomes of the Randstad area and of the emanation zones rose, although the income of the Randstad rose at a much higher level. The peripheral areas declined in income. From Table 7.14 it appears that during this period the Randstad agglomerations were the only regions that could be classified as prosperous. The remaining Randstad agglomerations had above average incomes, but were not growing, and those in the emanation and peripheral zones stood below the national average. In Table 7.15 it is shown that the cores absorbed the largest part of the income of the agglomerations. While the share of the cores declined, the share of the ring zones increased in the 1950s due to sub-urbanisation of the three largest agglomerations. The peripheral rings, however, were faced with the lowest income of the entire Netherlands in 1960 (Van den Berg *et al.*, 1987).

Table 7.14: Income development between 1950 and 1978 (adapted from: Van den Berg et al., 1987)

| | | 1950-1960 | 1960-1969/70 | 1969/70-1978 |
|-----------------------------------|-------|-------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Large Randstad agglomerations | Aggl. | Prosperity | Recession | Recession |
| | Core | Prosperity | Recession | Recession-depression |
| | Ring | Prosperity | Prosperity | Recession* |
| | | 1950-1960 | 1960-1969/70 | 1969/70-1978 |
| Remaining Randstad agglomerations | Aggl. | Prosperity | Prosperity | Recession |
| | Core | Recovery | Prosperity | Recession-depression |
| | Ring | Prosperity | Prosperity | Recession* |
| Emanation-zone agglomerations | Aggl. | Recovery | Recovery-prosperity** | Recession |
| | Core | Recovery | Recovery-prosperity** | Recession-depression |
| | Ring | Recovery | Recovery-prosperity | Prosperity |
| Peripheral agglomerations | Aggl. | Depression | Recovery | Recovery |
| | Core | Depression* | Recovery | Depression |
| | Ring | Depression | Recovery | Recovery |

* on a relatively high level

** on a relatively low level

Table 7.15: Income shares of cores and ring zones between 1950 and 1978 (deduced from: Van den Berg et al., 1987)

| | Share of cores (%) | Share of ring zones (%) |
|------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 1950 | 77.7 | 22.3 |
| 1960 | 74.8 | 25.2 |
| 1969 | 70.4 | 29.6 |
| 1978 | 63.7 | 36.3 |

MIGRATION AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE PERIOD 1960- 1970

Between 1960- 1970 the Dutch population remained at a fairly high overall growth percentage of 13.5 per cent. In absolute terms this amounts to more than 1.5 million people. The number of municipalities declined from 994 in 1960 to 913 in 1970, whereas the population density obviously increased. It appears that among the urban population, this proportion diminished only marginally from 80.3 per cent in 1960 to 79.7 per cent in 1970 (Van den Berg *et al.*, 1981).

When studying the different urban zones, Hoekveld (1981) shows that the largest cities (such as Amsterdam, The Hague, Haarlem, Groningen and Arnhem) continued to lose people in the early sixties. This is due to the fact that the number of municipalities with reducing or stagnant populations, diminished, especially in the eastern part of the country. This suggests, therefore, that the emphasis in urban development in the Netherlands moved more towards sub-urbanisation in the 1960s.

Looking at Table 7.11, the agglomerations still show a large increase (1 per cent annually) albeit lower than in the 1950s and lower than the growth of the Dutch population as a whole. The growth of the agglomerations was mainly the result of a strong increase in the rings. The growth in the rings occurred at the expense of the cores where there was only a small increase. Therefore it can be concluded that spatial deconcentration became the dominant urban development trend in the Netherlands during the 1960s (Van den Berg *et al.*, 1987). Comparing this with Figure 7.3, it is indeed clear that the share of the rings (the urbanised rural municipalities) grew by 3.9 per cent while the shares of the urban and rural municipalities both dropped. This becomes even more evident in Figures 7.4 and 7.5, where the development of the different C-municipalities is illustrated. Here it can be seen that the large cities were confronted with a substantial share-loss of 5.5 per cent while the small and especially the medium-sized cities (+3.7 per cent) experienced an influx of inhabitants.

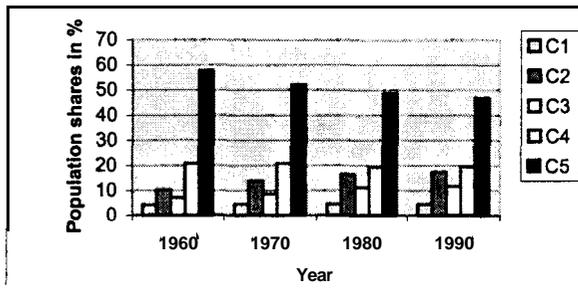


Figure 7.4: Population distribution of C-municipalities between 1960 and 1990 (composed from: CBS data)

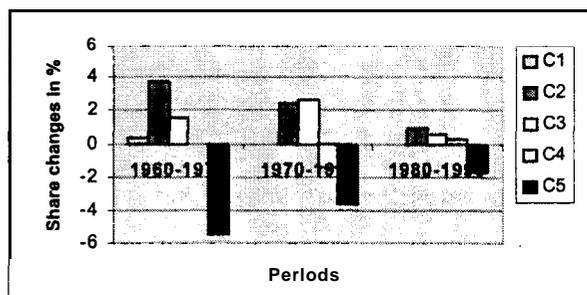


Figure 7.5: Changes of population shares of C-municipalities between 1960 and 1990 (deduced from: Figure 7.4)

This data is in accordance with Table 7.8. Here the same trend as in the 1950s appears, **however** the individual municipalities show a **higher** growth percentage, which points to sub-urbanisation. The major Randstad agglomerations (Amsterdam, The Hague, and Rotterdam) declined even into dis-urbanisation. This **means** that the population of the agglomerations declined through an **excess** of population gains in the ring by population losses in the **core** (see also Table 7.9). These agglomerations were **further** faced with problems **such** as rising unemployment, deteriorated facilities and services, and public deficits (Van den Berg *et al.*, 1987). This is contrary to the general trend of a large expansion in most of the employment **categories** between 1930 and 1971 (Hoekveld, 1981).

During these decades, the incomes rose and the relative transportation **costs** dropped, which facilitated **covering longer** distances by **car** and broadened the urban population's range of residence and workplace choices.

Many households made the decision to relocate **further** from their workplaces, which led to the described **process** of sub-urbanisation, and for the largest cities **such** as The Hague, to dis-urbanisation (Van den Berg *et al.*, 1987).

With the assistance of Table 7.16, we **can** look **closer** at the migration flows in the 1960s and 1970s (see next **section**). From here it **turns out** that the **cores** were **confronted** with a large negative net-effect, which resulted in a negative migration balance for **all** agglomerations.

In this period income declined in the Randstad agglomerations, while they increased in the emanation and peripheral zones. In terms of income (see Table 7.14), the three largest agglomerations were overtaken by the **five** small Randstad agglomerations and closely challenged by three **medium-sized** agglomerations (Utrecht in the Randstad and two others located in **the** emanation zone). During this period, the downward development of the peripheral agglomerations recovered. With the exception of the three largest agglomerations, the income in **all** other agglomerations remained positive during the 1960s (Van den Berg *et al.*, 1987). As a continuation of the **1950s**, the income shares of the **cores further** declined, whereas the shares of the ring zones increased (Table 7.15) in line with the direction of the urban developments towards sub-urbanisation. Especially the ring **areas** of the emanation zone agglomerations have increased in income during this period.

*Table 7.16: Migration effects in the 24 agglomerations (*1000) between 1960-1978 (adapted from: Van den Berg *et al.*, 1981)*

| Area | Migration movement | 1960-1970 | 1970-1978 |
|----------------|--------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Cores | Migration losses | 324.4 | 432.9 |
| | Migration gains | 19.4 | 15.6 |
| | <i>Net effect of migration</i> | -305.0 | -417.3 |
| Rings | Migration losses | 11.0 | |
| | Migration gains | 243.4 | 267.9 |
| | <i>Net effect of migration</i> | +232.4 | +267.9 |
| Agglomerations | Migration losses | 145.9 | 202.8 |
| | Migration gains | 73.6 | 56.3 |
| | <i>Net effect of migration</i> | -72.3 | -146.5 |

MIGRATION AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE PEFUOD 1970-1980

In this period, the trends of the previous decade **continued** with **regard** to total population, population density and number of municipalities. This

implies that total population and population **density** both increased (although total population growth was **almost** 5 per cent lower than in the 1960s) and the number of municipalities decreased (see general overview for specifics).

The distribution of population over the country as a **whole changed significantly** during the 1970s (see Table 7.3, Fig. 7.2 and 7.3). The share of the population of rural municipalities decreased by 10.3 per cent, while those of urbanised rural municipalities increased by 11 per cent and urbanised municipalities remained stable around 52 per cent. This implies a further continuation of the sub-urbanisation **process** that was started in the 1960s. From these **figures** it appears that this sub-urbanisation occurred at the expense of the rural municipalities. This becomes clearer **when** one looks at Table 7.4; the population of the **rural** municipalities decreased by more than 42 per cent and those of urbanised **rural** municipalities increased by more than 56 per cent. The population **figures** of urban municipalities increased by only 7.3 per cent.

From the analysis of agglomerations, the conclusion is that the 70's could be characterised as **real** sub-urbanisation (see **also** Table 7.9). From Table 7.11 it clearly appears that throughout that period, the growth in the ring population was greater than the decrease in the **core** population. Although both **figures** declined gradually during the **1970s**, sub-urbanisation **continued**. With **regard** to the population of the agglomerations, they were **first** faced with retardation of growth, **after** which this reverted to an increase in the growth **rate**. **Also** the relative share of the agglomerations increased with **regard** to the national total. Although the central cities still exerted a negative influence on growth of the **collective** agglomerations in this period, their development was generally positive. The reduced volume of population loss in the three largest **cores** was particularly remarkable (Van den Berg *et al.*, 1987).

In this decade the growth in **income** ended and went into decline in **all** groups of agglomerations; only the peripheral agglomerations maintained their relatively low incomes (see Table 7.14). The **income** of the agglomerations in general converged towards the national **average except** for the small Randstad agglomerations, which were relatively prosperous. At the end of the **1970s**, the ring zones represented an **income** share of more than 36 per cent (see Table 7.15), due to sub-urbanisation in general and **dis-**urbanisation in the three largest **cores**.

When one looks at the age of the migrants, **every** age category had negative migration balances in the Randstad in 1975 (see Table 7.17). **Also** with **regard** to the composition of migration, it turns **out** that in that **specific** year **many** families migrated from the Randstad towards other parts of the Netherlands, while the attraction for single people to migrate towards the Randstad was relatively low (see Table 7.18).

Table 7.17: Migration between *Randstad* and remaining Netherlands related to age categories in 1975, 1980 and 1985 (deduced from: Jobse et al., 1989)

| | | 0-14 | 15-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+ | Total |
|------|---------------|--------|---------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| 1975 | To Randstad | 10.985 | 34.195 | 10.210 | 2.230 | 2.015 | 59.635 |
| | From Randstad | 20.350 | 36.975 | 17.785 | 7.440 | 5.490 | 88.040 |
| | Balance | -9.365 | -2.780 | -7.575 | -5.210 | -3.475 | -28.405 |
| 1980 | To Randstad | 8.440 | 30.545 | 9.365 | 2.125 | 1.780 | 52.255 |
| | From Randstad | 13.945 | 30.355 | 15.585 | 5.355 | 3.405 | 68.645 |
| | Balance | -5.505 | +190 | -6.220 | -3.230 | -1.625 | -16.390 |
| 1985 | To Randstad | 8.840 | 32.505 | 11.885 | 2.690 | 2.675 | 58.595 |
| | From Randstad | 9.445 | 22.320 | 12.595 | 5.050 | 3.380 | 52.790 |
| | Balance | -605 | +10.185 | -710 | -2.360 | -705 | +5.805 |

Table 7.18: Migration balances of families and singles in 1975, 1980 and 1985 (deduced from: Jobse et al., 1989)

| Living environment | 1975 | | 1980 | | 1985 | |
|------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| | Single | Family | Single | Family | Single | Family |
| Four largest cities | -1705 | -51430 | 715 | -32445 | 8550 | -16370 |
| Growth municipalities | 2790 | 10835 | 4770 | 14750 | 6110 | 9470 |
| Medium-sized municipalities | 1375 | -5140 | 0 | -6405 | 570 | -4570 |
| Agglomeration municipalities | -505 | 5035 | -1420 | 2230 | -2340 | 2690 |
| Remaining Randstad | -360 | 10770 | -1635 | 3070 | -3075 | 4765 |
| Remaining Netherlands | -1595 | 29930 | -2430 | 18800 | -9815 | 4015 |

MIGRATION AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE PEFUOD 1980- 1990

The period of the 1980s was **from** a spatial perspective an era of **rather stable** developments, without **clear** disturbances in migration and urban growth patterns. This period **may** be characterised as a steady **state**.

In the 1980s the increase in population **continued**, albeit at a slower **rate than** previously (i.e. 5.7 per cent or 801,560 people). Population density **further** increased whereas the number of municipalities declined by 139, the largest decline between 1950 and 2000.

The distribution of population over the country shows minor **changes** between 1980 and 1990 (Table 7.3). The urbanised rural municipalities still grew in share, but by only 1.6 per cent. The rural and urban municipalities both declined in share with respectively 0.3 per cent and 1.3 per cent. This still points towards sub-urbanisation, albeit at a relatively low **rate**.

The distribution of municipalities shows a different ratio than the distribution of population over the **country** (Table 7.5). The direction of change of the shares of rural and urbanised rural municipalities in the 1980s remained the same as in Table 7.3. The urban municipalities are **an** exception. The share of population of urban municipalities declined, but the share of number of municipalities increased.

When studying the population shares of different C-municipalities, it appears that only the largest municipalities decreased in share by 1.7 per cent in the 1980s. It is remarkable, **however**, that the share of C4 has **risen** because, in the **1970s**, these municipalities experienced a decline. The **smallest** municipalities were still stable in population share. In this picture C2 shows the largest increase in share of approximately 1 per cent in the period 1980-90.

The total mobility pattern is strongly determined by migrants between 15 and 29 years of age (**almost** 50 per cent of the total number of migrants) in the 1980s. This category of migrants showed a large positive migration balance in the Randstad in 1985 (see Table 7.17). **All** negative migration balances of the age **categories** have dropped to modest levels, **except** for the migrants between 50 and 64 years of age.

During the 1980s the migration balance of families approached **an** equilibrium, while the attraction of the Randstad for single people became **quite** strong. Especially the position of the four largest cities was dominant. The number of families that moved away from the large cities declined dramatically, especially in the early **1980s**, while **an** equally significant **number** of single people migrated towards the Randstad (see Jobse et al., 1989 and Table 7.18). **Also**, the number of migrants between 15 and 29 years, **who** migrated towards the large cities, was remarkable. The number of those **who** settled in the large cities was twice the number of those **who** moved away **from** the large cities (Jobse et **al.**, 1989).

MIGRATION AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE PERIOD 1990-2000

The last decade of the twentieth century showed signs of new trends. Whereas the natural growth in domestic population declined **after** the **1960s**, the 1990s showed a different pattern of increase. The population growth of 6.5 per cent was **almost** 1 per cent **higher** than in the 1980s. The country had

a population density of 468 persons per square km and numbered only 537 municipalities at the beginning of the new millennium. The distribution of population and municipalities between 1992 and 2000 has been determined by means of the most recent CBS's classification, i.e. address density.

Regarding the distribution of municipalities, there were 322 and 192 non-urbanised municipalities in 1992 and 2000 respectively (Table 7.19). This is by far the largest number of municipalities in the country which can be explained by their small size. From this it can be concluded that the more urbanised and larger the municipality, the fewer the number of municipalities. If one looks at Table 7.6, however, it is remarkable to see that the previous statement relative to the smallest municipalities was not valid since 1980. The smallest municipalities are not only small in size but also in number; this was especially noticeable in 1999. In the 1990s this category was confronted with a decline of more than 80 per cent. Since 1980 the largest number of municipalities was found in the second category (with between 5 000 and 20 000 inhabitants), but also the third category (with between 20 000 and 50 000 inhabitants) rose sharply during this period.

Table 7.19: Urban developments in 1992 and 2000 according to address density (composed from: CBS data)

| | Year | Non-urban | Little urbanised | Moderately urbanised | Strongly urbanised | Very strongly urbanised | Total |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| Number of municipalities | 1992 | 322 | 182 | 87 | 44 | 12 | 647 |
| | 2000 | 192 | 184 | 94 | 55 | 12 | 537 |
| Population number (mil.) | 1992 | 2.93 | 3.10 | 3.13 | 3.25 | 2.74 | 1.51 |
| | 2000 | 2.35 | 3.40 | 3.27 | 4.10 | 2.77 | 1.59 |
| Shares of population in % | 1992 | 19.36 | 20.37 | 20.7 | 21.47 | 18.08 | - |
| | 2000 | 14.8 | 21.39 | 20.62 | 25.71 | 17.48 | ▪ |
| Population growth in % | 1992-2000 | 9.84 | 10.09 | 4.46 | 25.54 | 1.37 | 4.86 |

From Table 7.19 and Figures 7.6 and 7.7, it further appears that with regard to the distribution of population, the strongly urbanised areas had the largest population share. These areas have even grown with more than 4 per cent in share due to a large population increase of more than 25 per cent between 1992 and 2000. At the same time the non-urbanised areas lost almost 20 per cent of their population and therefore almost 5 per cent in share. This can partly be explained by a large decline in number of municipalities (from 322 to 192). For reasons previously mentioned, it is

difficult to compare this classification with the degree of urbanisation in 1990 or 1992, which is shown in Table 7.3 (population numbers and shares) and Table 7.5 (number of municipalities and shares).

The number of persons that changed residence is significantly higher (see Table 7.20) than the internal migration figures indicated in Table 7.2.1. This can be attributed to the fact that internal migration is defined as the volume of change in residence between different municipalities. Nevertheless, Table 7.20 gives a useful overview of the developments in the 1990s. From this table it appears that the number of people switching houses constantly rose during the 1990s, except for 1999 where this number suddenly declined by almost 5 per cent. The rise in the number of persons switching homes in the 1990s can be attributed to the economic growth in this period. Because the growth continued, the prices of houses increased extraordinarily, which is probably the reason for the decline in 1999. It further shows that the ratio of migrations within municipalities, within provinces and between provinces is about the same during this period, viz. 63 per cent, 21 per cent and 16 per cent, respectively.

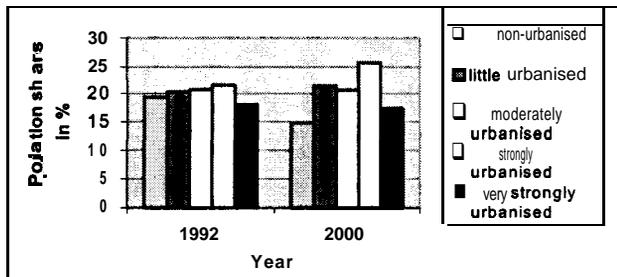


Figure 7.6: Population distribution according to address density in 1992 and 2000 (deduced from: Table 7.19)

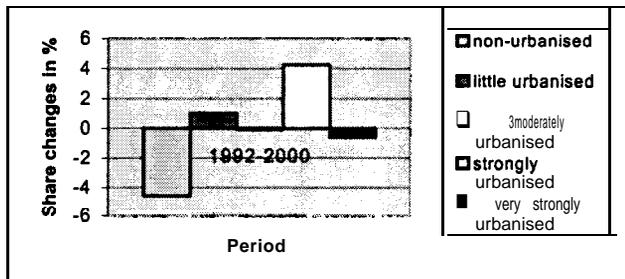


Figure 7.7: Change of population distribution between 1992 and 2000
(deduced from: Table 7.19)

Table 7.20: Basic **figures** of removals within the Netherlands (derived from:
Prins et al., 2000)

| (*1000) | 1990 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 |
|----------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Persons changing residence | 1553 | 1717 | 1714 | 1740 | 1774 | 1696 |
| - Within municipalities | 986 | 1111 | 1084 | 1107 | 1108 | 1058 |
| - Within provinces | 321 | 358 | 370 | 367 | 383 | 371 |
| - Between provinces | 243 | 248 | 260 | 266 | 283 | 267 |

In Table 7.21 some components of internal migration are shown. Here it also appears that migration has **risen** in the 1990s, while the share of migrating families has **gradually** been decreasing and has been stable at around 37.5 per cent since 1995. The **average** share of migrations within the same province is **almost** 58 per cent in the 1990s.

Table 7.21: Some components of internal migration in the Netherlands for the period 1988-1998 (**composed from:** CBS data)

| Year | Total (*1000) | Within the same province (%) | With family (%) |
|------|---------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1988 | 589 | 58.8 | 43.9 |
| 1989 | 596 | 57.8 | 42.0 |
| 1990 | 566 | 56.6 | 40.1 |
| 1991 | 562 | 56.3 | 39.7 |
| 1992 | 577 | 57.2 | 40.0 |
| 1993 | 588 | 58.2 | 40.3 |
| 1994 | 594 | 58.8 | 39.2 |
| 1995 | 606 | 59.1 | 37.5 |
| 1996 | 630 | 58.7 | 37.5 |
| 1997 | 643 | 57.1 | 37.2 |
| 1998 | 666 | 57.5 | 37.4 |

URBAN POLICIES IN THE NETHERLANDS BETWEEN 1950-2000¹⁰

The urban developments in the Netherlands of the past 50 years **can** partly be explained by the urban **policies** that have been developed and performed during this period. Since **policies** tend to follow development trends we **will** now **address** policy developments in the country. The Dutch part of this book **will finish** with **an** examination of some of the predictions for the urban future of the Netherlands in the next **section**.

After the Second World War, the Netherlands had to **recover** from the resulting destruction and had to **find** a solution for the existing housing shortage. In this period of **recover**, a remarkable effort was made in the area of public housing, industrialisation and road construction. In 1951 a special Work Commission "The West of the Country"¹¹ was established and in 1960 the First Memorandum on Town Planning was published. In this document special attention was paid to the limited capacities of the existing cities to **cope** with the increasing population. Especially, the large flows of people to the west of the country resulted in additional pressure on the housing market and threatened the existing urban agglomerations **there**. The government was **afraid** that the favourable **economic, social**, cultural and especially geographic position of the western part of the country would **cause an** unequal balance in relation to other parts of the country. Therefore, a **spread**-policy was formulated to stimulate the **areas** outside the Randstad and to assimilate larger population shares. This was aimed at reducing the Randstad's population growth and to **create** a healthy business environment in the peripheral regions.

The Second Memorandum on Town Planning appeared in 1966. At that **time** it was predicted that by the year 2000 **the** Dutch population would **number** about 20 million people. Therefore, the **policies** were **focussed** on bundled (**concentrated**) deconcentration over the country. To **accommodate** the fast growing population it was necessary to form urban **districts** (urban **areas** around a large city, the so-called "**growth cores**") and to enlarge the **infrastructure network**. The people **who** stayed behind in the cities were, **however**, ignored and **also** the use of **cars** was not seen as a threat. The proposals of the Second Memorandum have hardly been implemented. The Randstad grew more than expected and instead of bundled deconcentration, **an overflow** to 'little green **cores**' took **place**.

The Third Memorandum on Town Planning was **introduced** in different stages between 1973 and 1983. The motive for this report was a new

¹⁰ Based on: Vijfde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening, Nijkamp (1982), VROM-website and Sorber (2001).

¹¹ Original: "Werkcommissie Westen des **Lands**"

population projection. Instead of the **terrifying** prediction of 20 million people for the year 2000, a maximum of 17 million was forecast. **The** Third Memorandum has become a collection of three sub-Memoranda: the Orientation Memorandum of Town Planning, the Urbanisation Memorandum and the Rural **Areas** Memorandum.

In the Orientation Memorandum of 1974 **explicit** attention was paid to the environment and to urban problems. It was still the aim to spread population and employment, but this was included in environment **care**, protection of open **spaces** and the reduction of inequality and deprivation. Therefore, 11 growth **poles** were indicated. In the Orientation Memorandum the growth of mobility and the related congestion were noticed for the **first time** and were seen as a problem that was tightly associated with the total spatial and **socio-economic** development of the country. But only **when** the mobility got **out** of hand, **action** was taken.

The Urbanisation Memorandum of 1976 planned a strengthening of the urban functions to prevent the **erosion** of **large** cities and the corrosion of the small **cores**. Furthermore, attention was paid to the concentration of a limited number of growth cities and **cores** to **control** the **wave effects** of urbanisation **out** of the Randstad.

In 1988 the Fourth Memorandum on Town Planning was published under the motto of "the Netherlands in the year 2015, work today". The Fourth Report was part of the policy to **achieve** an **economic** recovery of the country. This would be carried **out** by **aiming** for appropriate locational conditions and by exploiting the natural advantages of the Netherlands (Schiphol **Airport**, Rotterdam Port and the favourable hinterland connections). The **ultimate** goal was the creation of an ideal locational climate for foreign **main offices**. With **regard** to the cities, a new spatial concept of the compact city was **introduced**. This meant the bundling of activities **such** as living, working and services as a way to **reduce** the **enormous** growth in **traffic** volumes. Therefore, the emphasis was put on compact urbanisation and a **restrictive** policy for open **spaces**. In 1991 the Fourth Memorandum Extra appeared and here the so-called **Vinex**¹² locations were developed as a continuation of the Fourth Memorandum. VINEX locations were aimed at combining living and working **space within** urban **districts**.

Presently, the **Fifth** Memorandum on Town Planning is in progress. In December 2000 the Government approved the **first** part of it. The **Fifth** Memorandum **will** consider the period up until the year 2020, but a **further** study **will** be provided for the period leading up to 2030. In contrast to previously plans, which **dictated building** locations and the volume of what was to be built, this plan **will** only outline the **rules** of the game to the lower governments of **provinces** and municipalities. Special attention is again given

¹² VINEX stands for Vierde Nota Ruimtelijke Ordening Extra

to investments in spatial quality, and to a lesser extent, to the **main** ports and the hinterland connections.

From this section it is obvious that the **policies** of the Netherlands for town planning **can** until **very** recently be described as a strong belief in a feasible environment.

FUTURE URBAN PERSPECTIVES

It is of course difficult to map out the urban future of the Netherlands. Nevertheless, it **may** be possible to offer some perspectives based on the driving **forces** described in the previous section.

First, we observe a strong tendency towards settlement in the western part of the Netherlands. This is the destination of most immigrants, with the emphasis on concentration in the larger cities. Consequently, it is likely that urban **areas** in the western part **will** continue to grow in the future. If density becomes too high, sprawl **from** the Randstad to the next ring **may** take **place**, but this is just a case of ongoing urbanisation with the Randstad still as the functional socio-economic heart of the Dutch **economy**.

A **second** future perspective on the Dutch **space-economy** concerns the land use planning. A significant part of the western part is protected area, including **much** of the current green **space**. **Strict** land use zoning has favoured concentration in the bigger agglomerations while suppressing unlimited expansion of **villages** in the western part. This has led to a **poly-nuclear structure** of the western part of the country characterised by an intense **network** connectivity **between** the medium-sized and large cities in a **circular** form as the green belt around the Green **Heart** of the Randstad (see also Ipenburg and Lambregts, 2001). With a **first** trend toward deregulation of land use planning, in particular a larger responsibility for local authorities, a more **selective** dispersal of settlement patterns **may** emerge in **the** Randstad. Given the **infrastructure** constellation (and limitation), it is likely that especially those **places** located on **accessible infrastructure** links **may** become the fast growers in the near future.

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