The performance of landscape concepts in spatial planning
Branding, bonding and bringing about

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Dankwoord

Het schrijven van een proefschrift is een bijzondere opgave. Het is gelukt doordat ik passie kreeg voor wetenschap en door mijn nieuwsgierigheid naar het spel achter ruimtelijke planning. Het is ook gelukt door voor ogen te houden dat het schrijven van een proefschrift gewoon werk is, of beter gezegd: gewoon erg leuk werk is. En het is gelukt door de inzet en steun van veel andere mensen.

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PART A

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1 Opening

Spatial planners are strange characters. They traffic in fiction, and at the same time ask us to take it all seriously. Even more surprising, those of us who are not planners do take them at their word and grant them the authority they crave.
Van Eeten & Roe 2000, p.58

1.1 Starting point: complex practice

My first work experience as a student in land use planning at Wageningen University took me to a beautiful country estate in the Dutch province of Gelderland. The estate includes a castle, forest, landscaped gardens and a golf course. In ecological and recreational terms, it is situated in an attractive area, in the transition area from the river IJssel to the National Park of the Hoge Veluwe. The Dutch consultancy for which I was working was asked to explore the possibilities for extending the golf course from a nine-hole to an eighteen-hole course. The design had to incorporate the historical and landscape features of the place. It also had to provide safe accessibility for ramblers on the one hand and 'an open field' for golfers on the other hand. Moreover, the Dutch government offered both restrictions and possibilities for the design, in the form of rules and subsidies for nature management and hydrological adjustments. For this challenge, I was able to bring into practice one of the basic elements of a spatial planner's job: weighing up the pros and cons of diverse land use functions and land users.

My second work experience took me to a local rural government on the other side of the world, an extensive but sparsely populated inland Shire in New South Wales in Australia. Here, I was introduced to another important aspect of spatial planning: the role of governors and politicians, as well as the voice of inhabitants. The directors of a giant poultry industry from the Sydney area planned to build various poultry sheds in the Shire. This development entailed prospects for the regional economy, but also environmental threats at local level. Inhabitants were concerned about problems like smell, dust and polluted water provision. As a civil servant of the Shire, my job was to assist the governors in weighing up opposing claims. The process included procedural activities, like assisting the process of an environmental impact assessment, as well as communication activities, like attending an emotional meeting in the community hall of the affected village. This poultry case was not only about achieving a practical balance between land use functions and land users; it was also about achieving an ethical balance between the interests of the Shire and the values of local people.

A third work experience, this time as a fresh graduate, introduced me to the field of regional planning in a Dutch Province. I was involved in the external communication and design activities related to the creation of a new regional strategic plan for a large

part of the province. This process was characterised by innovative participation activities and a search for a more adaptable plan outcome, in contrast to previous 'blue-print' planning. This challenge led me into new planning features. As a member of a multi-sector project-team, I had to deal with different knowledge claims within one organisation, which were rooted in the different portfolios of the various Executives involved, as well as in the different perspectives of project members. Likewise, the search for practical land use solutions was often 'overruled' by political dilemmas. For example, should the ideal water regime be based on ecological or agricultural targets? Moreover, the plan-making process was occasionally modified, for example by sudden deadlines or new decisions of the provincial Executives. I experienced that the political context of plan-making is inherent to planning and greatly defines the outcome of spatial planning activities.

During these work experiences, I learned that ideal spatial planning approaches do exist on paper but are in fact 'restricted' or 'invalidated' by the same practices for which they were initially designed. Spatial planning is a complex practice: it involves balancing practical, ethical and political issues. I was learning about complex planning by practising it, yet I decided to return to university to learn about planning by studying planning again. I did not become a participative researcher, nor did I directly extend the ideal approaches on paper. For me, both ways lack a certain 'reflexive' planning dimension, as I would respectively be too engaged with or too distant from practice. I wanted to obtain more 'outsider insight' by exposing the complex practice of spatial planning.

In 2004, the Land Use Planning Group of Wageningen University in the Netherlands started a research project into "dynamic networks for a coherent design and planning process" (Habiforum 2003a). The initial research design focused on methods for understanding landscapes in spatial planning, i.e. to understand the 'basic material' of spatial planners and to make this understanding operational for practice (ibid, p.64):

> "In this research, it is important to determine how (…) the dynamic spatial
> developments for many landscape uses (societal and physical) on different scale
> levels (micro, meso, macro) and periods in time (short, medium, long term) can
> be operationalized to support the analysis and design phase in the spatial
> planning process."

This research project is rooted in the Dutch research programme "System innovation urban and regional land use and area development" implemented by the knowledge organisation Habiforum. The project is part of the cluster "Green-Blue Networks for man and nature in sustainable landscapes" (Habiforum 2003a). In short, Habiforum believes that great shortcomings exist in the present system of Dutch spatial planning, despite the celebrated reputation of the Dutch planning system. Accordingly, spatial planners cannot properly deal with new spatial and societal demands (Habiforum

2003b). The research project turned out to be my PhD opportunity. I have linked the research challenge to my work experience in planning practice. Namely, I have positioned the challenge of dealing with landscapes in the complex setting of spatial planning: dealing with landscapes is linked to the practical, ethical and political features of spatial planning.

Of the many aspects of the complex nature of spatial planning, I am specifically interested in spatial planners as expressive people. They use metaphorical, strategic and comprehensive words to express their view on landscapes. In other words, the conversations and texts of spatial planners are filled with 'triggering' words. These words include understanding as well as ideas about future landscapes. These words are, in fact, landscape concepts. For example, the Australian local government I worked for was situated in a region that promotes itself as the "Heart of Country" of New South Wales. In the debates about poultry development, the planned farms might be called "Golden Lines" by supporters, for example, or "Dusty Spots" by opponents (figure 1.1). The use of landscape concepts in planning practice fascinates me. Concepts seem to be simple yet powerful words, especially if positioned in complex spatial planning practice. I decided to explore how landscape concepts function in diverse activities in spatial planning such as analysis, debates and communication.

Figure 1.1 Poultry in New South Wales Australia: Golden Lines or Dusty Spots?
(www.ruralworld.com.au)

In this study, I explore and expose the use of landscape concepts in spatial planning. Firstly, I describe the use of landscape concepts in spatial planning in general (Part B – the nature of landscape concepts). Secondly, I specifically focus on the use of landscape concepts in Dutch spatial planning (Part C – the working of landscape concepts in Dutch spatial planning). Dutch spatial planning is also the starting point of this study: it faces challenges that might be tackled with the use of landscape

concepts (Habiforum 2003b). The result of my study is this book about the nature and working of landscape concepts in spatial planning.

This study starts with an introduction (Part A). In chapter 1.2, I introduce Dutch spatial planning and landscapes as the setting of this research: it provides some initial definitions of spatial planning and landscapes, as well as a first impression of the Dutch spatial planning context. In chapter 1.3, I provide a preliminary definition of the topic landscape concepts, as well as assumptions about the meaning of landscape concepts in spatial planning in general. In chapter 2, I present three challenges concerning the use of landscape concepts in Dutch spatial planning and link them to three roles of landscape concepts introduced in chapter 1. This produces three research questions which form the structure of this study. In chapter 3, I end the introduction to this study by presenting a research strategy.

1.2 Setting: Dutch spatial planning and landscapes

Dutch spatial planning has been extensively praised and pictured by Dutch planning researchers (see e.g. Faludi & Van der Valk 1994; Van der Valk 2002; Hidding 2006; Needham 2007). Besides these 'insider' perspectives, an 'outsider' perspective is even more helpful as a means of obtaining an original impression of Dutch spatial planning. For example, Bruno Latour presents his French image of the Dutch and their planning relationship to their land, in the presence of the Dutch Queen Beatrix and Prime Minister Balkenende (Latour 2007, p.21):

> "How fortunate you are, you Low Countries who knew about the ecological crisis at least a good millennium before it came to the public consciousness of other lands; who have known all along that the most important branches of local governments were the ones in charge of dykes and polders, or pumps and mills, or floods and meanders; and that there was no distinction to be made between the government of people (…) and the government of seas and rivers (…)".

Latour summarises that the Dutch have "a matter-orientated democracy" (ibid, p.21). A few weeks prior to this speech, Latour's image of the Dutch was confirmed by the Queen herself. In her yearly Speech from the Throne, she announced to Parliament and the public the official outline of the national Government's agenda for 2008 (Queen in: MinAZ 20071):

> "A sustainable Netherlands is (…) a Netherlands with beautiful nature areas, a thriving countryside and a people that coexists harmoniously with water. To improve the landscape, the Government will impose restrictions on building in open spaces. Together with the provinces and municipalities, it will adopt a national strategy in the coming year for how the Netherlands can respond to rising sea levels resulting from climate change."

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[1] All translations from Dutch to English in this study are my own.

Both the sustainable living environment (as presented by the Queen) and the matter-orientated democracy (according to Latour) are a concern of Dutch spatial planners. Namely, spatial planners deal with the protection and development of landscapes (cf. Yiftachel 2006, Healey 2004, Jensen & Richardson 2004, Perry 2003, Van der Valk 2002). The Dutch involvement with landscape has resulted in a necessary and innovative spatial planning practice. Dutch spatial planning includes various practices, each described by various research fields which greatly overlap in reality: water management (Van de Ven 2003), rural planning (Van den Brink & Molema 2008), urban planning (Van der Cammen & De Klerk 1993) and land use planning (Needham 2007). In this research, I use the widespread and international term 'spatial planning' as an umbrella term referring to the wide-ranging spatial planning practices. Likewise, the term 'spatial planner' is used in this study referring to planning practitioners.

Spatial planning is a collective process. Dutch spatial planners work together with governors, politicians and policy makers (from municipalities, provinces, national ministries and water management boards), as well as with landscape designers, regional geographers, estate developers, environmental managers, professionals from non-profit and public organisations, inhabitants, landowners and landscape visitors (see e.g. Hidding 2006). As many groups are concerned with landscapes, Dutch planning is a 'crowded' practice. Accordingly, Dutch spatial planning is linked to a planning system that builds on elaborate processes of "consultation and co-ordination" of various groups (Needham 2007, p.35).

AESOP, the Association of European Schools of Planning, confirms that spatial planning is a practice that concerns a collective process of dealing with landscapes, not only in the Netherlands but in the entire Western world. According to AESOP (www.aesop-planning.com):

> "The challenge for planning lies in the fact that various interests and expectations for the future often hold contradiction and conflict. A professional approach, combining sensitivity and analytical and strategic skills, is required to handle the political, social, environmental and economic issues at stake. (…) planning is a tool to promote and manage change with a spatial approach. It is also a tool for the preservation of the environment and our cultural heritage. The core of this task is to conduct planning activities in such a way that society benefits and that economic, environmental, social and other goals are met."

Likewise, I have experienced myself that spatial planning concerns practical, ethical and political considerations about future land use and between various interests (chapter 1.1; cf. Couclelis 2005, p.1355; Flyvbjerg 2002).

To conclude these descriptions and my work experience, I start by defining spatial planning as: *a dynamic practice concerned with the political interests and professional efforts of various spatial planners who each try to enhance landscapes.*

Likewise, I start by defining a spatial planner as *a practitioner who is professionally involved in strategic and collective efforts to enhance landscapes, which includes practical, ethical and political considerations about land uses and interests.*

The speeches by the Queen and Latour touch on both the typical Dutch spatial planning culture and the typical Dutch landscape situation, which are closely connected. Likewise, Zwart (2003) links the culture and values of spatial planners to the appearance of landscapes, as he presents Dutch landscapes as 'materialisations' of a process of moral geography. Above all, the Dutch have a long history in cultivating land and managing water. Without this intervention attitude to diffuse nature, much of the Netherlands would have been lost to sea (Lintsen 2002; Van de Ven 2003). This 'driven' Dutch culture of dyke builders and land reclaimers is also characterised by the terms 'aquaphobia' and 'tulipmania' (Zwart 2003; cf. Van Gorp & Béneker 2007): the Dutch have created a highly cultivated (cf. 'aquaphobia') and perfectionised (cf. 'tulipmania') land. In addition, the last decennia have been influenced by another culture, which can be called 'biophilia': a plea for 'new nature' like the return of wetlands (Zwart 2003; cf. Van der Ziel 2003). Doevendans (et al. 2007) observes a comparable shift in planning attitudes at the end of the 20th century: overall, spatial planning has shifted from a modernistic and rational approach, 'materialised' in productive agricultural landscapes, towards a more romantic approach, 'materialised' in re-naturalised and recreational landscapes. Again, the spatial planning culture is related to the landscape appearance.

In view of the Dutch spatial planning culture, the word landscape originates, unsurprisingly, from the Middle Dutch "lantscap" or "landskip" (Lörzing 2001, p.25-26). Landscape is particularly known as a painter's term referring to 'natural scenery' (ibid, Cosgrove 1984, Antrop 2005, Doevendans et al. 2007). In the 16th and 17th centuries, Flemish and Dutch painters painted landscapes with woods, rock formations and river valleys (Lörzing 2001, p.24). These landscapes often served as a simple background for Italian paintings of perfect human bodies and classical architecture. However, the background paintings also developed as individual art in England (ibid, p.24-26). Notwithstanding these roots, landscape is more than 'natural scenery'. This is firstly suggested by the meaning of the verb "to landscape", meaning *the involvement of people* with their land (www.etymonline.com; cf. definition of spatial planning, this chapter). Landscape, then, is a dynamic and planning-related term. The Dutch involvement with their land has been so intensive that the results of the planning of landscapes are beyond 'natural scenery'. Dutch landscapes still include some 'natural', but they are mainly cultivated-land and built-land scenes. Cosgrove

(1984, p.14) also includes the involvement of people in his definition of landscape: "a social product, the consequence of a collective human transformation of nature". It is, consequently, valuable to study landscapes in their social and cultural context; "… it is in the origins of landscape as a way of seeing the world that we discover its links to its broader historical structures and processes" (Cosgrove 1984, p.15; cf. Barnes & Duncan 1992). Other researchers also emphasise that a landscape entails a combination of both social and physical features (Kleefmann 1984, Görg 2007). Likewise, a landscape is created by the interaction of natural and cultural components, being a product of nature and man, of matter and mind (Lörzing 2001, p.13):

> "A landscape without any human presence would be frightening, boring or both. We might seriously doubt if we could still speak of a landscape at all. On the other hand, a landscape under total human control would be equally frightening and boring, as it would be lacking any reference to nature. The secret of a harmonious landscape seems to be that natural and cultural components have to be in balance, creating a fragile equilibrium in which the one can not exist without the other."

In line with these perspectives on landscape, I start by defining landscapes as: *both a social and natural 'product', which is continuously transformed by people into a new 'product'.*
This definition implies that landscapes can range from almost abandoned landscapes to densely populated urban landscapes. In this study, landscape accordingly refers to, for example, man-made nature, recreational areas, rural regions, urban fringes and towns[2]. However, the specific focus of this study is on so-called 'rurban landscapes' which includes regions which combine rural and urban characteristics (see chapter 2).

1.3 Topic: landscape concepts

Spatial planning concerns developing landscapes; in order to develop landscapes, spatial planners require ideas about future landscapes as well as principles about how to strive for these landscapes (cf. Yiftachel 2006, Healey 2004, Jensen & Richardson 2004, Perry 2003, Van der Valk 2002). At this point, I arrive at the main topic of this study: landscape concepts. Landscape concepts combine the two aspects that are helpful in developing landscapes; namely, landscape concepts include creative ideas and strategic principles (cf. Van Duinen 2004, p.20). Accordingly, landscape concepts are comprehensive. They include an "intriguing mix" of features that "… hover between present and future, accurate description and normative prescription, analytical future explorations and utopian imagining" (Van Duinen 2004, p.14; cf. Zonneveld 1991). This intriguing mix of features is also encountered in a related

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[2] This definition of landscape comes close to definitions of 'place', 'space' and 'environment'. Human geography, landscape ecology and urban design, to name a few examples, all deal with landscapes, places, spaces and environment. However, researchers use, define and elaborate the terms in various ways (see e.g. Setten 2006, Jacobs 2006, Lawson 2006, Tress et al. 2001). Differences are rooted in the history of disciplines as well as various philosophical assumptions. This study specifically uses the term *landscape* and *landscape* concept as it has a rich meaning – as explained in the text.

practice that also deals with the development of 'products', being design. Lawson (2006) describes design as a process in which problem and solution emerge together. Likewise, problems and solutions concerning landscapes merge together in landscape concepts. In sum, a landscape concept is like a 'package' that includes a mix of ideas and principles.

Each landscape concept has a specific label (cf. Van Duinen 2004). This label is an appealing or triggering word. For example, in spatial planning we encounter Mosaic Landscape, Ecological Network, Cluttering of landscapes, a Blue City and Green Pearls. These labels refer to the creative ideas and strategic principles of spatial planners. They are used by 'eloquent' spatial planners to express their ideas and principles. Accordingly, landscape concepts are part of a practice that can be defined as "an idea of value" (Campbell 2002), "a conversation" (De Haas 2006) and "a mode of thought" (Perry 2003). Landscape concepts often come together with images, pictures or maps (see e.g. Van Duinen 2004, Dühr 2005, Carton 2007). However, this study specifically focuses on the verbal side of landscape concepts. This study therefore details the linguistic and rhetorical power of landscape concepts.

A common perspective on landscape concepts in spatial planning is an instrumental perspective; from that perspective, concepts can be considered as explicit tools that guide spatial planning activities (Zonneveld 1991; Van Duinen 2004). Spatial planners can use several other tools which are used to deal with future landscapes: for example, cartographic representations as visual tools (see e.g. Dühr 2005; Carton 2007); drawings as design tools (see e.g. Murphy 2004); multi-agent systems as prognostic tools (see e.g. Van Leeuwen et al. 2007); and utopias as 'spatial-elsewhere' tools (see e.g. Levitas 1993, p.259). Another tool which is most closely related to landscape concepts are spatial planning concepts; spatial planning concepts are policy concepts, being prescriptive tools for future landscapes, popular in strategic Dutch spatial planning (Zonneveld 1991; Van Duinen 2004; Zonneveld & Verwest 2005)[3] as well as European planning (Jensen & Richardson 2004). According to this study, landscape concepts may be or become official policy concepts but may also stay non-official policy concepts.

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[3] The Dutch spatial planning ideal is often characterised by two dominant spatial planning concepts: Green Heart and Randstad ('Rim City'). These are strong and established concepts, used as a restrictive tool to protect a relatively open area within the urbanised western part of the Netherlands against pressure of further urbanisation (see e.g. Faludi & Van der Valk 1994). Moreover, these concepts dominate the Dutch planning doctrine. "Planning doctrine refers to a coherent set of views about the present shape and the future development of an area, alongside strategies for the management of growth" (Van der Valk & Faludi 1997, p.58). I consider this planning doctrine as a 'grand ideal'. In other words, it is a long-standing ideal but may be outdated or de-contextualised; moreover, it merely focuses on part of the Netherlands. In contrast to this 'grand ideal', I consider landscape concepts as 'small but powerful realities' (as explained in the text of chapter 1.3).

Here, I use the instrumental perspective on spatial planning concepts of Zonneveld (1991) as a starting point to study the meaning of landscape concepts in spatial planning. Subsequently, I introduce a critical perspective on the meaning of landscape concepts which will challenge the instrumental perspective.

Spatial planning concepts have various functions in spatial planning. Zonneveld identifies five complementary functions which are used as a starting point in this research (Zonneveld 1991, p.21-24; referring to Habermas' theory of communicative action, see Koningsveld & Mertens 1986; cf. Zonneveld & Verwest 2005, p.18-20):

1. a cognitive function;
2. an intentional function;
3. a communicative function;
4. an institutional function;
5. an action function.

1 & 2[4]. Both the cognitive and intentional functions refer to the content of a spatial planning concept, i.e. respectively the 'objective' and 'subjective' situation-definition in planning (Zonneveld 1991; Koningsveld & Mertens 1986). The cognitive function includes empirical assumptions about problems and directions; the intentional function includes expectations and wishes (Zonneveld 1991).

3. A spatial planning concept has a communicative function; in other words, a spatial planning concept is a linguistic phenomenon, which is demonstrated by the use of metaphors. The main goal of the communicative function is to reach consensus about a situation definition as well as consensus about the related strategies for action (Zonneveld 1991, p.23).

4 & 5[5]. The institutional function underlines how control and authorities are linked to a concept (ibid; cf. the 'normative' dimension of a situation-definition, Koningsveld & Mertens 1986). The action function refers to the implementation function of a concept; a concept presents a 'course' for actions which should result in specific actions (Zonneveld 1991; cf. the regulative function, Koningsveld & Mertens 1986). Zonneveld (1991) links both functions to the 'formal' object of planning, in this case decision-making (ibid, in reference to Faludi).

The list of five functions of spatial planning concepts, as well as related assumptions about the outcome of spatial planning activities, can be positioned in a Dutch spatial planning period that is characterised by confidence in 'malleability' and centralised 'order' (see e.g. Faludi & Van der Valk 1994). This instrumental perspective on spatial planning is criticised by many researchers for its strict and uniform features which do

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[4] I link both functions, in line with the description of landscape concepts, as an intriguing *mix* of problem and solution.

[5] I link both functions as they both represent the *outcome* of the use of a concept.

not reflect a world of differences and dynamics (see e.g. Hajer & Zonneveld 2000; Van Eeten & Roe 2000; Asbeek Brusse et al. 2002). Zonneveld's optimistic instrumental perspective on the use of spatial planning concepts has also changed over time as old planning certainties disappeared (Witsen 2007). Zonneveld states that spatial planning concepts have become "momentary" and are even used in a "manipulative" way in practice; moreover, they have lost their analytical foundation (quoted in Witsen 2007, p.8; see also Zonneveld & Verwest, 2005). My question is whether that is a sign of failing concepts or rather a sign of failing users? Consequently, can and should we prevent that a concept is momentary and manipulative, or should we rather deal with this 'new' more dynamic reality? The latter alternative seems to be more sensible as it positions concepts in a realistic context.

In line with a plea for a realistic view on the use of spatial planning concepts, I study the use of landscape concepts from a critical perspective. A critical perspective on landscape concepts assumes that the meaning of a landscape concept in spatial planning practice is not stable and simple but extensive and powerful (Jensen & Richardson 2004; Van Eeten & Roe 2000). A critical perspective takes in the various consequences of the use of landscape concepts in real practice. For example, the application and adaptation of the Green Heart concept has had profound consequences for planning strategies of building-locations in the entire Netherlands (Lambregts & Zonneveld 2004). Van Eeten & Roe (2000) also explains how the use of the Green Heart concept has reinforced the unquestioned assumption that land use can be straightforwardly planned, resulting in a hegemonic status of spatial planners.

A critical perspective on landscape concepts also takes in the 'pre-official' and 'unofficial' stages of a landscape concept, besides the 'official' stage as institutionalised policy concept. For example, the Green Heart concepts started as a preliminary idea without official status. Over time, it has battled with other landscape concepts which were never officially institutionalised in policy but still had an impact on spatial planning (e.g. Delta Metropolis). Moreover, Green Heart has been 'reproduced' for other places with a similar situation (e.g. the Green Heart of Noord-Brabant or West-Friesland), having no 'official' national status but a regional impact.

Overall, I assume that landscape concepts form a powerful part of diverse planning activities. From a critical perspective, they are less 'innocent' than one might expect from an instrumental perspective. To better understand this powerful position, I study both the nature of landscape concepts as well as their working in practice.

In conclusion, I start by defining a landscape concept in spatial planning as *a significant 'package' of landscape ideas and planning principles, tagged by an appealing label and strategically used for diverse spatial planning activities.*

The power of landscape concepts is rooted in the five functions of spatial planning concepts as described by Zonneveld (1991). The functions are not of the same type: each function is related to a specific aspect of spatial planning (cf. Van Duinen 2004, p.25: layers within spatial planning concepts). I link the functions to my definition of spatial planning which results in three roles for landscape concepts (see figure 1.2): a basic, supportive and consequential role. Whereas the functions can be considered as ideal functions, the roles are considered as the meaning of landscape concepts expected in spatial planning practice. The three roles are elaborated throughout this study.

The meaning of a landscape concept can be theorised but will only arise in practice (see also chapter 3: contextualised meaning). Chapter 2, accordingly, describes three challenges in Dutch spatial planning practice which can be assisted by the use of landscape concept. The research programme of Habiforum (2003b) forms the starting point for these challenges (see also chapter 1.1). The three challenges are linked to the three roles of landscape concepts, resulting in three research question about the use of landscape concepts. The questions are elaborated in part B (about the nature of concepts) and part C (about the working of concepts in Dutch spatial planning) of this study.

ROLES OF LANDSCAPE CONCEPTS IN SPATIAL PLANNING PRACTICE *Linked to definition of spatial planning, being "a dynamic practice concerned with the political interests and professional efforts of various spatial planners who each try to enhance landscapes" (this study).*	ROOTS: **Functions of spatial planning concepts & related ideals (Zonneveld 1991)**	CHALLENGES IN PRACTICE:
1. Basic role relates to: *landscapes & political interests*	Cognitive & intentional: situation definition	Chapter 2.2
2. Supportive role relates to: *the professional efforts of various planners*	Communicative: consensus	Chapter 2.3
3. Consequential role relates to: *try to enhance landscapes*	Institutional & action: Norms and regulations	Chapter 2.4

Figure 1.2 Roles of landscape concepts in spatial planning practice

1.4 Aim: unpack the packages

The aim of this study is to explore the nature of landscape concepts in spatial planning and their working in Dutch practice. I investigate my assumption that is introduced in this chapter: landscape concepts are 'innocent' at first sight yet 'guilty' of various powerful effects in reality. Likewise, an investigation will not merely expose the landscape concepts themselves but also the larger world of spatial planning as

concepts and spatial planning activities seem to be closely related. In other words, landscape concepts are like 'packages' filled with surprises about spatial planning. Consequently, my insight into the actual nature and possible working of concepts in spatial planning will result in recommendations about the meaning of landscape concepts in planning theory and practice. In chapter 2, I make my research aim operational by introducing three research questions.

Chapter 2 Challenges in Dutch spatial planning

The belief prevails that the shortcomings of the present manner of planning and design are so great [that] an innovation of the system of spatial planning and design is necessary. Only by a different, innovative approach can the other demands imposed on spatial planning and design be met.
Habiforum 2003b, p.5

2.1 Background

In 2003, the Dutch knowledge organisation Habiforum launched a research programme to investigate challenges in Dutch spatial planning, invent innovative approaches and improve the planning system (Habiforum 2003b)[6]. My study deals with three main challenges, among others, identified by Habiforum and which are also addressed by other spatial planning researchers in the Netherlands and abroad.

2.2 Challenge 1: describing landscapes

A first challenge in Dutch spatial planning is to overcome traditional landscape descriptions which ignore the inherent complexity and dynamics of landscapes (Habiforum 2003a-b). The most emblematic example of a traditional landscape description is a dichotomous and static description of rural and urban landscapes, which distorts complex reality. Spatial planners should, instead, develop "an integrated approach to town and countryside" (Habiforum 2003b, p.5). Namely, "[t]he space that makes up the Netherlands can be perceived as a system of networks, spatially connected with each other", which bind rural and urban landscapes together (ibid, p.24; cf. Hidding & Teunissen 2002). Describing the relationship between urban and rural landscapes is neither a new nor a typically Dutch spatial planning issue (see e.g. Williams 1975; Hidding 2006; Kūle 2008). The landscape of the Netherlands is, however, a 'worst case' since Dutch landscapes have a highly complex and dynamic nature. Situated in a delta area, the Netherlands is one of the most densely populated and urbanised countries in the world. This urban character, together with a long tradition of water management, has resulted in a dynamic 'Delta Metropolis' landscape which particularly characterises the western part of the Netherlands (Van der Valk 2002; Lambregts & Zonneveld 2004). Notwithstanding the dominant urban influence, the area of land use in the Netherlands is not dominated by urban land use. Namely, a 'mere' 18% is covered by urban and semi-urban land use: built land (13%), recreational areas (3%) and infrastructure (2%). Then, 82% is covered by other land use: agriculture (48%), water (17%) and forest and other open nature areas (17%)

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[6] My study about the use of landscape concepts is part of one of the clusters of the research programme of Habiforum, namely, "Green-Blue Networks for man and nature in sustainable landscapes" (Habiforum 2003a). The cluster focuses on the improvement of spatial structures in order to develop functions as nature, recreation and water management in multi-functional landscapes in a sustainable way (ibid).

(based on statline.cbs.nl, 2009). These other land uses can be defined as the rural landscapes or countryside of the Netherlands.

The relationship between rural and urban landscapes is an intense yet tense relationship. Many functions of rural landscapes, like food production and leisure, have their roots in the needs of urban users (Hidding 2006). Meanwhile, the characteristics of the same rural landscapes are threatened by claims of urban users (ibid). Urban claims and land pressure are often associated with the loss of landscape qualities. The fear of "intense pressure for urban expansion" is illustrated by, for example, the fear of the Horsification of Dutch landscapes: "unsightly punctuations in the landscape, particularly in the urban fringes and around villages", caused by horse-orientated functions (Van Ravesteijn & Evers 2004, p.121-122). Likewise, Dutch spatial planners deal with, for instance, the environmental consequences of the building of Pig Flats, i.e. intensive agriculture developments, or the visual impact of White Mould, i.e. recreational villages in the 'unspoiled' countryside. More than fifty years ago, De Casseres (1946) already described how Dutch regions were threatened by urban influence and thereby became more identical. This threat is still alive, although De Casseres illustrated it with an unfamiliar indicator (ibid, p.IV):

> "It does not attest to narrow-mindedness by any manner or means, if people seek to preserve the characteristics of a region; although it should be directly admitted that people struggle against the contemporary influences of levelling out. … [I]f we only think about the varieties in wonderful national costumes which gave our country such a colourful feature in the past and which have been substituted everywhere by normalised and standardised "ready-to-wear ensemble" of men, women and children."

Whether it is the fear of Horsification or the substitution of national costumes, both symptoms are emblematic for how Dutch 'rural' landscapes, as cherished landscapes, are confronted with 'urban' influences. To maintain attractive landscapes, Habiforum (2003b, p.5) appeals for a planning practice that has "a capacity to deliver spatial quality". 'Quality' means, in this case, "…the attainment of the optimal combination of economic dynamics, social-cultural values, and ecological quality" (ibid, p.24).

Both the challenge to approach rural and urban landscapes in an integrated way and the challenge to deliver spatial quality require the acceptance of relations between different yet connected elements. Spatial planning researchers have duly developed comprehensive views on landscapes, together with suggestions for innovative approaches in design and policy: for example, "multiple land use" (Habiforum 2003b; Van der Valk 2002), "rurban regions" (Vanden Abeele & Leinfelder 2007) and "red-green planning" (Van den Brink et al 2006). Notwithstanding suggestions for integrated approaches, urban and rural landscapes are still predominantly considered as separate identities in Dutch as well as European spatial planning. Moreover, many

integrated approaches fail half-way (Asbeek Brusse & Wissink 2002). One reason for failure is that planners promote integrated approaches but are meanwhile hindered by protective attitudes: they fear threats to rural landscapes from urban landscapes, resulting in an unrealistic and separate approach to landscapes (Murdoch 2006; cf. Hillier 2005). A second reason for failure is the continued existence of traditional policy systems with separate Ministries for housing on the one hand and agriculture on the other hand (Davoudi & Stead 2002; Derksen et al 2007; Habiforum 2003b). A third reason is the difficulty of conducting and presenting integrated approaches. Specifically, urban and rural land use activities have different yet related dynamics (Habiforum 2003a; cf. Graham & Healey 1999; cf. Asbeek Brusse et al. 2002; cf. Healey 2004).

Taking in the cognitive and intentional functions of concepts in spatial planning (Zonneveld 1991, figure 1.2), landscape concepts are helpful in describing landscapes. The challenge to overcoming traditional descriptions of landscapes as dichotomous and static descriptions also applies to the use of landscapes concepts. Unfortunately, the reasons why innovative and integrated approaches to landscapes fail half-way also apply to the use of landscape concepts. For example, most concepts in Dutch spatial planning still focus on zoning and morphological forms and are therefore less open to innovative ideas about networks and relations (Van Duinen 2004, p.290). The actual role of many concepts in Dutch spatial planning is accordingly problematic: they are often general and rigid concepts which ignore local and regional variety (Hajer & Zonneveld 2000). Likewise, there is a need for more specific and area-related concepts with a focus on the regional level (Zonneveld & Verwest 2005). A regional focus is helpful since the interactions of rural and urban landscapes are most manifest at regional level (cf. Caffyn & Dahlström 2005; cf. Van der Valk & Van Dijk 2009). Apparently, landscape concepts are assigned with the power to deliver innovative landscape descriptions, yet reality is more complicated.

This study firstly questions why it is so complicated to overcome traditional landscape descriptions. In other words, it will be useful if we first gain a better understanding of the use of landscape concepts in describing landscapes, rather than directly inventing 'better' landscape concepts. This research, therefore, goes back to a basic challenge and elaborates a fundamental question: *How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to describe landscapes?* Understanding this basic challenge will give us clues about how landscape concepts can incorporate the complexities, dynamics and characteristics of landscapes; moreover, it will give clues as to how landscape concepts can be used to deal with rural and urban landscapes in a realistic and integrated way.

2.3 Challenge 2: dealing with conflicts of interests

A second challenge in Dutch spatial planning is "to cope with conflicts of interest" (Habiforum 2003b, p.5), also described as the capacity "to cope with important differences" (ibid, p.24). Optimal conditions of land use functions often conflict with each other. Moreover, conflicts and differences between spatial planners are common elements of spatial planning; spatial planners strive for the 'best' combination of various land use functions that does not necessarily go together with the priorities of other spatial planners (Couclelis 2005). Coordination and deliberation will be helpful in dealing with these conflicts.

The challenge of dealing with conflicts about land use is commonly associated with a need for the involvement of stakeholders in spatial planning (see e.g. Innes 1996, Healey 1998, Aarts et al. 2007). Likewise, Dutch spatial planning is characterised by "democratisation" and participation in order to deal with the growing social-cultural "struggles for space" (Habiforum 2003b, p.6). For example, residents have obtained more authority in Dutch spatial planning; this appears to be specifically interesting for people whose 'backyards' may be affected by the outcome of spatial planning. People who have, additionally, the capacity to investigate and protest against spatial development with 'counter knowledge' are renowned spatial planning participants (Roth & Warner 2007; cf. Hillier 2000). The Dutch TV programme Landroof, i.e. 'LandStealing' is another example of growing public interest in spatial planning issues. The programme presents an interactive platform for resistance to so-called megalomaniac building plans in several Dutch places and appears to be a popular and award-winning programme (www.landroof.nl; see figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 Logo 'LandRoof', i.e. 'LandStealing'
(www.landroof.nl).

The trends of democratisation and participation in spatial planning are elaborated by many researchers, including the role of spatial planners (see e.g. Innes 1996, Healey 1998, Aarts et al. 2007; Flyvbjerg 2002). Some consider a spatial planner to be a

neutral problem-solver of conflicts of interest (e.g. Innes 1996). Others consider spatial planners to be people with interests themselves; they are part of conflicts rather than outsiders of conflicts (e.g. Flyvbjerg 2002). The latter statement seems to be more realistic. Namely, there is not 'one' spatial planner but a wide range of spatial planners; each with a specific job, operating at different government levels and spatial scales and influenced by his background and intentions. This implies that cooperation among spatial planners themselves, although necessary, is not without problems. Prior to focusing on 'outsider' participation, this study focuses on the cooperation of spatial planners, to emphasise the consequences of differences between spatial planners. Understanding the underestimated but crucial challenge of dealing with conflicts among spatial planners will ultimately be helpful in improving the relationship between spatial planners and other participants.

Trends in Dutch spatial planning support the need to investigate cooperation between different spatial planners. Namely, recent Dutch spatial planning approaches have consequences for the older and more stable relationships between spatial planners. Dutch spatial planning has changed from 'vertical' planning-by-licence towards 'horizontal' development planning, i.e. a change from 'top-down' planning to 'bottom-up' planning (Dammers et al. 2004). This trend goes together with problem-focused spatial planning approaches and has refocused attention to local and regional planners (ibid). Development planning implies that spatial planners are working in shifting coalitions, rather than as pre-defined coalitions. In other words, Dutch spatial planning faces "increased informality": authority is less a matter-of-course and the 'network society' prevails (Habiforum 2003b, p.24). This trend is exemplified by the motto of the national government (2003-2006) concerning the Dutch planning system: "decentralize if possible, centralize if necessary" (see e.g. Vink & Van der Burg 2006). This implies that spatial planners at national level have less security and control and require more flexibility in general.

Landscape concepts can play a part in the cooperation between spatial planners given that concepts include a communicative function (Zonneveld 1991; see figure 1.2). Dammers (et al. 2004) positions the communicative function of concepts in spatial planning, as defined by Zonneveld (1991), in the context of development-planning. The communicative function of a concept could therefore be helpful in preventing a 'veritable tower of Babel' by providing a point of reference to all spatial planners involved; meanwhile, spatial planners involved should be able to attach their own meaning to a concept (Dammers et al. 2004, p.30). This paradoxical ideal requires landscape concepts that are both "uniting" and "open" (ibid, p.31). In line with this ideal, Van Duinen (2004, p.292) states that the successful use of concepts in spatial planning is "a matter of co-production": the advancement of conceptualisation is rooted in multi-formity and based on different perspectives (ibid, p.292, in reference

to Sijmons). Van Duinen's appeal goes together with the statement that concepts "may start as unequivocal concepts" (ibid, p.292). Taking into account the differences between spatial planners, however, I assume that concepts may be multi-vocal from the start without having a predominant meaning. Thus, the cooperation of spatial planners to deal with conflicts of interests seems to be assisted by a collective landscape concept, but the differences among spatial planners should also be acknowledged. This seems to be a paradoxical but possible challenge that needs further investigation. Accordingly, the second research question of this study is: *how do spatial planners use landscape concepts for dealing with conflicts of interests?*

2.4 Challenge 3: establishing direction

A third challenge in Dutch spatial planning is a demand for "an effective plan formation and implementation" (Habiforum 2003b, p.24). Moreover, the demand is linked to a demand for the production and effective use of knowledge and competencies: it is linked to a plea for innovation (ibid). Comparable demands previously resulted in pleas for a strict and centralised planning system, but a relation between a controlling planning system and effective implementation is not evident (Hajer & Zonneveld 2000; Van Ark 2005; cf. Frissen 2007). Moreover, the Dutch spatial planning system has some rigid and paternalistic features, which disturbs innovation as promising forms of regional plan-making (Hajer & Zonneveld 2000). In other words, the confidence in the 'malleability' of society is overruled by the reality of a complex spatial planning practice (as described in chapter 1). Nowadays, the demand for an effective plan process is thus related to a plea for a flexible and open spatial planning system; spatial planning, then, is a form of development planning and focuses on the realisation of spatial plans (Dammers et al. 2004). Consequently, if spatial planners strive for an innovative and more effective planning process, they need to accept differences between spatial planning situations and focus on flexible methods.

Debates about effective plan formation and implementation are dominated by debates about procedures and decision making (Derksen et al. 2007). This 'how-to-plan' debate is at the expense of the 'what-to-plan' debate of spatial planning (ibid; Bos et al. 2006). For example, the debate about the 'Cluttering of the Dutch landscape' is often presented as a decline of the spatial planning system, rather than as a decline of the landscape itself (see e.g. Derksen et al., p.11-12). Spatial planners will fail, however, if they ignore the landscape in attempts to innovate the planning process. This study therefore combines the 'how-to-plan' and 'what-to-plan'.

Given the institutional and action functions of a concept in spatial planning, landscape concepts will be helpful in effective plan realisation (Zonneveld 1991; see figure 1.2). The institutional and action functions, however, go together with norms

and regulations as ideal outcome (ibid); this suits a rigid spatial planning system rather than a flexible system. The question is how landscape concepts can be helpful in a flexible setting. Dammers (et al 2004) positions Zonneveld's list of functions into a flexible setting, as defined by development planning. The cognitive, intentional, communicative and action functions are listed again and consequently re-considered; however, the institutional function is not listed at all (ibid). This suggests, though it is not explicitly mentioned, that the institutional function of a concept does not fit into a new planning culture that is an 'open' system and supports 'bottom-up' spatial planning initiatives. In my own words, the idea that a concept can provide a form of central control or strict authority is outdated (cf. Van Ark 2005). Dammers (ibid) does list the action function of a concept: a concept can influence people and mobilise funds. In line with the influencing and mobilising power of concepts, Van Duinen (2004) studies the innovative power of concepts in spatial planning. Innovation is successful, according to Van Duinen, if the concepts are settled and continued in policy (cf. institutional function); in addition, she describes how new ideas can challenge traditional ideas (cf. action function). Reviewing these views on the power of concepts in effective planning processes, I argue that a landscape concept can *establish direction* if it provides challenging ideas about future landscapes and if its influences people's thoughts and actions.

Notwithstanding the theoretical possibility that a landscape concept can establish direction, it is still vague and hard to define *how* a concept actually contributes to plan realisation. A landscape concept is not a ready-made instrument; it has neither a single function nor detailed content. Rather, I consider a landscape concept to be an influential tool with many possible effects (see also chapter 1.3). In addition, a landscape concept is part of a spatial planning activity and thereby 'hidden' or 'over-ruled' by other tools and actions. Accordingly, a landscape concept cannot simply be implemented and, in turn, be transparently measured on effectiveness. We need more insight into how a landscape concept can be used in spatial planning for influencing and mobilising people. Therefore, the third research question of this study is: *how do spatial planners use landscape concepts to establish direction?*

2.5 Overview

Each research question is linked to a role of landscape concepts in spatial planning (see figure 2.2; cf. figure 1.2). The research questions are addressed in parts B and C and answered in part D of this study. Chapter 3 firstly provides the research strategy of this study.

ROLES OF LANDSCAPE CONCEPTS IN SPATIAL PLANNING PRACTICE	ROOTS: Functions of spatial planning concepts (Zonneveld 1991)	RESEARCH QUESTION
1. Basic role relates to*: landscapes & interests*	Cognitive & intentional	*How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to describe landscapes?*
2. Supportive role relates to: *the efforts of various planners*	Communicative	*How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to cope with conflicts of interests?*
3. Consequential role relates to: *try to enhance landscapes*	Institutional & action	*How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to establish direction?*

Figure 2.2 Research questions in relation to the roles of landscape concepts

Chapter 3 Interpretive research strategy

Order is, at one and the same time, that which is given in things as their inner law, the hidden network that determines the way they confront one another, and also that which has no existence except in the grid created by a glance, an examination, a language; and it is only in the blank spaces of this grid that order manifests itself in depth as though already there, waiting in silence for the moment of its expression.
Foucault 1970, p.xx

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I firstly introduce my perspective on 'doing research'. This includes an appeal for meaningful results and my view on theory. I argue for a context-sensitive research approach, thereby building on my view on spatial planning as introduced in chapter 1. Secondly, I move towards a more abstract level as I discuss my view on the nature and scope of knowledge (i.e. epistemology). Thirdly, I move towards a more detailed and practical level as I explain my research design and methodologies used in this study.

Epistemology
Knowledge as construction: ch. 3.3
⬆
Research perspective
Context-sensitive research approach: ch 3.2
⬇
Methodologies and methods
Complementary design (i.e. framing theory & interpretive methods): ch. 3.4
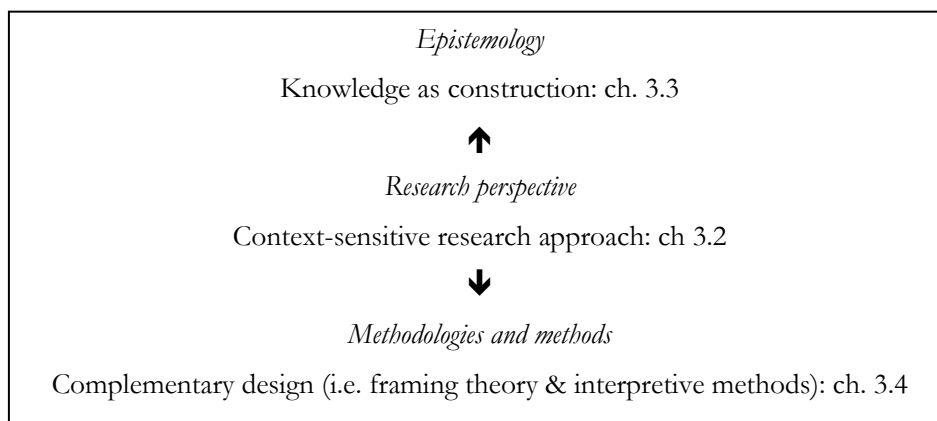
Figure 3.1 Outline of chapter 3

3.2 Context-sensitive research approach

This research explores the nature and working of landscape concepts in spatial planning: it focuses on the *meaning* of concepts in practice. This meaning includes the 'tacit' and 'local' power of concepts and their actual value in a specific situation (cf. Yanow 1993, 2000). In other words, landscape concepts can influence situations but will not do that in an obvious or universal way. Moreover, I assume that the meaning of a landscape concept is partly rooted in the nature of concepts and partly unfolded in practice.

Chapters 1 and 2 illustrated that spatial planning is a complex and meaningful practice: it is a political and powerful 'game' (see e.g. Flyvbjerg 2002), linked to actions of people (see e.g. Campbell 2002), embedded in a culture (see e.g. Watson 2003) as

well as a physical setting (see e.g. Kleefmann 1984) and concerned with multiple views on future landscapes (see e.g. Barnes & Duncan 1992). Likewise, each spatial planning situation is different and considered as a specific "contextualised story" (Watson 2002; cf. Sandercock 2003). Researching spatial planning, then, is "(…) to give insight into how messy problems involving values, judgment, multiple interpretations, planners' particular identities and personal and group agendas have unfolded in particular context" (Watson 2002, p.185). Accordingly, the meaning of a landscape concept in spatial planning is defined by its rich context; moreover, the meaning of a concept defines in turn the future context (Van Assche 2007). Likewise, a landscape concept is not just part of but also a *signal* of a specific spatial planning story (cf. Van Eeten & Roe 2000; Jensen & Richardson 2004; Van Assche 2004). A landscape concept represents the actions, culture, physical setting, views and values that go together with a spatial planning situation. Researching landscape concepts will reveal these aspects: they are meaningful.

The acceptance of a complex and meaningful 'real world' setting of the (social) practice studied is along the lines of meaning-focused qualitative research approaches (see e.g. Marshall & Rossman 1999; Alvesson & Sköldberg 2000). To study spatial planning, then, implies that "[the practice] cannot be shielded from external interference and studied in a vacuum or a scientifically controlled and delimited environment" (Taylor in: Rabinow & Sullivan 1987, p.7).

My study takes account of the non-artificial environment of spatial planning by using an interpretive research approach (ibid; Coenen et al. 1988; Yanow 2000, 2003). The ambition of a researcher with an interpretive research approach is to show readers, in a recognisable way, how common practice includes unexpected and unexposed aspects (Coenen et al. 1988, p.11-12; cf. Flyvbjerg 2001a, p.291; Alvesson & Sköldberg 2000, p. 277-279). In other words, a researcher with an interpretive research approach 'problematises' a situation by detailing specific aspects and exploring the meaning of aspects.

The use of theories is helpful in exploring practice. In this interpretive study, I use theory *to expose and reflect on* practice (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2000). Theory is, then, "a body of thinking and writing" that challenges and reorients thinking (Culler 2000, p.3). Theory is "a diffuse phenomenon" since it is defined and used in different ways by different research fields (Allmendinger 2002a, p.1). Compared with other definitions and functions of theory:
- my view on theory is more distinct from 'positivistic' theory that is applied to *predict* new facts or *explain* one truth, which is especially encountered in natural science. From a positivistic view, theory is valid in each situation (see for comparison: Allmendinger 2002b; Flyvbjerg 2001b);

- my view on theory is closer to 'empirical' theory that is applied to *explain* common truths, which is especially encountered in social science. From an empirical view, theory is generally applicable in uncomplicated situations (ibid);
- my view on theory precedes 'critical theory' that is applied to *prescribe* situations, which is encountered in social science. From a critical-theory view, theory is helpful to create 'right' situations (ibid).

Theory, in my study, is a set of philosophies and ideas that helps explore the meaning of landscape concepts in spatial planning.

In this study, I specifically focus on spatial planning theories. I follow Allmendinger's view on the meaning of planning theory (Allmendinger 2002b). Allmendinger (2002b) confirms that there is no universal planning theory that explains all planning cases and presents an innovative view on spatial planning theory (cf. Flyvbjerg 2001b, Van Assche 2007). According to Allmendinger, a spatial planning researcher can create "indigenous planning theory", which is built by "framing theory" that is in turn positioned in a specific "space-time" context (Allmendinger 2002b, p.89-92 – see figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2 Indigenous planning theory (based on Allmendinger 2002b, p.90)

The first aspect of Allmendinger's view on planning theory is framing theory. Framing theory is an eclectic combination of different theories and is useful to expose and reflect on a specific planning case (Allmendinger 2002b). Framing theory is a combination of social scientific philosophies (e.g. idealism), social theories (e.g. Marxism) and exogenous theories from fields related to spatial planning (e.g. regime theory) (ibid). The function of framing theory is comparable to the function of a set of 'sensitising concepts' (Charmaz 2006, after Blumer); 'sensitising concepts' are initial ideas that stimulate researchers to question concerns and possibilities of their research topic, prior to studying the practices of their topic (Charmaz 2006, p.16-17).

The second aspect of Allmendinger's view on planning theory, i.e. space-time, again underlines the relevance of context-sensitive spatial planning research (cf. Watson 2002). Namely, framing theory provides insight into a topic and is complemented and 'fine-tuned' by positioning the topic into a specific practice. Positioning research in a particular space-time context reflects Scott's (1998) and Flyvbjerg's (2001b) views on useful research; they attach significant importance to knowledge about particular

actions, values and relations in practice. Likewise, they claim that people not only learn from universal and technical knowledge but in particular from experience and studying experience. The benefit of practical wisdom or cunning intelligence is expressed by the Greek notions of "metis" (used by Scott 1998) and "phronesis" (used by Flyvbjerg 2001b). Ethics is consequently a crucial concern of a spatial planning researcher: a spatial planning researcher should develop contextualised judgements about planning situations (Watson 2003; Campbell 2002; Flyvbjerg 2001b).

An example from Latvian spatial planning illustrates Allmendinger's view on planning theory. Some general theories are useful for understanding spatial planning in Latvia, for example with regard to dealing with changes in Riga's urban fringe landscapes (see Kūle 2007). For instance, popular spatial planning theories about communicative planning and growth management are helpful, but only as part of framing theory. The theories should consequently be supplemented with other theories and positioned in the Latvian space-time context. In other words, Soviet history and the actual post-socialism situation, including land restitutions and a new market society, make this case unique (Kūle 2007; see also Taff 2005 & Van Dijk 2003). It is incorrect to simply 'copy and paste' existing planning theories to understand this planning situation (cf. Yokohari et al. 2000 – the failure of Western urban spatial planning concepts for Asian mega-cities). Rather, the existing theories of communicative planning and growth management in the context of Latvia should be contextualised and supplemented. This results in indigenous planning theory that either reinforces or problematises existing spatial planning theories.

I use framing theory to study the nature of landscape concepts in spatial planning and position the outcome in the space-time context of Dutch regional spatial planning to study the working of landscape concepts. The output of this research is a description of and reflection on the meaning of landscape concepts in Dutch spatial planning (cf. indigenous planning theory) presented in part D by a discussion & conclusion. The discussion and conclusion are based on theoretically informed chapters in part B (including framing theory) and case informed chapters in part C (including three case studies as space-time context) – see also figure 3.3 on page 29.

3.3 Knowledge as construction
To start with, the epistemology of this study, being the view on the nature and scope of knowledge, considers knowledge as a social construction. Some key features of knowledge as a social construction which go together with a context-sensitive research approach are:
- Knowledge is historical and cultural specific;
- Knowledge is sustained by social processes;

- A critical stance towards knowledge that is taken for granted;
- Knowledge and social action go together (Burr 1995, p.3-5, in reference to Gergen 1985; cf. Creswell 2003, p.8-9).

Knowledge is produced in a specific society at a certain moment (Burr 1995). This cultural and historical position shapes the notions that we use to understand and present the world around us (ibid; cf. Foucault 1970). Knowledge is not only produced but also reproduced and sustained by others, within their systems (as a society, organisation, practice or policy field). The reproduction of knowledge involves a key role for language and communication in research (Burr 1995). Sharing, accepting and extending knowledge is a merit of research but it also entails some risks. One risk is that a group, as a system, automatically prioritises a familiar set of knowledge above other sets of useful knowledge. Likewise, each system is 'autopoetic' and 'self-referential' as it continuously reproduces its own identity: each system favours their own knowledge and is little receptive to knowledge from other systems (Van Assche 2007, based on Luhmann's social systems theory). A related risk is blindness to fixations of knowledge, caused by the over-confidence of experts. This 'fallacy of centrality' can occur when experts overestimate how much they know about a phenomenon; overestimation could result in a lack of curiosity and ignorance of new knowledge (Termeer 2006, in reference to Weick 1995; i.e. Westrum 1982, p.392-393). To prevent these risks, a critical position towards existing knowledge and conventional assumptions is crucial (Burr 1995). A researcher with a critical position questions accepted categories of knowledge and adjusts categories if useful; categories do not automatically arise from the nature of the observed, but are temporary and political constructions (ibid; cf. Lakoff 1987). Another reason to be a critical researcher is that each set of knowledge 'invites' specific actions and 'excludes' actions that are not in line with the presented knowledge (Burr 1995). In other words, knowledge about a situation delineates that situation by focussing on specific topics and using specific viewpoints; knowledge thus subtly influences and directs the future situation. The relationship between knowledge and directions is not explicit nor automatically fair, but embedded with power (Foucault 1977a; e.g. knowledge about how to deal with a plague-stricken town results in control, regulations, as well as the exclusion of specific groups). Likewise, 'right' knowledge about a situation does not automatically create 'right' guidelines for that situation. For example, Weizman (2006) provides a very critical example of how a set of knowledge literally goes together with 'powerful' actions. Weizman explains how the Israeli Defence Forces translated innovative knowledge about urban space based on the philosophies of Deleuze and Guattari into military actions, which resulted in 'innovative' and unexpected "walking through walls" warfare-tactics in the city of Nablus in 2002 (ibid).

The list of features of knowledge as social construction (by Burr 1995 and additional literature) explains a great part of my view on the nature and scope of knowledge but needs some additional consideration. I use Hacking and some others to extend my view. Hacking (2000) discusses the meaning of knowledge as social construction in his study "the social construction of *what?*". He explains that advancing knowledge as social construction is not the same as stating that the items studied, or even 'everything', are merely socially constructed. In fact, "[m]ost items said to be socially constructed could be constructed only socially, if they are constructed at all" (ibid, p.39-40; cf. Latour 2008). So, knowledge constructions do not merely refer to social realities; knowledge constructions relate to social-*material* realities (i.e. social-physical realities). Likewise, knowledge is not merely shaped and extended in a historical and cultural (i.e. social) setting (Burr 1995), but also in a material setting (cf. Law & Singleton 2000). Moreover, social and material features produce effects together as both features influence the nature and scope of knowledge: they are complex "hybrid material-and-social performances" (Law & Singleton 2000, p.767). In other words, knowledge is constructed and extended in a 'co-constructed' setting, being a 'collaboration' of material and social features (Murdoch 2001). In line with these perspectives, I use the term 'knowledge as construction' instead of 'knowledge as social construction' to acknowledge the social-material influence on the construction of knowledge in my study. In short, knowledge concerns social-material realities and is influenced by social-material realities.

3.4 Complementary design

The three research challenges (see chapter 2) can be described as 'informed hunches' (Yanow 2003). 'Informed hunches' are preliminary ideas (ibid); in my case, the informed hunches about the meaning of landscape concepts in spatial planning are based on my first definitions (chapter 1) and on demands in Dutch spatial planning practice (chapter 2). The challenges are further explored and enriched in part B and C of this study by answering the research questions. The conclusion of this study (part D) is a combination of theoretically informed chapters in part B and case informed chapters in part C (see figure 3.3; cf. figure 2.2).

Part B primarily focuses on the *nature* of landscape concepts, whereas part C focuses on the *working* of landscape concepts in practice. Each research question is linked to a specific theoretically informed and a specific case informed chapter. Additionally, the three chapters in part B together result in an enriched understanding about the nature of landscape concepts (see interface I), which is in turn investigated and enriched in three case studies in part C. The chapters in part C about the working of landscape concepts are taken together in interface II. The research approaches in Part B and C differ as they concern, in respective order, the nature and working of landscape concepts. Each part thus has its specific methodologies and methods.

PART A Research questions:	PART B The nature of landscape concepts *Framing theory*	PART C The working of landscape concepts *Space-time context*			PART D	
How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to describe landscapes?	Chapter 4 Landscape concepts and rich landscapes	Chapter 7 Colourful concepts in the case of 'Het Groene Woud'	Interface I - Realistic expectations	Interface II – Expectations in reality	Chapter 10 Discussion & conclusion	*Including 'indigenous planning theory'*
How do spatial planners use landscape concepts for dealing with conflicts of interests?	Chapter 5 Landscape concepts and adventurous spatial planners	Chapter 8 Interpretations of IJmeer concepts				
How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to establish direction?	Chapter 6 Landscape concepts and subtle success	Chapter 9 Tactics around concept Plan Stork				

Figure 3.3 Outline Book

Theoretically informed methodology in part B

Part B provides theoretical answers to the research questions. In each chapter, I deal with the meaning of landscape concepts in spatial planning. Moreover, in each chapter, I focus on one specific research question and, accordingly, with one specific role of a landscape concept (see figure 3.3).

Part B of this study studies the nature of landscape concepts by using framing theory (see chapter 3.1). Framing theory is a combination of different theories which are useful for reflecting on a specific spatial planning case (Allmendinger 2002b, see figure 3.2). In my study, I use a combination of spatial planning theories and 'additional' theories. Firstly, in each chapter, traditional planning theories are challenged by a set of reflective planning theories (see figure 3.4 for a preview of planning literature used in part B). Secondly, to further answer each research question, the planning perspectives are extended by additional theories from other fields than spatial planning. These additional theories provide a different 'outsider' perspective on the nature of landscape concepts and will accordingly help to understand the roles of landscape concepts. These additional theories are in line with a constructed philosophical understanding; they are based on the ideas of Latour, Foucault and Deleuze & Guattari (see figure 3.4 for a preview of theoretical concepts used in part B). Notwithstanding the individual thoughts of Latour, Foucault and Deleuze & Guattari, their ideas can be positioned within "poststructuralist geographies" (Murdoch 2006; cf. Law 2007, 2d). Overall, these poststructuralist perspectives question the value of concepts as 'true' representation of realities; instead, these

perspectives emphasise the multiplicity of meaning and highlight the linguistic and powerful nature of a concept (Murdoch 2006; cf. Alvesson & Skoldberg 2000, p.149-153). Likewise, theorising of Latour, Foucault and Deleuze & Guattari, among other theorising, is introduced as helpful in understanding actual planning: "[their theorising is] concerned with not allowing the definition or location of something (e.g. planning or politics) to be determined in advance. It is less about seeking some underlying structure but rather about searching for how and why transformation takes place" (Hillier 2005, p.276).

	FRAMING THEORY		
	Planning perspectives		**Additional perspectives**
	Roles of landscape concepts	**Debates in spatial planning**	**Landscape concepts considered as:**
Chapter 4	**Basic role**	Beyond a substantive view… Selection of planning literature: - Allmendinger 2002b - Jensen & Richardson 2004 - Lörzing 2001	"Matter of concern" Based on Latour
Chapter 5	**Supportive role**	Beyond an idealistic view… Selection of planning literature: - Healey 2003 - Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger 1998 - Günder 2008	"Discursive Construction" Based on Foucault
Chapter 6	**Consequential role**	Beyond a formal view… Selection of planning literature: - Hajer 2005 - Hillier 2000 - Böhme et al. 2004	"Order-word" Based on Deleuze & Guattari

Figure 3.4 Framing theory in Part B of this study

In summary, in Part B, I will reveal the nature of landscape concepts by describing *how and why* landscape concepts are used, from a theoretical perspective; this theoretical perspective is built by both spatial planning theories and additional theories of Latour, Foucault and Deleuze.

Case informed methodology in Part C

The insights from part B are contextualised in Part C (see figure 3.3): they are situated in a Dutch spatial planning setting which is also the starting point of the research questions (see chapter 2). Dutch spatial planning is described by three exemplary case studies[7], which together illustrate the typical Dutch spatial planning culture. In such typical situations, Dutch spatial planners are engaged in solving 'puzzles' of various

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[7] Cf. Flyvbjerg 2006, p.230 *Information oriented selection*: "To maximize the utility of information from small samples and single cases. Cases are selected on the basis of expectations about their information content"; and *paradigmatic cases*: "To develop a metaphor or establish a school for the domain that the case concerns."

land uses in a densely populated country, including coordinating the network of institutions and organisations involved in these 'puzzles' (see e.g. Hajer & Zonneveld 2000; Van der Valk 2002). Likewise, in my study, each case study presents the way in which landscape concepts are used in a spatial planning situation that includes disputes and cooperation about future land use. I focus on regional spatial planning cases as conflicts between urban and rural demands, as well as solutions, specifically arise at this level (see chapter 2).

In line with my context-sensitive approach, I consider the case studies as "contextualised stories" (Watson 2002). Each case study has 'the force of the example': details and nuanced views of the real-life context are crucial, rather than general predictions about rule-governed acts (ibid; Flyvbjerg 2006). Since each case study focuses on a specific research question, the case studies can be characterised as "multiple case-studies" (Yin 2003, p.162). Namely, each case focuses on an individual story but the sum of the individual results also adds up to significant insight (ibid). In other words, each case focuses on a specific research question, being a specific role of a landscape concept, but the cases overlap as they all focus on the overall working of landscape concepts in spatial planning.

Interpretive methods, as elaborated by Yanow (2000), are helpful in understanding the meaning of landscape concepts in the three case studies. Accordingly, all cases include a concept analysis: I analyse landscape concepts as 'symbolic language' in search of the broader meaning of landscape concepts in a spatial planning case (cf. metaphor analysis & category analysis in Yanow 2000). In all cases, I collect and analyse the landscape concepts as meaningful data (cf. 'word data', Yanow 2003). The concepts are found in several documents, being written material. The form of concept analysis differs per case, thereby taking into account both the specific research question and the specific case. I use, in respective order, genealogy, comparative analysis and narrative as interpretive method (see figure 3.5. for an overview; see individual chapters in part C for details). The meaning of the landscape concepts in the cases is interpreted with the help of analytical frameworks that build on the outcome of the chapters in part B.

Chapter 7			
Colourful concepts in the case of 'Het Groene Woud'			
Research question	**Space-time context** *Dutch Planning*	**Interpretive Methods** *Concept Analysis*	**Material** *Documents*
How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to describe landscapes?	The use of landscape concepts in various regional spatial documents, from 1973 until 2007, used to describe the area that is currently known as National Landscape 'Het Groene Woud'	Genealogy: An overview of trends and breakpoints in the use of landscape concepts, during 1973-2007.(Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000, p.224; cf. Foucault 1977b).	Regional planning documents, from 1973 to 2007
Chapter 8			
Interpretations of IJmeer concepts			
Research question	**Space-time context** *Dutch Planning*	**Interpretive Methods** *Concept Analysis*	**Material** *Documents*
How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to cope with conflicts of interests?	The use of four landscape concepts in a collective project, i.e. the creation of a vision in 2005 for the spatial future of the IJmeer-region.	Comparative analysis: An overview and comparison of shared and individual perspectives of various planners on the meaning of four landscape concepts (cf. frame-analysis, Yanow 2000, p.13).	Vision-document (ANWB et al. 2005) and interview material (Boekel et al. 2006)
Chapter 9			
Tactics around concept Plan Stork			
Research question	**Space-time context** *Dutch Planning*	**Interpretive Methods** *Concept Analysis*	**Material** *Documents*
How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to establish direction?	The use of the renowned landscape concept 'Plan Stork' for planning in Dutch River areas, from 1986 until 2008.	Narrative: The detailed story of 'one' concept, its success and failures, conflicts and congruence and its promoters and other users (Yanow 2000).	Parliamentary accounts, editions of Plan Stork and specialist journals

Figure 3.5 Methods in Part C

PART B

THE NATURE OF LANDSCAPE CONCEPTS IN SPATIAL PLANNING

Chapter 4 Landscape concepts and rich landscapes

The planned city, the planned village, and the planned language [are] likely to be thin cities, villages, and languages. They are thin in the sense that they cannot reasonably plan for anything more than a few schematic aspects of the inexhaustibly complex activities that characterize "thick" cities and villages.
Scott 1998, p.261

4.1 Introduction

Chapter	Research Question	Role of concept
Ch 4	1. How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to describe landscapes?	Basic
Ch 5	2. How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to cope with conflicts of interests?	Supportive
Ch 6	3. How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to establish direction?	Consequential

This chapter provides a theoretical perspective on the first research question of this study (see chapter 2.2): how do spatial planners use landscape concepts to describe landscapes? This chapter thereby focuses on the *basic role* of a concept. It introduces landscape as the primary issue of spatial planning and explores how landscape concepts are used to describe these landscapes. The position and meaning of landscape in planning theories is elaborated in chapter 4.2. Three analytical dimensions of landscapes in planning are subsequently introduced in chapter 4.3 (i.e. dynamic material, valued practice and symbolic construction). Chapter 4.4 explains how a landscape concept can be considered as a 'matter of concern'; it illustrates the use of the Cluttering concept in Dutch spatial planning as an example of a landscape concept that is sometimes 'de-concerned' or 'de-mattered'. In chapter 4.5, in conclusion, all notions used in this chapter come together; it is explained how landscape concepts can be used as a way of characterising landscapes.

4.2 Beyond a substantive view on landscapes

Landscape is crucial to spatial planning practice since it forms the 'foundation' of spatial planning activities. According to the definition in chapter 1.2, a landscape in spatial planning is: both a social and natural 'product', which is continuously transformed by people into a new 'product'. Combinations of physical, social, cultural and economic features of a landscape shape strengths and weaknesses for land use functions as well as opportunities and threats for land use development (Kleefmann 1984; cf. Lörzing 2001; cf. Görg 2007). Understanding these landscape features and

linking them to specific ideas about future landscapes is essential for spatial planners (Perry 2003). For the destination and development of a sports park, for example, a spatial planner needs to have information about: the condition of soil (for costs and techniques of both construction and maintenance), infrastructure and traffic (for accessibility), population figures (for size), a vision about outdoor and sports activities of the communities involved (for internal design and success factor of the park) and landscape elements like trees and meadows (for design).

Despite the sound position of landscapes in spatial planning *practice*, landscape has been narrowed down in planning *theory* (Graham & Healey 1999; Jones 2000; Yiftachel 2006; Watson 2006). In this study, it is argued that the narrowing down of landscapes in planning theories is rooted in a persistent typology in planning theory: a distinction between substantive and procedural theories that has dominated the field of planning theory until the 1990s (Allmendinger 2002b; Davoudi 2006). According to Faludi (1973), planning theory should be exclusively concerned with procedural theory, being insight about decision making; substantive theory 'merely' provides knowledge about planning problems, such as knowledge about land use systems (ibid). In this view, knowledge about landscapes is restricted to substantive theory. Faludi (ibid) positions planning problems outside planning theory by putting planning theory on a par with procedural theory. Later, Faludi (1983) describes the environment as a reason for planning. However, in his attempts to go 'beyond the procedural-substantive controversy' he still positions landscapes outside planning theory and prioritises procedures (ibid). In summary, according to this substantive-procedural typology, landscapes are considered as a reason for planning yet approached as 'distinct objects' separated from procedural issues. This study, in contrary, will consider landscapes as 'inherent objects' of planning theory and appeals for a combined theory.

The procedural-substantive typology of planning theory has been central to several debates; the arguments involved could be useful to explain how landscapes should be 'inherent objects' of planning theory rather than 'distinct objects'. Firstly, many planning theorists have disqualified the rational and technical assumptions of procedural theory since it ignores the political nature of planning (Allmendinger 2002b). Spatial planning is indeed political (Flyvbjerg 2002; cf. Part A, this book), but this argument has ignored the discussion about substantive theory itself. In fact, substantive theories also have a political nature (cf. Latour 1993; cf. chapter 3.3). So, the political nature is a crucial aspect of spatial planning and not distinctive for either procedural or substantive theory. Secondly, planning theorists favoured either substantive or procedural theories. In the 1980s, Faludi and others accepted that both theories are essential for spatial planning; however, this acceptance has still reinforced the distinction between both theories (Allmendinger 2002b). Namely, it kept the

distinction alive; it neither added new dimensions to substantive or procedural theories nor linked both theories (ibid). Likewise, many planning theorists perceived this battle as "a contrived conflict" between essentially complementary theories (Alexander 1988, p.16; cf. Yiftachel 2006, p.213). Thirdly, the discussion about the procedural-substantive typology has been, often in an unnoticed way, a dispute about different views on theory, being "the appropriate level of abstraction for fruitful discussion and learning about planning" (Alexander 1988, p.16). In other words, disputes have been rooted in different philosophical assumptions about 'right' planning knowledge. In fact, there are different fields of planning knowledge. Procedural theory focuses on 'how to plan'; substantive theory focuses on the 'what' of planning by providing "evidence-base" of decisions (Davoudi 2006). Again, these disputes did not lead to the introduction of a comprehensive planning theory that includes the meaning of landscapes in spatial planning. Accordingly, the position of landscapes in planning theory is still incomplete.

According to this study, the debates about the procedural-substantive division ignore a crucial aspect of spatial planning: a reflection on 'why' spatial planners plan in a specific context (cf. Fischler 2000, p.366). The 'why' of spatial planning is triggered by a landscape situation (elaborated in chapter 4.3) as well as being driven by the ambitions of planners (elaborated in chapter 5.3). A focus on the 'why' of planning will be essential in overcoming disputes in planning theory. Namely, the 'why' of planning emphasises the situational reality of spatial planning as well as its political nature; both substantive theories and procedural theories need to be contextualised (Allmendinger 2002b; cf. Jensen & Richardson 2004). In conclusion, landscapes should be considered as a 'driving force' of spatial planning and not as 'distinct objects' outside spatial planning (cf. chapter 1.2). This statement is elaborated in chapter 4.3.

4.3 Rich landscapes and landscape concepts

A comprehensive study by Jensen & Richardson (2004) is in line with a perspective on landscapes in planning as a 'driving force'. Their study provides a social and political view on landscapes in spatial planning, positioning them at the heart of planning (cf. Perry 2003; cf. Healey 2004). In the words of Brenner (2000, p.373, in reference to Lefebvre): "… space is becoming a central object of political struggle in the contemporary world — it is no longer merely the 'medium' or 'theatre' of socio-political conflicts but one of their constitutive dimensions …". In other words, landscape is both the cause and effect of political practices like spatial planning. This perspective has consequences for the meaning of landscapes in planning theory and practice.

In this study, landscape is considered as 'a driving force' in spatial planning: landscape is not merely a static 'theatre' but an active part of spatial planning since it triggers spatial planners to act in diverse ways. In order to emphasise the social and political 'power' of landscapes, this study presents landscapes through three analytical dimensions that reflect the social and political 'power' of landscapes: dynamic material, valued practice and symbolic construction. These dimensions are based on perspectives on landscapes from fields related to spatial planning which also concern the relationship between people and landscapes, being: human geography (Richardson & Jensen 2003, JJensen & Richardson 2004), landscape design (Lörzing 2001) and landscape experience (Jacobs 2006). As an introduction, figure 4.1 provides an overview of the three analytical dimensions of this study as well as the perspectives related to these dimensions. Each dimension is consequently elaborated in the context of spatial planning. In other words, each dimension is positioned in the context of *a dynamic practice concerned with the political interests and professional efforts of various spatial planners who each try to enhance landscapes* (see chapter 1.3).

Landscape dimensions in spatial planning - this study:	Perspectives on landscapes in related fields:		
	Human Geography *Based on Richardson & Jensen 2003 (cf. Jensen & Richarson 2004): 'A Cultural Sociology of Space'*	**Landscape Design** *Based on Lörzing 2001: 'Landscapes as mindscapes'*	**Landscape Experience** *Based on Jacobs 2006: 'A disciplinary approach'*
Dynamic Material	*Spatial Practice*: Material practice: spaces of places & spaces of flows (in reference to Castells), as well as power relationships of people with spaces.	- 'Landscape is *what you know*', i.e. a factual landscape, creating a 'layer' of knowledge - 'Landscape is *what you see*', i.e. a visual landscape, creating a 'layer' of perception.	*Matterscape*, i.e. physical truth
Valued Practice	*'Politics of Scale'* (in reference to Brenner): Identification, being a particular combination of a spatial practice and symbolic meaning.	'Landscape is *what you make*', i.e. a man-made landscape, creating a 'layer' of intervention.	*Powerscape*, i.e. social reality, including implicit and explicit rules
Symbolic Construction	*Symbolic Meaning*: Representations, in relation to meaning and meaningful actions.	'Landscape is *what you believe*', i.e. an emotional landscape, creating a 'layer' of interpretation.	*Mindscape*, i.e. individual truthfulness, including symbolic constructions

Figure 4.1 Dimensions of 'landscape' in spatial planning and related fields

Dynamic Material

The first analytical dimension of landscapes in spatial planning in this study is 'dynamic material'. 'Material' refers to the physical substratum of landscapes (see e.g. Kleefmann 1984). 'Dynamics' are doubly present in the landscapes of spatial planners; namely, landscapes change 'automatically' over time and the aim of planning is to develop (or to actively 'not develop', like the preservation of landscapes). These two 'dynamics' are closely related: changes in the material of landscapes, for example, rising sea-levels or the growth of a unique peat-bog, activate spatial planners to develop. Vice versa, developments affect the material of landscapes. Meanwhile, other changes and developments occur which can unexpectedly or undesirably interact with the planned development (Antrop 2005). Consequently, many spatial planning solutions create new problems that can be tackled again by spatial planning. For example, the re-building of dykes to prevent flooding could involve space-taking and unattractive constructions which need additional consideration; the protection of a peat bog could result in the closure of a recreation area, which extends the case to a broader area. Ideally, various landscape developments are coordinated and complementary, in space and time. Problematically, these landscape dynamics and relationships between land use dynamics are part of reality but hard to grasp, in contrast to static and 'closed' one-dimensional issues (Graham & Healey 1999, Dühr 2005; Boelens 2006; Hagens 2010). In other words, the dynamic material of landscapes is complex and complexity is hard to fully control:

> " (…), there is no way to fully comprehend a complex system and therefore no way to intervene in them in a totally risk-free way – taking action always means taking a step into the unknown to some degree. An understanding of complexity requires an understanding of the limits to one's analyses." (Richardson 2007, p.218; cf. Cilliers 2005)

Valued Practice

The second analytical dimension of landscapes in spatial planning in this study is 'valued practice'. The definition of landscape already referred to people's engagement with their landscapes, being both a natural and social 'product' (see chapter 1.2). In other words, landscapes carry and initiate people's activities: landscapes, then, are practices of transformation and action. In the case of spatial planning, spatial planners are practitioners who are engaged with landscapes for professional reasons. Spatial planners are, ideally, involved in "publicly justified efforts" to shape landscapes (Healey 2000, p.918; elaborated in chapter 5.3). For example, the building of dykes and the protection of nature by spatial planning are justified by public norms and values; norms and values are, in these examples, a claim for safe living and a plea for biodiversity. Likewise, the engagement of spatial planners with their surroundings concerns valuating and shaping landscapes (cf. Campbell 2002). The publicly justified efforts of spatial planners are complex and part of power-loaded political 'games' (Flyvbjerg 2002). The landscapes, as 'valued practices', are part of these 'games'.

Symbolic Construction

The third analytical dimension of landscapes in spatial planning in this study is 'symbolic construction'. Although landscapes of spatial planners include dynamic 'material', spatial planners mainly deal with 'fictional' landscapes. Planning is "imagery" (Van Duinen 2004; cf. "planning as mode of thought" by Perry 2003; cf. "planning as conversation" by De Haas 2006). Plans, maps, scenarios and designs all include imagination about future landscapes, both in words and pictures; these are consequently points of reference for the activities of spatial planners (Neuman 1998; Van Duinen 2004; De Jonge 2009). Spatial planners create guidelines, visions, campaigns and debates *about* future landscapes. A spatial planning activity, then, firstly results in a 'symbolic achievement' and not directly in a physical achievement (Medway 1994, p.89, referring to the field of architecture and design). This 'symbolic achievement', however, will ultimately influence actions and thereby the re-construction of landscapes.

Landscape concepts

How do spatial planners combine the dimensions dynamic material, valued practice and symbolic construction when using landscape concepts to describe landscapes? This question is related to the question how the cognitive and intentional function of concepts in spatial planning, used to define planning situations, together deal with the challenge of describing landscapes (figure 1.2.; chapter 2.2, in reference to Zonneveld 1991). The assumption in this study is that all three dimensions have both a cognitive and intentional function. This relationship needs elaboration. A first question, then, is how the cognitive and intentional functions are related to each other. A second question is how the cognitive and intentional functions of concepts are related to the three analytical dimensions of landscapes in spatial planning. The first question is elaborated in chapter 4.4. Chapter 4.4 describes landscape concepts as a "matter of concern", being a notion from Bruno Latour. Latour is keen in 'bypassing', mostly modernistic, dichotomies by linking the aspects involved. The notion of "matter of concern" can accordingly show how the cognitive and intentional functions of a landscape concept are closely related. The second question is dealt with in the conclusion of this chapter (chapter 4.5).

4.4 Landscape concepts as "matters of concern" – the example of Cluttering

In theory: matter of concern

Bruno Latour brings objects and politics together by explaining the problem of a strong division between both aspects. On the one hand, Bruno Latour blames traditional science for being unrealistic (Latour 1993, 2005). Traditional scientists present objects as 'pure' objects that can be clearly delineated, present facts about these objects as undisputable and position facts out of their political setting (Latour

1993, 2005). However, objects are not independent, facts are disputable and science is political (Latour 1993, 2005; cf. chapter 3.2). On the other hand, Latour blames political practice and science for being a "victim of a strong object-avoidance tendency" (Latour 2005, p.5). Namely, the political field mainly deals with procedures and principles and thereby often ignores the basic objects, for example, problems and goals. Instead, politics can become more realistic: it can become a Dingpolitik that is concerned with our worries about 'things' (ibid). Interestingly, the original meaning of the word 'thing' is a type of archaic assembly, like a parliament, which brings objects and politics together (ibid).

In line with his notion of Dingpolitik, Latour argues that politics has *to matter* (Latour 2004, 2008). For example, Latour describes the Netherlands as "a matter-orientated democracy", due to the long-standing involvement of the Dutch people with their physical environment (chapter 1.2, Latour 2007). Likewise, the definition of spatial planning in this study suggests that spatial planning, as a political practice, has *to matter* since it focuses on the future of landscapes and not merely on procedures (chapter 1.2; cf. chapter 4.2). Following this line, it is argued that also landscape concepts have *to matter*. Namely, landscape concepts are used to refer to a matter, being the complex landscapes that matter to people.

Latour argues that matters are not merely described by 'matters of facts'. Rather, Latour introduces the notion of "matters of concern"[8] to explain how objects are too complicated to be pure objects (Latour 2004, 2008). Matters of concern are created by participants and history; they have to be disputed, kept up and cared for (ibid; cf. Edwards 1999)[9]. People are involved with matters of concern, not to make them merely objects or merely politcal, but to make them more realistic[10]. An example of a matter of concern is 'global warming'. On the one hand, 'global warming' is an objective matter: it is not merely a social image but based on material evidence. On the other hand, 'global warming' is a political concern: the facts involved are not irrefutable evidence but expressions of worries and involvement; the facts can be discussed by reconsidering what is really going on (Latour 2004). In other words,

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[8] The notion of matter of concern relates to ideas from Actor-Network Theory (ANT). ANT is used to explain the "indissoluble linkages between the material, phenomenological and social components of situations" (Murdoch & Marsden 1995, p.372, in reference to Latour; cf. Law & Singleton 2000, p.767: "hybrid material-and-social performances").

[9] Unlike Latour, Edwards (1999) does not directly 'bypass' the boundaries between science and politics yet considers the relationship between scientific expertise and public policy-making also as a necessary relationship to discuss 'public matters'. In addition, he considers the 'public sphere' as essential to communicate about 'public matters': "it occupies an autonomous position vis-à-vis state and economy and in liberal democracies it provides democratic control, agenda-setting, co-ordination and societal learning" (ibid, p. 165).

[10] The notion of matter of concern also relates to the idea that a researcher should be "(…) looking at values as much as at facts – or at values as facts (…)", in order to create practical and contextualised knowledge (Flyvbjerg 2001b, p.64).

'global warming' is a matter of concern: a combination of physical changes, norms, expectations, perceptions and agreements (cf. Neuvel & Hagens 2006).

In line with Latour's notion of matter of concern, this study considers landscape concepts as a *matter of concern*. Landscape concepts refer to an 'object' that is a material matter but also a valued and symbolic matter (cf. chapter 4.3: landscapes should be considered as a 'driving force' of planning and not as 'distinct objects'.). As a matter of concern, landscape concepts do not provide undisputed evidence about a landscape, but need to be disputed in order to be useful. At this point, the relationship between the cognitive and intentional function of concepts in spatial planning becomes evident. Cognition and intentions merge together in the notion of matter of concern since a situation definition includes both objective matters and political concerns.

Studying the meaning of a landscape concept as a matter of concern can reveal two possible shortcomings of the use of a landscape concept: the use of landscape concepts in practice can be 'de-mattered' or 'de-concerned'. In respective order, the meaning of a landscape concept is either cut off from landscape's material reality or is too factual and cut off from concerns about landscape. These two shortcomings are illustrated by the use of a Dutch landscape concept in practice.

In practice: Cluttering as matter of concern
An example of a popular landscape concept in Dutch spatial planning is landscape Cluttering. Cluttering of landscapes refers to a process in which Dutch 'open' and 'rural' landscapes get a fragmented and urbanised character: "the horizon is increasingly obstructed by developments (…) the open landscape is being taken over by 'business blocks', greenhouses, windmills, breaker's yards, transmitter masts, moto[r]cross sites, camping grounds, tree nurseries, etc." (international.vrom.nl). Dutch government aims to prevent the Cluttering of landscapes (MinVROM 2007).

Shortcoming 1: de-mattered
The Fourth national Document of Spatial Planning is an early example of the use of the Cluttering concept (MinVROM 1987/1988, see p.67-68). The document states that landscape will become 'cluttered' if government does not respond to developments in rural areas; the areas, then, will become 'decreased' landscape. To prevent the loss of characteristics, some areas need law enforcement; threats of "uniformity, levelling out, degradation, pollution and cluttering" (ibid, p.68) need to be prevented. The need for enforcement and action seems evident at first sight: there is at least a concern. However, one also wonders: what is exactly the matter? What does it mean, physically and aesthetically, when a landscape is cluttered? What, then, makes a case for governmental intervention? This example illustrates how the

meaning of a landscape concept risks becoming de-mattered: although there is concern, the reason for that concern is not convincing at this point since the matter landscape is undervalued.

Shortcoming 2: de-concerned

A research report presents the state of affairs of Cluttering in the Netherlands to assist the monitoring of spatial policy (Boersma & Kuiper 2006). The report defines Cluttering by two essential factors. "One is the prevention of potential disturbing elements, which explains about three-quarters of the cluttering. The other factor is the heterogeneity of land use, which explains about one-quarter" (ibid, p.3). A long list of potentially disturbing elements, together with statistic and cartographic methods, consequently result in a map of the Netherlands that presents the extent of potentially disturbing elements. A similar analysis results in a map of the heterogeneity of land use. The maps are combined and conclusions drawn. For example, bulb cultivation in the western part of the Netherlands and corn cultivation in the southern and eastern part of the Netherlands are part of the Cluttering of landscapes.

Cluttering is, in this report, fixed by two factors and some specific methods of measurement. In the report, it is recognised that the factors and methods do not create the ultimate definition of Cluttering. Notwithstanding this critical note, the report still suggests that cluttering can be factualised. The risk is that, in future, the results in this monitoring report will be linked to rules or policy without reconsidering the definition of Cluttering. Above all, the meaning of Cluttering is, in this case, de-concerned and static: a clear picture of the actual worries is deficient. For example, bulb cultivation is presented as cluttering as it is a potentially disturbing element according to the definitions in the report; however, it is not known whether people really experience bulb cultiviation as cluttering or when bulb cultivation is considered cluttering and when it is not. In other words, it is crucial to know why bulb cultivatiaon is defined as cluttering and whether it is the bulb cultivation itself or, for example, related environmental problems that really worry people. Ultimately, the factualisation of cluttering confuses, or even ridicules, what cluttering is about.

An alternative for an overly concerned or overly mattered study of landscape concepts is a focus on landscape concepts as a matter of concern: if one studies the use of landscape concepts, one gets closer to the reality of a spatial planning situation by looking for both matters and concerns[11].

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[11] Moreover, discussions about a landscape concept between two opposite groups could result in deadlocks if one group has an overly mattered perspective and the other group has an overly concerned perspective (cf. Van Eeten 1999, about deadlocks around the Green Heart concept; see also chapter 5 this study).

4.5 Conclusion – basic role

The landscapes that spatial planners deal with are 'rich' landscapes. Landscapes not only involve material matters, but also individual, social and political concerns: landscapes are the 'driving force' of spatial planning. Landscape concepts can be used to describe the 'rich' landscapes: they can provide, in turn, colourful descriptions. Likewise, following Latour, landscape concepts can be defined as "matters of concern". Ideally, landscape concepts are used to 'pack' together three dimensions of landscapes: dynamic material, valued practice and symbolic construction. These dimensions can be linked to the notion of matter of concern (see figure 4.1).
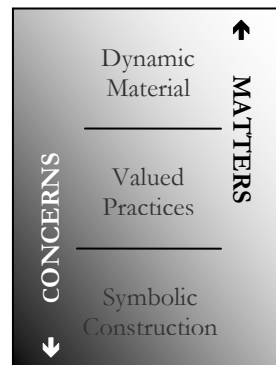
Figure 4.1 The content of a landscape concept: a package of matters of concern

Dynamic material is mostly a 'matter' as it includes the physical substratum of landscapes; symbolic construction is mostly a 'concern' as it refers to fictional or desired futures of landscapes; and valued practice includes matters and concerns to the same extent. Notwithstanding these variations, all dimensions are matters of concern as each dimension includes both matters and concerns.

The cognitive and intentional functions of concepts (see Zonneveld 1991) deal with, in respective order, the matters and concerns of landscape. The cognitive and intentional functions are entangled like matters and concerns are entangled. Together, the functions are helpful in preserving and creating identities of areas (Dammers et al. 2004, p.160). Likewise, landscape concepts are not simply used to describe landscapes; rather, they are used to *characterise* landscapes.

Landscape concepts include concerns about landscapes (cf. Barnes and Duncan 1992). These concerns are created by people, in this case spatial planners. Chapter 5 therefore elaborates the concerns of spatial planners, including their drives, ambitions and attitudes.

Chapter 5 Landscape concepts and adventurous spatial planners

And it ought to be remembered that there is nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success, than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things. Because the innovator has for enemies all those who have done well under the old conditions, and lukewarm defenders in those who may do well under the new.
Machiavelli 1532/2010

5.1 Introduction

Chapter	Research Question	Role of concept
Ch 4	1. How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to describe landscapes?	Basic
Ch 5	2. How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to cope with conflicts of interests?	Supportive
Ch 6	3. How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to establish direction?	Consequential

This chapter provides a theoretical perspective on the second research question of this study: *how do spatial planners use landscape concepts to cope with conflicts of interest*? As explained in chapter 2.3, this chapter focuses on conflicts of interests among spatial planners. According to the definition in chapter 1, each spatial planner is "a practitioner who is professionally involved in strategic and collective efforts to enhance landscapes, which includes practical, ethical and political considerations about land uses and interests" (see chapter 1)[12]. At first sight, the differences between spatial planners may seem small and unproblematic. However, looking more closely, differences between spatial planners will appear to be essential in the outcome of communication and collaboration as well as in the result of the use of landscape concepts.

This chapter studies the *supportive role* of a landscape concept, being essential in communication and collaboration of spatial planners and thereby helpful in dealing with conflicts. Firstly, chapter 5.2 describes the possibilities and impossibilities of a spatial planner in dealing with conflicts. Idealistic views on spatial planners are challenged by realistic views. Chapter 5.3 further details the nature of a spatial planner by focussing on two main features of a spatial planner: spatial planners have ambitions and they are interconnected. These features define the possible use of

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[12] This chapter does not directly focus on 'obvious' conflicts between spatial planners as one group and other groups involved in spatial planning, such as interest groups. Notice, a representative of an interest group may temporarily be a spatial planner if he matches the definition of a spatial planner at that moment.

landscape concepts in dealing with conflicts. Landscapes concepts are consequently considered as 'discursive constructions' in chapter 5.4. A case study about different users of the landscape concept Ecological Network demonstrates the consequences of various, often conflicting, interpretations of 'one' concept. Finally, in chapter 5.5 it is concluded how landscapes concepts can be helpful in dealing with conflicting interests of spatial planners.

5.2 Beyond an idealistic view on spatial planners

Spatial planners deal with their concerns about a specific part, scale or land use function of a landscape. Spatial planners meet each other when the future of 'their' landscape is at stake, when their opportunities conflict with other opportunities (cf. Couclelis 2005). Spatial planners then deliberate about possible directions and solutions. As a result, spatial planners advocate their spatial ideas, adjust their own ideas and create ideas together. *Collaboration* and *communication* are, accordingly, a starting point for dealing with conflicts of interests. Obviously, collaboration and communication have been focus points in planning theories.

Many spatial planning situations are characterised by a high diversity of interests as well as high interdependence among diverse spatial planners involved. Innes & Booher (2000) present a collaborative planning approach that supports the collaboration of diverse spatial planners and advocate self-organising and self-reflective collaborations. These collaborations can have "… the power of networked relationships, shared information, identity, and meaning" (ibid, p.176). In line with a collaborative planning approach, a communicative planning approach has been introduced to explain how interaction between people and alignment of ideas is crucial to spatial planning (Healey 2003; Innes 1998; cf. Fischer 1993). Communicative planning takes communicative rationality as a starting point, rather than instrumental rationality that dominated planning before (ibid). Likewise, spatial planners deal with practical and critical information, rather than with technical and objective information (Innes 1998).In the words of Healey, communicative rationality is a new "wave" that:

> "… starts from the recognition that we are diverse people living in a complex web of economics and social relations, within which we develop potentially very varied ways of seeing the world, of identifying our interests and values, of reasoning about them, and of thinking about our relations with others" (Healey 2003, p.239).

Ideally, participants of a spatial planning process together build a consensus about future landscapes. Consensus is achieved if all interests are represented, if all participants are equally informed as well as equally powerful and if arguments of all participants are comprehensible and honest (Innes 1998; cf. Fischer 1993).

Consensus, then, complies with communicative rationality and communicative action as defined by Habermas.

Successful collaborative and communicative planning approaches require dialogue and language (Innes & Booher 2000, Healey 2003, De Haas 2006). Innes & Booher (2000) consider dialogues as catalysts for coordinated action. Likewise, Healey (2003) describes the merits of creating a collective policy language with the help of an interactive process, being an inclusionary and public language. Healey (2003, p.249) describes the challenge of creating a shared language not only as the "most important" part of a planning process, but also as the "most dangerous part". At this point, Healey puts the role of both language and consensus in a critical perspective. Participants of a process can 'talk past' each other due to different cultural frames of reference (ibid, p.246). Moreover, a collective language can, over time, be subjected to "interpretive drifts", resulting in distorted communication and strategies (ibid, p.251). A collective language can replace a hegemonic language that is outdated or too simplified; however, new language can also turn into 'deceptive' language (ibid). So, language is both helpful and risky in dealing with conflicts of interests. Other planning theorists have extended the reflections on 'ideal' collaborative and communicative planning approaches.

Many responses to communicative and collaborative planning approaches include the key-word 'power' in reference to Foucault (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger 1998; Flyvbjerg 1998, 2002). Confusingly, power in relation to spatial planners can be explained in various ways. Healey (2003), for example, supports the "power of agency" and consequently relates power to social justice and democracy. Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger (1998) support the "power of self-expression" and consequently position power in the context of an individual society. So, both Healey and Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger describe power in spatial planning but from a different perspective on spatial planning and spatial planners. From a perspective of social justice, spatial planners ought to be neutral facilitators that reach consensus among equal participants (cf. 'consensus'). From a perspective of an individual society, spatial planners ought to be influential promoters of specific goals themselves (cf. 'power'). Notwithstanding useful discussions, the dispute between 'power' (Foucault) and 'consensus' (Habermas) risks resulting in a too simple and too dichotomous picture of reality.

The dispute between 'consensus based on Habermas' and 'power based on Foucault' is in fact a fight between two *different* stories of spatial planning; namely, in respective order, "between what should be done and what is actually done" (Flyvbjerg 1998, p.210). To be more precise, advocates of Foucault do not directly challenge the *ideal* of consensus of communicative and collaborative planning approaches, but most of

all the *possibility* of reaching consensus by mutual understanding and interaction (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger 1998). The reason to challenge the possibility of consensus is rooted in the reality of 'power'; the spatial planning arena is "heavily politised" and planners will not simply "abandon their political positions and act neutrally" (ibid, p.1982). "Communicative action is, therefore […] unable to control the individual thought-processes of stakeholders or guarantee that all participants will act in an open and honest manner all the time" (ibid, p.1981). In the words of Chriss (1995), theorists who base their theories on Habermas' communicative action have a 'hyperrational view'. So, the influence of "individual perception and motivation" of planners is powerful in reality but ignored in communicative approaches (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger 1998, p.1980). The ideal of creating consensus by communicative action is, therefore, often unrealistic or at least difficult to achieve.

Besides arguments against collaborative and communicative planning based on a power-perspective, other planning theorists introduce different arguments. Sager (2002), for example, introduces a logical-perspective based on social-choice theory; he explains why the outcome of decision-making is rarely both consistent and fair, despite intelligent arguments and deliberate attempts. Watson (2006), for example, has an ethical perspective on processes of collaboration. She states that a strong focus on universal values and western liberal procedures is out of place in a context of difference; universal ideals can in fact divert attention from values of specific, vulnerable, groups (ibid; cf. Shortall 2004, cf. Hillier 2003). In other words and paradoxically, the acceptance of differences between groups supports a strong focus on collective and inclusive processes yet also implies that consensus can be imbalanced (Watson 2006).

Chapter 5.2 gives an overview of the ideals of communicative and collaborative planning approaches as well as sensible reflections from power perspectives. This overview results in some conclusions for this study, specifically the research question about dealing with conflicts of interests. The starting point of this study is that communication and collaboration between spatial planners are helpful in dealing with conflicts of interests; communication and collaboration bring people together and create opportunities for sharing ideas. However, communication and collaboration, as well as the ideal of consensus, are not trouble-free in practice. Reaching consensus about ideas is difficult, or even unrealistic, due to logical constraints and ethical dilemmas. Moreover, the powerful motivation of a spatial planner in reality overshadows the idyllic intention of a spatial planner on paper. In order to present a truthful view on spatial planners, it is argued in this study that the idealistic view on spatial planners should be replaced with a realistic view.

A realistic view on spatial planners is, according to this study, a view that takes in the power of spatial planners. This power includes their motivation and possibilities as well as opposition and restrictions. In other words, the power of spatial planners concerns the ambitions of spatial planners as well as their interconnectivity. This is further elaborated in chapter 5.3. Moreover, the use of landscape concepts in dealing with conflicts of interests is explained.

5.3 Ambitious spatial planners and landscape concepts

In order to cope with conflicts of interest, which are inherent to spatial planning, spatial planners collaborate and communicate. This is often a difficult process. Paradoxically, the difficulty is related to the nature of spatial planners. More specifically, it is related to the powerful nature of spatial planners. Firstly, spatial planners have ambitions: they have a 'will to order' landscapes (Jensen & Richardson 2004). Secondly, spatial planners interact and need to rely on each other as they deal with the same landscapes: they are part of the same 'system' and therefore interconnected (see e.g. Van Assche 2007). So, spatial planners have ambitions that, complexly, interconnect with ambitions of other spatial planners. These two features, ambitions and interconnectivity, are further elaborated in relation to dealing with conflicts of interest and in relation to the use of landscape concepts.

Feature 1: ambitions and landscape concepts

Spatial planners act because they have ambitions concerning landscapes and future landscapes (Jensen & Richardson 2004, Perry 2003, Couclelis 2005). These ambitions are shaped by both collective goals and personal drives.

Collective goals in spatial planning are, ideally, explicit "publicly justified" goals (Healey 2000, p.918). These goals relate to the protection or development of future landscapes. Examples of collective goals are guarantying food supply, building new infrastructure, providing housing, protecting nature, or dealing with consequences of climate change (cf. landscape as "valued practice", chapter 4.3). Each spatial planner is professionally involved with collective goals concerning future landscapes. Many spatial planners 'directly' fulfil publicly justified goals. They work for administrators in national, regional or local governments and are influenced by politicians. Other spatial planners 'indirectly' fulfil publicly justified goals. They are consultants who work by order of governments. Other spatial planners 'selectively' and often temporarily fulfil publicly justified goals at governmental, non-governmental and lobby organisations, like nature and recreational organisations. In other words, spatial planners have a professional responsibility for the fulfilment of landscape goals that are represented by the organisations for which they work. The achievability of the task of spatial planners is influenced by their capacities and position, as well the possibilities and resources of the organisation for which they work (see e.g. Ozawa & Seltzer 1999,

Alexander 2001, Poxon 2001). So professionals in planning come in various 'shapes' as a result of differences in mission, assignment and training, but a common denominator is their professional drive and engagement to facilitate collective goals concerning landscapes.

The ambitions of spatial planners are not only shaped by collective goals about future landscapes but also by personal drives (cf. '*will* to order', Jensen & Richardson 2004). These drives are individual and implicit motivations which are often hard to specify in the processes of spatial planning. The drives of spatial planners are shaped by their personal background, ideals, fantasies, knowledge and experience (Gunder & Hillier 2004). A crucial aspect of the drive of spatial planners, according to this study, is their attitude towards complexity and manageability in spatial planning (see also Hagens 2010).

Traditionally, planning theorists characterise spatial planners as people who want certainty and control (for example, "rule and order" by Faludi & Van der Valk 1994). Control seems to be a natural drive of spatial planners as they want to have power over the many complex features of spatial planning; for example, they want to foresee futures, unite incompatible land use and comprehend illogical decision-making. However, control also seems to be unreachable. "Ironically it is planners themselves who appear to be the most confused about the role of planning as an agency/instrument of control enmeshed or embedded in the relations of power…" (Perry 2003, p.250; see also Abbott 2005). A 'quest for control' circumvents politics, plural views, democracy and public responsibilities (Van Gunsteren, 1976). Moreover, a 'quest for control' is related to fear:

> "… a style of elite, bureaucratic governance which is spawned by anxieties about real and imagined present and future societal problems and by our tendency to deal with these anxieties by attempting to exercise bureaucratic control over the environment (…) Control implies perfect knowledge of causes, but causes of significant political problems are too idiosyncratic, complex, and multifaceted…" (Schumaker 1978, p.240-241, in reference to Van Gunsteren).

In other words, spatial planners who want to control complexity in fear may in fact ignore complexity.

A complex situation may not only result in an attitude of fear but also in an attitude of adventure (Bauman and Munters (ed.), 1998). An adventurous attitude to complexity implies that a spatial planner is aware of and concerned with complexity, being a crucial first step of dealing with complexity (ibid, in reference to Sennett). Spatial planners, then, acknowledge that control is difficult to accomplish; moreover, they acknowledge that circumventing diversity and politics is not a solution to dealing with complexity but rather a misstep. An adventurous attitude requires specific skills of

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spatial planners. A planner needs several skills to cope with diversity and complexity in spatial planning: he has to be political (strategic), audacious (flexible), creative (by introducing new ideas) and therapeutic (being social) (Sandercock 2004).

Various other theorists present two 'prototype' attitudes towards dealing with complexity; these relate to either a 'fearing' will to control and manage or an 'adventurous' will to change and create (after Van Gunsteren 1976, Bauman in Bauman and Munters (ed.) 1998, Gunder 2008; see figure 5.1). In other words, these attitudes are either an attitude of 'controlling a complex reality' or of 'accepting complexity in reality' (Hagens 2010).

Attitudes of spatial planners towards dealing with complexity After Van Gunsteren 1976; Bauman in Bauman and Munters (ed.) 1998; Gunder 2008; Hagens 2010		
A fearing will Controlling a complex reality	**An adventurous will** Accepting complexity in reality	*Reference*
Regulator	Problem-finder	*Christensen 1985*
Responsible scheming[1]	Desirable designing[2]	*Friend 1990 ([1] after Friend; [2] after Ackoff)*
Technocratic	Sociocratic	*Faludi & Van der Valk 1994*
Technical	Political	*Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones 1997*
Euclidean	Relational	*Graham & Healey 1999*
Modern	Postmodern	*Beauregard 2003*
'Romantic': looking for holism	'Baroque': looking for details	*Kwa in Law 2004*
Transcendence	Immanence	*Hillier 2005*
Mono-rationality	Poly-rationality	*Davy 2008*

Figure 5.1 Attitudes of spatial planners towards dealing with complexity

Landscape concepts are used to express the ambitions of spatial planners and, accordingly, to express collective goals and personal drives. The collective goals are the 'basis' of a landscape concept. For example, Urban Network expresses the collective goal of cooperating cities. Personal drives are less explicit and subtly influence the 'colour' of landscape concepts. The two prototypes of spatial planners are helpful in revealing the impact of personal drives on the use of landscape concepts. Namely, a spatial planner with an adventurous drive will use different landscape concepts than a spatial planner with a fearing drive. For example, an adventurous spatial planner may approach a so-called rurban area as a Patchwork landscape to emphasise the intense relationships between rural and urban landscapes; a fearing spatial planner may use Zoning concepts to emphasise the distinctions between rural and urban landscapes. Moreover, these two spatial planners will give different meanings to a 'similar' landscape concept. For example, a Cluttered landscape will be an adventure for the one and a fear for the other spatial planner. Such differences in attitudes are significant in the cooperation between planners, yet are often unnoticed. This ignorance could lead to miscommunication or seeming solutions.

Feature 2: interconnectivity and landscape concepts

A spatial planner interconnects and communicates with other spatial planners since they are part of the same spatial planning system (Van Assche 2007). Consequently, if spatial planners need to cope with conflicts of interest about future landscapes, they need to rely on each other (Alexander 2001, Forester 2004, Innes & Booher 2000). A spatial planner needs to take into account the ambitions of other spatial planners in addition to other relevant planning aspects. Cooperation can be voluntary but is mostly based on responsibilities and schemes arising from a spatial planning system (cf. Van Assche 2007). For example, a spatial planner has to follow planning legislation, elaborate on other plans or can seize on financial support for spatial development. Ambitions can be conflicting or compatible; consequently, interactions result in gain, loss or compromises. Ideally, interconnectivity is based on reciprocity: "… both players gain by creating new opportunities because they share what each uniquely can provide" (Innes & Booher 2000, p.179). However, in reality, the outcome is often imbalanced as the ambitions and power of one planner prevail (Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger 1998).

"When planning disputes are entangled in such emotional and symbolic, as well as material, battles, there is a need for a language and process of emotional involvement and resolution" (Sandercock 2004, p.139). Landscape concepts can be helpful in this process of collaboration. Landscape concepts, then, are like collective spatial plans, being "shared spaces in which agents build meaning and identity" (Innes & Booher 2000, p.188-189). Likewise, Van Duinen (2004) explains how concepts in spatial planning can be helpful in coalition building between different planners. A concept, according to Van Duinen (ibid), is built by a rhetorical label, a problem definition and a core idea. If various problem definitions and core ideas are compatible and united, only then is coalition building by a strong concept possible; if problem definition and core ideas are conflicting, then coalition building is impossible (ibid). Furthermore, Van Duinen states that conceptualisation processes can start with an unequivocal concept, *after* which more meanings might be added to a concept. In this chapter, however, it is explained that personal drives and attitudes are inherent to spatial planners and influence the meaning of a landscape concept (Gunder & Hillier 2004; Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger 1998; cf. Barnes & Duncan 1992). Spatial planners cannot simply set aside their drives and attitudes nor act neutrally (ibid). Accordingly, it cannot simply be prevented that spatial planners attach different meanings to a landscape concept *from the start*. This implies that coalition building with the help of a shared landscape concept is more complicated, as suggested by Innes & Booher (2000) and Van Duinen (2004). Then again, dealing with conflicts is not impossible if meanings of landscape concepts conflict. Successful collaboration is about finding "'unity in diversity', rather than 'unity by unification'" (Selnes et al. 2005, p.16). In other words, landscape concepts can be helpful in dealing with conflicts of interest if

different meanings are firstly acknowledged in a shared process, rather than directly or even blindly levelled out.

In summary

Spatial planners can unite different ambitions through a shared landscape concept. However, the co-production and collective use of the 'same' landscape concept does not imply that spatial planners give identical meanings to a concept, let alone that cooperation is automatically successful. The, mostly concealed, personal drives of spatial planners can hinder the success of a collective concept. The ambitions of spatial planners define how planners give meaning to a concept and thereby co-define the success of collaboration. The process of giving meaning to a landscape concept, as well as the relation with the nature of a landscape concept, is further elaborated in chapter 5.4.

5.4 Landscape concepts as "discursive constructions" – the example of Ecological Network [13]

Introduction

The complicated nature of cooperation and consensus in spatial planning is embedded in how people interpret and give meaning to plans in general and, in this study, to landscape concepts specifically. Both semiotic, being the study of signs and discourse theories are introduced in chapter 5.4 to explain the process of interpretation and giving meaning. A landscape concept is respectively considered as a sign that is interpreted by individual users and as a discursive construction of users in a specific planning culture. The presentation of a study into the multiple interpretations of the landscape concept Ecological Network in the Dutch province of Gelderland, as an example, will show how the landscape concept is used in practice as a discursive construction (i.e. Beunen & Hagens 2009).

In theory: Signs

The classic roots of semiotics offer two different approaches to signs, based on De Saussure and Peirce (Chandler 2002; Van Assche 2004). The Swiss linguist De Saussure defines a sign as a combination of a signifier and a signified (1966). The signifier is the form that the sign takes and the signified is the idea that it represents. The signifier and the signified exist in combination. One signifier can stand for many signifieds and one signified may be referred to by many signifiers. There is no inevitable relationship between them. This does not mean that all meanings are 'allowed'. Social conventions or codes constrain meanings (Chandler 2002; cf. Culler 2000). As such, some combinations of form and idea are experienced as inconsequent or unlikely signs (cf. Eco 1992, 1994).

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[13] Chapter 5.4 is based on: Beunen R. & Hagens J.E. (2009), *The Use of the Concept of Ecological Networks in Nature Conservation Policies and Planning Practices*, Landscape Research 34(5), 563-580.

Whereas the Saussurean approach of signs focuses on the structure of signs, the American philosopher Peirce focuses on the process of sense-making: semiosis (Chandler 2002). In his approach he distinguishes the representamen, the interpretant and the object. The representamen is the form of a sign (cf. Saussure's signifier) and the interpretant is the created idea or sense (cf. Saussure's signified). In addition, the object can be described as the actuality or matter to which the sign refers. Moreover, Peirce states that signs are only a sign if they are interpreted as a sign by a user; signs have no intrinsic meaning. It is only within the continuous process of interpretation that signs are given meaning. Therefore, "[t]he meaning of a sign is not contained within the sign, but is arises in its interpretation" (Chandler 2002, p.35).

In line with Peirce, Barthes (1977) explains how the ideas of an 'author' of a 'text' (cf. sign) cannot be literally contained in subsequent processes of sense-making. The original 'text' acquires meaning only if it is read. However, there is no guarantee that 'readers' will give the same meaning to the 'text' as the 'author' did. "The birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the Author" (Barthes, 1977). In addition, 'readers' have a "horizon of expectations" and a "horizon of experience" that define interpretation (Culler 2000; Jauss 1988).

In line with these semiotic approaches, the meaning of a landscape concept in spatial planning in relation to its users can be defined as a process of semiosis: a landscape concept is like a sign that has a specific form, creates an idea and refers to an object. A landscape concept, as a sign, only gets meaning if it is used by a person. It is not the 'author' of a landscape concept, but the 'reader' who is central to meanings of landscape concepts (cf. Culler 2000).

In theory: Discursive Constructions
Foucault (1970) studies shared meaning and cultural understanding, including relations of power and tactics. In contrast to previously discussed semiotic approaches, Foucault's work is historically grounded and related to practices (Hall, 1997). Foucault's notion of discourse is very relevant for social studies on spatial planning and policy-making (Hajer 1995; Jensen & Richardson 2004; Van Assche 2004). Discourse in spatial planning can be defined as "frames of collectively conscious and subconscious elements present in a certain culture at a certain time" (Van Assche 2004, p.54). In other words, a discourse is not a predefined order of meanings but a collection of shifting meanings, which are shaped by procedures of a practice (Widdershoven, in Foucault 1988). People can never be related to a single discourse; they are part of different discourses while at the same time reconstructing them (Van Assche 2004).

Following these approaches to discourse, a landscape concept in spatial planning is like a "discursive construction" (after Hajer 1995). The meaning of a landscape concept is constructed by the specific spatial planning culture of a spatial planner, including specific landscape ambitions and assumptions about dealing with complexity at a certain moment (cf. Barnes and Duncan 1992).

In practice: the meaning of Ecological Network as example
The landscape concept Ecological Network is accepted as an essential concept in the national nature conservation policies of many European countries (Jongman *et al.*, 2004) and has been an important part of the Dutch national nature conservation policy since 1990. The goal of the concept is to form a network that connects existing and future nature areas. Nature areas need to be connected in order to protect biodiversity against increasing human populations, ongoing urbanisation and economic development (Hanski 1999; Opdam et al., 2003). The concept has been incorporated into Dutch national plans and policies and provinces accordingly have the responsibility to elaborate and realise the Ecological Network at provincial level. The national Ecological Network comprises three features, being 'sub-concepts': Core Areas, Nature Development Areas and Ecological Corridors (MinLNV, 1990). The realisation of Ecological Corridors requires the involvement of various people; the corridors have to be created in areas that are owned and used by a wide range of people, in contrast to core areas. Many of these people are not directly involved with nature conservation or spatial planning, but are still essential to realise the landscape concept.

The Dutch province of Gelderland has a considerable task in realising the Dutch Ecological Network. Gelderland is situated in the centre-east of the Netherlands and has, by Dutch standards, relatively large nature areas, of which the Hoge Veluwe is the best known. How is the landscape concept interpreted by various professionals and landowners in the field, who are indispensable to realising the landscape concept? A survey into the multiple interpretations of Ecological Corridor in the province of Gelderland shows how the landscape concept is used as a discursive construction, including the consequences for realisation. This survey draws on a combination of interviews about views on Ecological Corridors and literature research about Ecological Network. Interviews were held with employees from the province of Gelderland, municipalities, regional water authorities, nature conservation organisations, agricultural NGOs, recreation boards and individual landowners (based on: Beunen & Van Ark 1998, 2007).

Together, semiotic and discourse theories offer useful clues for an interpretative analysis of the use of a landscape concept (cf. Yanow 1993; Coenen et al. 1988), which focuses on the meanings of a landscape concept as created by its users in their

specific practices. The clues to studying the meaning of a landscape concept are arranged by this semio-discourse framework:

1. The different users of a concept, i.e. the 'readers' of a concept;
2. How these different users interpret a concept, i.e. 'sense-making';
3. How the users represent a concept, i.e. the 'texts';
4. The context in which a user interprets the concepts, i.e. the 'discursive practice';
5. The effects on the actions and decisions of users;
6. The spatial effects of the use of a concept.

The results of the survey are arranged according to the semio-discourse framework:

Ad (1) *the different users of a concept, i.e. the 'readers' of a concept*

The concept of Ecological Networks has reached many different people and is widely used and interpreted. The interviewees know the concept and are positive about it, although for different reasons. For example, government authorities have included Ecological Corridors in their plans; landowners are interested in possibilities for cooperation and subsidies to manage landscape elements of Ecological Corridors.

Ad (2) *how these different users interpret a concept, i.e. 'sense-making'*

The interviewees give various descriptions of Ecological Corridors. Most people have shared ideas about the concept on an abstract level but differ on detailed level. For example, people differ in detail about the spatial claims (quantity) of an Ecological Corridor, the type of connectivity between corridors (quality) and views on 'real' nature.

Ad (3) *how the users represent a concept, i.e. the 'texts'*

Several materials have been developed that advance the concept of Ecological Network. The Ecological Corridor is represented in various ways: in words in both policy and specialist reports, on maps as 'green arrows' and as drawings with examples of ecological corridors for specific species (see figure 5.2).
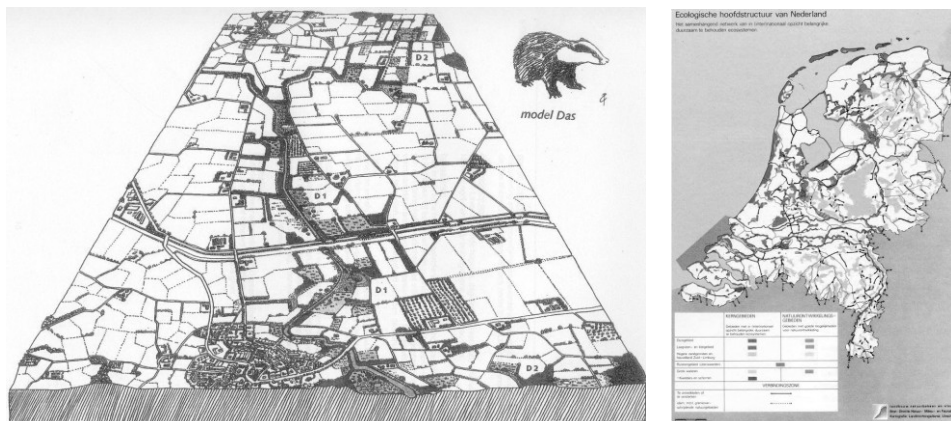
Figure 5.2 Two visual representations of the concept Ecological Network: Province of Gelderland 1997, Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality 1990 -in Beunen & Hagens 2009.

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Ad (4) *the context in which a user interprets a concept, i.e. the 'discursive practice'*
The analysis of the interviews and documents shows how the process of sense-making (ad 2) and the choice for specific 'texts' (ad 3) depends on the interests and responsibility of people. The background of the users of Ecological Corridors, such as the ideals of the organisations for which they work and their role in previous events, has influenced how people interpret, judge and use the concept. For example, an Ecological Corridor for a water authority employee is only a small strip of land along streams, being merely the land for which the water authority is responsible. Many farmers, for instance, fear Ecological Corridors as 'pure nature', thereby linking Ecological Corridors to legislation that is restrictive for their business.

Ad (5) *the effects on actions and decision of users;*
Most interviewees fully agree that the realisation of Ecological Corridors is important and demonstrate considerable involvement. However, most people subsequently present ideas about ecological corridors that dismiss them from responsibility for policy implementation or actual realisation. The main clash about actions is between interpretations from an 'ecological discourse' by nature experts on the one hand and interpretations from a 'practical discourse' by professionals who facilitate the implementation of Ecological Corridors on the other hand.

Ad. (6) *the spatial effects of the use of a concept*
The use of the Ecological Corridors concept has influenced how people talk about policies, projects and space. However, the concept has had few spatial effects. Evaluations of Dutch nature conservation policy in 2002 and 2006 show that a large part of the Ecological Network in the Netherlands has not yet been realised and that it is therefore impossible to talk about a coherent network (e.g. MNP 2002, 2006).

Discussion & conclusion – example Ecological Network
The semiotic-discursive perspective on landscape conceptualisation has consequences for spatial planning research and practice. The example of the Ecological Network shows that it is not sensible to study the intentional meaning of a landscape concept (i.e. how it *should* mean); namely, the intentional meaning is directly 'overruled' by subsequent meanings. Therefore, it is more useful to study the various meanings of the concept (i.e. how a concept *does* mean). The case of Ecological Networks shows that many users can identify with the landscape concept. Overall, the concept of Ecological Networks is useful for making people aware of the importance of nature values and convincing them about the importance of preserving these values. However, each user identifies with the concept in his own way, based on his background and ambitions: a landscape concept is a discursive construction. Consequently, the Ecological Network can be considered as an 'open' landscape concept. The openness of a concept is constructively used in the field of advertising

to promote products or ideas (see e.g. Leiss et al. 2005). Marketers and advertisers have discovered that the personal and social domains of the consumer, rather than the characteristics of goods, are the vital core of merchandising (ibid). Following this advertising approach, spatial planners wishing to improve the implementation of Ecological Networks need to focus more on the ambitions and expectations of users, rather than on perfecting the concept itself. In other words, these spatial planners need to empathise with the different 'readers' of the landscape concept, including their various ambitions. The positive results of an open concept may disappear in the longer term; details of various interpretations tend to be hidden at the start and arise in the longer term. Previous consensus about a landscape concept may, then, appear to be a hasty and weak consensus. In the case of the Ecological Network, the openness has created possibility to deny the responsibilities that 'belong' to the concept. This problem could frustrate realisation in the end. Completely 'closing' the meaning of a concept is, however, an impossible solution since it is impossible to secure an initial meaning: a landscape concept is a powerful and 'living' sign.

5.5 Conclusion – supportive role

Landscape concepts have a supportive role in communicative and collaborative spatial planning activities: they provide a 'shared' language being a 'shared' idea and can thus be a tool in dealing with conflicts of interest. The ideal of a 'shared' landscape concept, however, is complicated in reality. Namely, a landscape concept can be described as a 'discursive construction'; each spatial planner 'colours' a concept in its own way, based on his ambitions and background, resulting in various interpretations of 'one' landscape concept. The example of the use and users of the Ecological Network concept shows that even subtle 'conflicts' about the meaning of landscape concepts can have consequences in the longer term; rather, it may be especially these hidden 'conflicts' that have profound consequences as the conflicts are ignored by people involved. All together, the communicative function of concepts in spatial planning as defined by Zonneveld (1991) goes together with the 'awkward' ideal of consensus. This ideal is challenged in this chapter by an alternative, more realistic view: a landscape concept can have a supportive role by bringing spatial planners together, but spatial planners need to have realistic expectations about the outcome.

A starting point for dealing with conflicts of interest between spatial planners is acknowledging differences between spatial planners by empathising with each other. When spatial planners have a cooperative and 'adventurous' realistic approach to spatial planning, they are open to complexity and diversity in reality. Landscape concepts can thus be helpful as shared but flexible landscape concepts, i.e. an 'open' landscape concept with various meanings. Meanwhile, spatial planners need to recognise the pitfalls of an overly 'open' landscape concept, such as misunderstandings and conflicts in the longer term. These pitfalls cannot simply be

prevented, for the same reason that various interpretations cannot be ruled out but should be identified as challenges and dealt with accordingly.

Chapter 6 further elaborates how landscape concepts can be powerful and successful in spatial planning activities and how the ambitions of spatial planners can thereby be fulfilled.

Chapter 6 Landscape concepts and subtle success

It is never the case that you first know and then act; you first act tentatively and then begin to know a bit more before attempting again. It is this groping in the dark that is so difficult to map, especially when it is done by millions of people over the lives of millions of others.
Latour 2007, p.23 - in reference to Dewey and Scott

6.1 Introduction

Chapter	Research Question	Role of concept
Ch 4	1. How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to describe landscapes?	Basic
Ch 5	2. How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to cope with conflicts of interests?	Supportive
Ch 6	3. How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to establish direction?	Consequential

This chapter deals with the third research question of this study: *How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to establish direction?* The background of this question is the enduring search in Dutch spatial planning for effective spatial planning and successful implementation of plans (see chapter 2.4). The use of landscape concepts can play a part in effective spatial planning. Namely, a landscape concept can be influential and innovative by providing guiding principles and new ideas (Van Duinen 2004, Dammers et al. 2004). But *how* does the use of a landscapes concept establish direction'? And *when* is it successful? Both the basic role (chapter 4) and the supportive role (chapter 5) could be helpful in establishing new directions. In summary, this chapter elaborates the *consequential* role of a landscape concept in spatial planning, including the relation with the other two roles.

The meaning of success in spatial planning, as well as ways to analyse success, is firstly presented in chapter 6.2. The use of landscape concepts in successful planning is subsequently elaborated in chapter 6.3, by detailing how spatial planners can use landscape concepts to mobilise power. In section 6.4 it is explained how a landscape concept can be a powerful and successful 'order-word'. Chapter 6.5 concludes by explaining how a landscape concept can be successful in establishing direction.

6.2 Beyond a formal view on success
The definition of successful spatial planning depends on the adopted definition of spatial planning and on the expectations arising from this definition (Wildavsky 1973, p.128). In other words, each definition or metaphor for spatial planning highlights specific structures and mechanisms in planning (see e.g. Van Assche 2004). The

meaning of successful spatial planning also depends on the perspective adopted for evaluating success. Two different perspectives on evaluating success in spatial planning are a conformance and performance perspective (see e.g. Mastop 1997; Faludi 2000). A traditional perspective on evaluating success is a conformance perspective; this is a formal way of assessing the final and official outcome of a plan according to predefined standards, like quantitative goals or strict procedures (Mastop 1997). A conformance perspective on success is particularly useful in predictable and unambiguous spatial planning situations. For example, a conformance perspective is linked to the use of 'blueprint' plans with a determinate effect and a closed character (Faludi 2000; cf. Faludi & Van der Valk 1994, p.11: technocratic planning). However, many plans in Dutch spatial planning are of a strategic and indicative nature, rather than a technical and fixed nature, which complicates evaluating on the 'final' contribution of a plan from a conformance perspective (Faludi 2000). In other words, a 'blueprint' situation, including fixed intentions and undisturbed procedures, is a rare spatial planning situation. Rather, the setting of spatial planning is dynamic: people, places and situations change continuously (see e.g. De Roo & Silva 2010). It is therefore unrealistic to expect spatial planners to have completely a priori knowledge about future intentions and outcome of procedures (Latour 2003, 2007). It is accordingly unrealistic to evaluate spatial planning by a priori standards from a conformance perspective. Instead of studying the outcome of spatial plans from a conformance perspective, one could study the performance of plans (Faludi 2000). In that case, the success of spatial plans is evaluated on their learning effect: on how plans can improve understanding of decision makers about planning situations (ibid).

Notwithstanding the most honest intentions of spatial planners, actions have both intended and unintended consequences. So, the meaning of success in spatial planning is influenced by unintended consequences of spatial plans and plan-making processes (Wagenaar 1995; Scott 1998; Latour 2003, 2007; Frissen 2007). Unintended consequences are unexpected and sometimes undesired consequences. A performance perspective takes in both the intended and unintended consequences of actions and plans. Imagine this example: a municipality in a rural area introduces and implements the plan of a Recreational Maze, being the improvement of a network of recreational infrastructure, intended for low key outdoor activities. Despite the focus on a specific target group, the promotion of the network and routes also catches motorcyclists. From a conformance perspective, the implementation of the Recreational Maze itself can be labelled a success when the concept is implemented and used. The performance perspective, however, will also take in the side effects of the promotion of the concept, including the 'improper' use of the network by motorcyclists. Thus the performance perspective provides a more realistic and practical perspective; it provides a learning effect since the outcome can be used for future actions.

The notion of performance is elaborated in various ways, in spatial planning, political and scientific theories (see e.g. Thrift & Dewsbury 2000). The performance perspective of Faludi (2000) is helpful for evaluating spatial planning actions. An alternative approach to performance, rooted in the field of politics and governance, is provided by Hajer (2005) and Hajer & Uitermark (2008). Whereas Faludi optimistically presents performance as the learning effect of spatial planning situations, Hajer (2005) and Hajer & Uitermark (2008) have a more critical view. They present performance as "imposing your definition of reality onto others" (Hajer & Uitermark 2008, p.7). Their view consequently takes in the possible unintended consequences of actions.

Spatial planning can be considered as a set of performances. A performance is built up by certain interactions i.e. 'stagings'; they take place in a certain physical and organisational situation, i.e. the 'setting' (Hajer & Uitermark 2008). Individual possibilities of imposing definitions onto others are limited since other people may promote conflicting ideas and intentions, i.e. 'scripting' and 'counter-scripting' respectively (ibid). Together, 'performance', 'staging', 'setting', 'scripting' and 'counter-scripting' are presented as 'dramaturgy' (ibid). The 'dramaturgical dynamics' of two extreme political situations are presented by Hajer (2005) and Hajer & Uitermark (2008): the rebuilding of Ground Zero in New York and the assassination of the Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh by an Islamic extremist. These situations are examples of "…a political process that is highly sensitive, where the stakes are high, where the divisions of roles is unclear and where there is no authoritative system to quickly differentiate among claims…" (Hajer 2005, p.447). Spatial planning situations are generally less 'dramatic' than these examples, but also benefit from a 'dramaturgical' performance perspective in order to understand successes and failures (see e.g. Grijzen 2008).

Hajers' notion of performance complements his view on discourse (see chapter 5.4). Whereas discourse refers to the *constructed* feature of language and meaning, performance refers to the active and *creative* feature of language and meaning in a specific setting (i.e. 'performativity', Hajer 2005, in reference to Austin). In other words, language can 'activate' something. This statement is elaborated in chapter 6.4, which presents landscape concepts as creative 'order-words' (based on Deleuze & Guattari 2004).

In this study, success in spatial planning is analysed from a performance perspective, in order to show the wide-ranging outcome of actions. A performance perspective is helpful in understanding the subtle processes of learning, influencing and achievement. This study therefore goes beyond a traditional and formal perspective

on success of spatial planning, which merely evaluates if spatial planning actions have resulted in, ideal or predefined, outcome. A performance perspective can reveal the 'dramaturgical' nature of spatial planning by focussing on both failures and unintended effects during the entire spatial planning-process. Landscape concepts can play a part in the subtle processes of learning, influencing and achievement. This is elaborated in chapter 6.3; it focuses on the use of landscape concepts in establishing direction by mobilising ideas.

6.3 Mobilising power and landscape concepts

A performance perspective on the success of landscape concepts corresponds with the assumption in chapter 2.3: a concept needs the power to mobilise people and challenges traditional ideas in order to establish a direction in plan realisation (based on Van Duinen 2004, Dammers et al. 2004). In other words, a performance perspective takes into consideration how landscape concepts are part of subtle processes of creativity and inspiration. This perspective has consequences for the functions of concepts in spatial planning (as defined by Zonneveld 1991; see figure 2.2). The institutional function can be considered as a 'formal' function of a landscape and only partly defines success; success particularly depends on the 'informal' action function of a concept, being a powerful function (see also Dammers et al. 2004).

The use of a landscape concept can enable the mobilisation of spatial ideas; it can favour specific issues through encouraging the selection of specific initiatives and taking attention away from other issues (Healey 2004, 2006; Jensen & Richardson 2004; Hillier 2000; Bryson & Crosby 1993; cf. Hall 1993). A selection may be considered useful as it limits choices and prevents battles (cf. Van der Valk & Faludi 1997); a selection can also be considered a restriction or prejudice as it temporarily leaves out other possibilities (cf. Jensen & Richardson 2004).

A criterion of success for new concepts in spatial planning is that they need to have the power to create transformative effects (Healey, 2006). "New concepts have to challenge and shift an array of already routinized governance processes, with their complex mixture of conscious and taken-for-granted modes of practice. New concepts have to 'jump' boundaries and 'break through' resistances, involving implicit and explicit struggles" (ibid, p.305). The success of a concept is continued after a 'break through' if the concept 'travels' from "formation episodes" to "regulatory practice" (ibid, p.304-305). In other words, successful attention on an issue results in the transformation of a 'potential' issue to an 'actual' issue (Bryson & Crosby 1993). Potential issues are advanced if they get sufficient attention, by being used in discussions, becoming part of lobby-activities, being listed on agendas, becoming part of decision categories and acquiring resources (Bryson & Crosby 1993; Healey 2004; Hillier 2000).

For example, the government of a fictional town wants to improve the situation of the outskirts of her town; they are inaccessible and rundown places, attracting loitering youth and discouraging other inhabitants. One governor cleverly introduces the landscape concept of Green Gates to explain his ideas about an appealing transition between town and countryside: attractive parks for outdoor activities on the edge of the town. After some helpful promotion and critical debates, the governor has created enough attention for his idea. The concept of Green Gates is caught on by fellow governors, becomes part of the environmental program including resources: it has turned from a 'potential' issue to an 'actual' issue.

The mobilisation of ideas by landscape concepts requires spatial planners with the 'power to activate' their ideas, by both strengthening their own ideas and weakening or altering ideas of others (Bryson & Crosby 1993; cf. Hall 1993; cf. chapter 5.4). In other words, their new ideas need to challenge old ideas in order to become successful. This is a difficult and political process since the meanings of landscapes are likely to be diverse and contested (Healey 2004). "Promotion of a spatial idea consequently requires strategies that come close to 'political entrepreneurship'" (Böhme et al. 2004, p.1181; cf. Jensen and Richardson 2004, p.241; cf. Kingdon 2003, p.204).

A spatial planner, as a 'political entrepreneur', plays an important role in the performance of a landscape concept (cf. chapter 5.3). Moreover, the linguistic nature of a landscape concept itself also plays a part in the performance of a landscape concept (cf. chapter 4.4 and 5.4). Chapter 6.4 elaborates this latter statement by considering landscape concepts as 'order-words'.

6.4 Concepts as "order-words" – the example of National Landscape
In theory: order-words
Landscape concepts are 'labelled' package of landscape ideas and planning principles (chapter 1.3). The 'labels' are appealing words and include rhetoric. Van Duinen (2004, p.25) calls the rhetorical label of a concept a "superficial" layer, in comparison to the 'deeper' layers of problem definition and core idea. In contrast, linguists have described how language is full of meaning and how rhetoric is the persuasive and expressive technique of language (Culler 2000). The rhetorical 'label' of a landscape concept, in that case, can be considered as powerful and persuasive: "… far from being merely decorative, rhetorical devices are central to conveying meaning" (Barnes & Duncan 1992, p.3). Some examples of rhetorical figures are (Culler; see also Chandler 2002):
-   Metaphors: similarity despite difference, by reference to an analogous object. For example, Green 'Lung', being a nature park within an urban region.

- Metonyms: relatedness through direct association, by reference to properties of an object. For example, 'Pedestrian' zone or 'Shopping' zone, in reference to a multi-functional part of the city.
- Synecdoche: relatedness through a categorical order. For example, 'Blue' in spatial planning means water.
- Irony: inexplicit direct opposite. For example, describing an unsafe landscape as 'Heaven'.

Studies about rhetoric mostly focus on the specific technical game of language. In addition, some studies focus on the wide-ranging effects that rhetoric can create in practice. Notably, Lakoff & Johnson (1980) describe the delicate effects of metaphors in our daily speech, i.e. how we "live by" metaphors. Others even describe the oppressive effects of language. Pörksen (1995), for example describes "the tyranny of a modular language", referring to the power of "plastic words". "Countless diffuse expressions are squeezed into one concept and squeezed into one name, and this name gains a certain independence" (ibid, p.6). Plastic words become 'empty' by losing connection to a particular context and history; other plastic words even become 'guilty' by masking 'brutal' reality. Examples of plastic words are 'modernisation', 'welfare', 'development' and 'father land' (ibid). Another extreme example of the 'totalitarian' power of language is presented by Orwell's "Newspeak" in his classic book "1984" (written in 1948). In his book, Orwell describes the imaginary world of 1984. This 'future' is a dystopia: a society with a totalitarian government that has strict control, exploits evil rules and thereby destroys individual freedom. The new language Newspeak was devised to assist the totalitarian society (Orwell 1949, see www.newspeakdictionary.com). For example, the words 'science' and 'democracy' do not exist in Newspeak since science and democracy ought not to exist. A new word is, for instance, 'unperson' (i.e. "person that has been erased from existence by the government for breaking the law in some way") (Orwell at www.newspeakdictionary.com). Orwell's Newspeak is extreme and fictional, but does show the possible dark side of 'common' language use.

Austin (1962) describes the performative nature of language in his book entitled "How to do things with words". The performative is, then, "the rhetorical operation, the acts of language, (…) organizing the world rather than simply representing what is" (Culler 2000, p.96). Also Deleuze & Guattari (2004) refer to Austin's notion of performative to show how speech and action are related. Deleuze & Guattari overextend that language is not simply a tool, as the title of Austin's book suggests, but rather a 'power marker' (Barton 2003). Deleuze & Guattari (2004, p.84) explain how language is like a command "to be obeyed", rather than an expression "to be believed". Likewise, the elementary unit of language is the "order-word" (ibid). An order-word is a 'mot d'ordre' meaning "slogan" and "(military) password" (Masummi

in ibid, p.575). For example, promises and questions include order-words. Language guides people by 'forcing' actions and creating, sometimes unexpected, effects:

> "We call order-word (…) the relation over every word or every statement to implicit presuppositions, in other words, to speech acts that are, and can only be, accomplished in the statement. Order-words do not concern commands only, but every act that is linked to statements by "social obligation". (…) The relation between statement and act is internal, immanent, but it is not one of identity. Rather, it is a relation of redundancy (Deleuze & Guattari 2004, p.87)."

From Deleuze & Guattari's perspective on language, a landscape concept performs like an order-word[14]: landscape concepts are creative 'slogans' about landscape ideas and 'passwords' to new actions. Accordingly, landscape concepts are less 'innocent' and more 'active' than one might think; a landscape concept, as an order-word, is related to implicit assumptions and possible actions, in our case concerning landscapes and planning.

In practice: the order-word National Landscape in Dutch planning
This short case study presents the performance of the order-word National Landscape in Dutch newspapers. National Landscape is a landscape concept in Dutch spatial planning, officially established in the Dutch National Spatial Strategy document (MinVROM 2004b, adopted by the Dutch government in 2006). The National Spatial Strategy provides national ambitions concerning spatial developments; the designation of twenty National Landscapes contributes to the main ambition of "a strong economy, a safe and liveable society and an attractive country" (MinVROM 2004a, p.2). The label 'National' Landscape suggests that the landscapes involved are of national importance and concern. Indeed:

> "National landscapes are areas that have internationally exceptional and nationally characteristic qualities of landscape, cultural history and nature. These qualities must be preserved, sustainably managed and strengthened where possible. The basic principle here is preservation through development: as long as the core qualities are preserved or strengthened (…), then spatial developments are possible within national landscapes" (ibid, p.19-20).

National Landscape, as order-word, can be a creative 'slogan' and a 'password' to action (see Deleuze & Guattari 2004). An order-word becomes even more creative in the context of media. Namely, media are a profound example of how speech and act are related: "they tell us what we 'must' think, retain, expect, etc. Language is (…) not communication of information but (…) the transmission of order-words (ibid, p.87)."

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[14] In comparison, chapter 5.4 focuses on the 'author' and especially the 'readers' of a landscape concept. This chapter focuses on landscape concepts as 'text'. Deleuze & Guattari (1994, p.5) also explain how concepts, being creative inventions of sciences, arts and philosophies, need a "signature" from the creators: "[c]oncepts are not waiting for us ready-made, like heavenly bodies. There is no heaven for concepts." Consequently, "[Deleuze & Guattari] situate both the performative and the subject who utters it in a broader social field shaped by cultural practices and the contingencies of a particular society" (Barton 2003, p.247).

Accordingly, the creative power of National Landscape is studied in Dutch newspapers, by a media analysis[15] (cf. Altheide 1997). The meaning of National Landscape is interpreted in its context, thereby focussing on the assumptions linked to the order-word National Landscape (i.e. creative power: 'slogans' and 'passwords'). The most dominant assumptions from this specific media analysis are consequently presented in three clusters, each focusing on the 'creative power' of the concept:[16]

1. Destructive descriptions: including negative stories;
2. A geo-political metamorphosis: including selective stories;
3. Constructive thoughts: including specialised stories.

Each cluster includes a short description of the articles involved as well as an interpretation of the creative power of the landscape concept National Landscape in these articles.

1. Destructive descriptions

The articles in the first cluster all pay negative attention to National Landscapes. A majority of the articles (52%) adds a negative adverb to the concept National Landscapes. Some writers consider the landscapes to be 'threatened' or 'cluttered', caused by urbanisation and business areas. These negative statements go together with blaming national government for poor protection of the landscape and a lack of responsibility and solutions. In contrast, other writers consider the National Landscapes as 'locked' for development by the possible restrictions that go together with the designation of an area as National Landscape. In that case, National Landscapes are defined as merely 'Flower Pots' or 'Dioramas' instead of the intended lively 'Business Cards' of the Netherlands.

Interpretation

A pessimistic picture of a National Landscape can be considered as an argument for a strict planning regime. The order-word National Landscape, then, performs as 'the final straw' to protect an area. However, the pessimistic picture of a landscape situation by the promoters of a strict regime entails some risks. One might wonder whether it is still necessary and even possible to protect the landscapes and develop spatial quality. In that case, the order-word National Landscape unexpectedly performs as a different argument: 'a sword of Damocles' hanging over the future of the areas. A similar scenario applies for the opponents of a stricter regime, being the promoters of a more flexible regime for the National Landscapes concerning new spatial developments. In fact, they present a 'counter-script' by using the 'same' order-

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[15] Four national newspapers are explored on their use of 'National Landscape' in November 2007 (i.e. the terms 'Nationaal Landschap' & 'Nationale Landschappen'). This resulted in a list of 183 relevant articles (retrieved from Lexis Nexis Academic: NRC Handelsblad, Trouw, Telegraaf, Volkskrant; May 2000 until November 2007).

[16] The three clusters include the most dominant assumptions related to the order-word National Landscape, defined after several readings and re-clustering. Notice: some articles belong to two or even three categories.

word National Landscape (cf. Hajer & Uitermark 2008). This 'counter-script' also entails some risks. For example, they present a pessimistic picture of a National Landscapes by using the concept of static and boring 'Flower pots' in order to appeal for the possibility of some spatial development. However, the protest against 'Flower Pots' could in fact create 'Flower Pots', at least in people's minds (cf. Lakoff: stating "Don't think of an elephant!" will still evoke an elephant in people's minds).

So, the first cluster includes two opposite perspectives on the National Landscape concept: a protective 'green'-oriented perspective among nature thinkers and a flexible 'red'-oriented perspective among development thinkers. This results in a rather 'black-or-white' portrayal of National Landscapes and possible spatial planning interventions. In this case, the complex reality is severely simplified; nuanced views and 'coloured' solutions are hidden from the readers. Moreover, it is merely the status of the National Landscape concept that is used as an argument to appeal for or against development.

2. A geo-political metamorphosis

A second cluster of articles stands out for its selective geographical focus. This cluster favours two particular National Landscapes, respectively a specific case and a popular example: the Hoeksche Waard (22% of the articles) and the Groene Hart (Green Heart) (20% of the articles). These landscapes can be considered as the most 'urgent' or 'threatened' situations. The articles about the Hoeksche Waard concern the debate regarding whether or not the landscape should be designated as a National Landscape; the future development of a significant business area is used either to promote or oppose the designation. National Landscape Groene Hart is the favourite illustration of issues that concern all National Landscapes, such as the role of the Dutch government and the function of spatial developments in National Landscapes. This is not surprising, at first sight, as the Green Heart will be a familiar case to most readers.

Interpretation

The second cluster of articles present two of twenty National Landscapes, which dominate in the newspaper by their newsworthy case (Hoeksche Waard) and by their reputation (Green Heart). Like many spatial planning issues in the Netherlands, these landscapes are part of the Randstad conurbation (i.e. 'Rim-city'), the western and most urbanised part of the Netherlands. The Randstad has been central to many planning programmes (see e.g. "Emergency Programme Randstad", MinVenW 2007a). In this case, however, the order-word National Landscape can act like a misleading 'film trailer': it only presents part of many storylines. This particular attention could, unconsciously, lead to the simplification of twenty National Landscapes to one 'key figure' landscape. In an extreme case, the twenty National

Landscapes will all transform into twenty similar 'Green Heart Landscapes' that are each defined and planned in the same way, whereas the policy of the national government was based on the idea of promoting the variety of landscapes (MinVROM 2004b).

In line with the dominance of articles about the Green Heart, the frequent use of the popular words 'open landscape' also entails the risk of a limited view. Many writers use the words 'open landscape' as if it is a general characteristic of all National Landscapes. It is particularly encountered in articles promoting a strict planning regime. A very open landscape is also a characteristic that applies to the dominant National Landscapes, the Green Heart and the Hoeksche Waard (listed as one of their three key qualities by MinVROM 2004b). However, eight of twenty National Landscapes have not been characterised as open landscapes (according to the list of key qualities by MinVROM 2004b). These landscapes are, for example, small-scale landscapes or include extensive forest areas that are not open at all (ibid). In this case, the order-word National Landscape is linked to another order-word: 'open landscape'. This, in fact, reinforces the limited 'reproduction' of National Landscape.

3.   *Constructive thoughts*
A third cluster of articles focuses on the characteristics and ideas behind National Landscapes, including the land use functions recreation, nature and agriculture. The main concern of these articles is the role of farmers in National Landscapes in landscape management (8% of all articles), as exemplified by a discussion about the possibilities for subsidies intended for 'agricultural nature'. A few articles (3%) concern recreation; they mainly discuss the extent to which the National Landscapes should be accessible. Following a television series on the National Landscapes, the newspapers also include texts that promote National Landscapes (3% of the articles, encountered in section 'TV guide'). These texts include spatial characteristics of National Landscapes, for example: 'typical farms and historical sandy fields', 'characteristic small villages encircled by small-scale landscapes' and 'gently waving reeds'. National Landscape the Veluwe is the most discussed landscape within the third cluster of articles.

Interpretation
The last cluster presents National Landscape as a constructive order-word, that is, as a creative 'slogan' or 'password'. In other words, the National Landscapes are 'dressed up' with spatial characteristics. With regard to the announcements for a television series, National Landscape is literally a 'slogan'. In the other articles, which include the discussions about farmers, National Landscape is a 'password' to a crucial discussion about agriculture, environmental problems and financial support. Nevertheless, it is a password to a 'restricted area' as it provides access to a 'minor' discussion. This

cluster is the smallest cluster and thus merely presents a modest discussion about spatial characteristics and land use functions. This belittles what a National Landscape is, beyond a 'national' concern: a 'landscape' with various spatial characteristics as well as diverse social dilemmas.

Summary – example National Landscape
The example of National Landscape as order-word in newspapers illustrates how a specific landscape concept can evoke a selection of specific thoughts and, thereby, guide debates. The use of the landscape concept evokes implicit presuppositions about how landscapes should look and be managed. These presuppositions will, mostly indirectly or unpredictably, influence the outcome of decision-making and the input of financial support concerning National Landscapes. This example shows that a subtle performance of a landscape concept may have powerful consequences for spatial planning.

6.5 Conclusion – consequential role
The use of a landscape concept can be helpful in establishing direction in spatial planning. More specifically, spatial planners can use landscape concepts to mobilise specific ideas (Healey 2004). Mobilisation requires powerful ideas (see chapter 4 about the 'basic role': concepts as 'matters of concern'), as well as motivated spatial planners who are willing to cooperate (see chapter 5 about the 'supportive role': spatial planners, ambitions and interconnectivity). Mobilisation works if outdated ideas are challenged and if other people adopt the new ideas by altering their actions. Firstly, this requires spatial planners who are like 'political entrepreneurs' (Böhme et al. 2004). Secondly, mobilisation requires landscape concepts with a powerful rhetorical nature, being creative 'slogans' or 'passwords' (i.e. an order-word, see chapter 6.4). Mobilisation succeeds if the use of a landscape concept has an effect on future spatial planning activities. This effect goes beyond the 'official' institutional function of a concept and includes both 'formal' and 'informal' action functions (cf. institutional and action function - as defined by Zonneveld 1991; see figure 2.2). In other words, the mobilising power concerns the 'consequential role' of a landscape concept. The effects of the use of a landscape concept may be in line with the direction intended by spatial planners but may also include unexpected directions. In other words, the performance of a landscape concept can include 'dramaturgical dimensions' (after Hajer & Uitermark 2008). In addition, the comparison of a landscape concept with a creative order-word shows how a landscape concept can have subtle power in practice; a landscape concept can be linked to specific assumptions, guide specific discussions and thus support a specific planning direction (after Deleuze & Guattari 2004).

Interface I - Realistic Expectations

PART A Research questions:	PART B The nature of landscape concepts in spatial planning *Framing theory*		PART C The working of landscape concepts in Dutch spatial planning *Space-time context*		PART D
How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to describe landscapes?	Chapter 4 Landscape concepts and rich landscapes	Interface I - Realistic expectations	Chapter 7 Colourful concepts in the case of 'Het Groene Woud'	Interface II – Expectations in reality	Chapter 10 Discussion & conclusion *Including 'indigenous planning theory'*
How do spatial planners use landscape concepts for dealing with conflicts of interests?	Chapter 5 Landscape concepts and adventurous spatial planners		Chapter 8 Interpretations of IJmeer concepts		
How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to establish direction?	Chapter 6 Landscape concepts and subtle success		Chapter 9 Tactics around concept Plan Stork		

Figure I1-1 Outline of study

Interface I provides an overview of part B of this study (see figure Ii-1). In part A of this study, three research questions concerning the use of landscape concepts by spatial planners are introduced (see figure I1-1; see chapter 2). These questions are related to three demands in Dutch spatial planning; Dutch planning needs spatial planners who are:

- innovative in describing dynamic landscapes;
- able to deal with conflicts of spatial interests;
- able to establish directions in order to implement ideas and plans (Habiforum 2003b).

Part B of this study gives a theoretical reflection on the use of landscape concepts in assisting these demands.

Part B of this study shows that the field of spatial planning is still caught in remnants of false certainties, which hinders a successful approach to new demands (cf. Hillier 2005). Dutch spatial planning needs a 'reality test': we firstly need to understand that some ideals in spatial planning are *not* achievable (based on chapter 4, 5 and 6). Consequently, some old assumptions in spatial planning are reconsidered in part B. This reconsideration is done with the help of critical and reflective planning theories (after Allmendinger 2002b). Old assumptions that are reconsidered are: the assurance

that spatial planners can deliver 'neutral' landscape descriptions, the 'will to control' of spatial planners and the focus on 'formalisation' of plans as single success in spatial planning. Above all, these ideas in spatial planning are rooted in false certainties about malleability, consensus and speech (see e.g. Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger 1998; Flyvbjerg 2002; Hajer 2005; Van Assche 2007). Following the reflection on the field of spatial planning, the specific role of landscape concepts is reconsidered in part B of this study. An old view on the use of concepts in planning is based on Habermas (as defined by Zonneveld 1991); this view is described in part B as, in short, overly optimistic and instrumental (see also reflection by Zonneveld in Witsen 2007).

For a more realistic picture of spatial planning and landscape concepts, part B presents a critical and complementary view to a traditional instrumental view. Namely, part B highlights the complex and political nature of spatial planning. For example, it is explained *why* spatial planners plan, it focuses on consequences of different attitudes of spatial planners towards complexity and exposes both formal and subtle effects of language. Consequently, a set of poststructuralist perspectives is used in part B to explain the role of landscape concept in a complex and political planning practice (cf. Murdoch 2006). Landscape concepts can be considered as matters of concern, discursive constructions and order-words (based on Latour, Foucault, Deleuze & Guattari respectively). Together, these perspectives show that a landscape concept has a colourful, multiple, rhetorical and creative nature: a landscape concept performs. This realistic picture of spatial planning together with the performative nature of landscape concepts has consequences for the possible use of landscape concepts in spatial planning: spatial planners need to replace false certainties by realistic expectations.

Following the outcome of part B of this study, three realistic expectations are linked to the roles of landscape concepts in spatial planning (see figure Ii-2). Firstly, landscape concepts include colourful descriptions of landscapes; the colours are rooted in the diverse concerns and ambitions of spatial planners (i.e. basic role). Secondly, landscape concepts can be used to support the cooperation of spatial planners, not as univocal concepts but as open concepts that will be interpreted in various ways (i.e. supportive role). Thirdly, landscape concepts are powerful and rhetorical; they not only have effect as official policy concepts but especially as tactical concepts in pre-official and informal settings (i.e. consequential role).

FROM OLD IDEALS TO REALISTIC EXPECTATIONS CONCERNING CONCEPTS IN SPATIAL PLANNING		
Old functions & ideals (Zonneveld 1991)	**Alternative roles & realistic expectations (this study)**	
Cognitive & intentional: situation definition	**Basic role: delivering colourful descriptions**	**CH. 7**
Communicative: consensus about definitions and strategies	**Supportive role: 'open' agreement for adventurous spatial planners**	**CH. 8**
Institutional & action: norms and regulations	**Consequential role: producing 'official' and subtle effects**	**CH. 9**

Figure I1-2 From old ideals to realistic expectations concerning concepts in spatial planning

In part C of this study, it is elaborated if and how these expectations are addressed in Dutch spatial planning practice. Accordingly, the research questions are further answered. Again, each research question is linked to one chapter, each including one case study (see figure Ii-1). Together, the cases represent typical regional spatial planning cases in the Netherlands, including various ideas and ambitions concerning 'rurban' areas.

PART C

THE WORKING OF LANDSCAPE CONCEPTS IN DUTCH SPATIAL PLANNING

Chapter 7 Colourful concepts in the case of 'Het Groene Woud'

On the one hand, there are numerous new ideas for the design and quality of rural areas, promising to make the Netherlands 'twice as beautiful,' whilst on the other hand, infrastructural developments and building activities continue to use up the countryside. How can we explain this paradox? Are the planning concepts for the countryside mere signs of inflated administrative egos and scientific rattle, and are town and country planning mere smoke screens hiding steadily advancing urbanization and asphaltization?
Frouws 1998, p.55 (in reference to Van Rossem)

7.1 Landscape concepts in describing landscapes

The first research question of this study focuses on the basic role of a landscape concept: how do spatial planners use landscape concepts to describe landscapes? Answers to this question will help tackle an important challenge in Dutch spatial planning: to overcome traditional descriptions of landscapes that ignore the inherent complexity and dynamics of landscapes (see chapter 2.1). A rigid division into urban and rural landscapes is an emblematic example of a traditional landscape description (ibid).

Chapter 4 of this study deals with the first research question by presenting a theoretical reflection on the basic role of a landscape concept. The use of a landscape concept is identified as a colourful and powerful way of describing landscapes. In other words, landscape concepts represent ambitions and concerns of spatial planners; these ambitions and concerns about landscapes are a driving force of spatial planners (chapter 5). Accordingly, in Interface I of this study it is recommended that spatial planners recognise and use the colourful nature of concepts, rather than fearing and hiding it.

Like chapter 4, this chapter[17] again addresses the question "How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to describe landscapes?". In this case, answers are the result of a case study about the area Het Groene Woud, being one of twenty National Landscapes of the Netherlands (MinVROM 2004b; see also chapter 6.4, this study). So, the theoretical reflection of chapter 4 is elaborated by a practical example. The aim of this chapter is to explore how landscape concepts, including their colourful nature, are used in practice to describe landscapes. It therefore provides an overview of landscape concepts used to describe Het Groene Woud over time. The overview provides insight into both the character of Het Groene Woud itself and especially into the various characters of landscape concepts used.

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[17] This chapter is based on: Hagens, J.E. (2007) *A genealogy of spatial concepts of the Dutch National Landscape Het Groene Woud.* Paper presented at Planning for the Risk Society. Dealing with Uncertainty, Challenging the Future, XXI AESOP Conference, Napoli Italy, July 2007

Chapter 7.2 introduces the case of Het Groene Woud and explains why it is a valuable case for studying the basic role of landscape concepts. A method, selection of material and analytical framework to study the material is elaborated in chapter 7.3. The results of the case study are presented in chapter 7.4 as a *genealogy*, together with an interpretation of the genealogy. The material of the genealogy, being a comprehensive list of landscape concepts encountered in policy documents, is accessible via appendix A. The possibilities of 'landscape branding' in describing landscapes are discussed in chapter 7.5. Finally, chapter 7.6 concludes the case study by presenting how landscape concepts are used to describe the landscapes of Het Groene Woud and landscapes in general.

7.2 Introduction to a lively landscape

Het Groene Woud is a typical Dutch 'rurban' region with both urban and rural characteristics (cf. Vanden Abeele & Leinfelder 2007; see figure 7.1 & 7.2). Het Groene Woud is an area in the south of the Netherlands of about 32.000 hectares in the province of Noord-Brabant; it is surrounded and influenced by the Urban Triangle of the cities Tilburg, Eindhoven and Den Bosch. According to a European urban-rural typology, Het Groene Woud is highly urbanised compared to other European regions, typified by "high urban influence - high human intervention" (Schmidt-Seiwert et al. 2006, p.33). Moreover, Het Groene Woud is part of a European region with a "high share (60% and more)" of intensive agriculture (ibid, p.33). Whereas Het Groene Woud is a high dynamic area in a European context, it is a low dynamic area in Dutch context. 'Het Groene Woud' literally means The Green Forest. In line with its name, it includes forests but also marshlands and heath lands. Moreover, Het Groene Woud is known for its agricultural-cultural landscapes (www.minlnv.nl, www.hetgroenewoud.com, Provincie Noord-Brabant 2006a&b).

Figure 7.1 Impressions of Het Groene Woud (A)

The Dutch national government has designated Het Groene Woud as one of twenty National Landscapes in the National Spatial Strategy document (adopted by the Dutch government in 2006, providing the method of governance of national spatial developments, MinVROM 2004b; see also chapter 6.4, this study). The government selected the twenty National Landscapes for their distinctive combination of qualities concerning cultural heritage, landscape and nature. In other words, the National

Landscapes represent "the story of the Dutch landscape" (www.minlnv.nl). The National Spatial Strategy lists core qualities for each National Landscape. The three core qualities listed for Het Groene Woud are:

- Green character;
- Small-scale openness;
- A connected complex of brooks, open and closed fields, forests and heath land (MinVROM 2004b, p.124).

Figure 7.2 Impressions of Het Groene Woud (B)

The designation of areas as National Landscape has consequences for future spatial developments as well as governmental responsibilities (see also chapter 6.4: National Landscape as "order-word"). It concerns a typical Dutch spatial planning challenge at regional level: to detail, preserve and enhance landscape qualities yet taking into account the dynamics and urban influence of the region (i.e. 'preservation through development', MinVROM 2004a). The province of Noord-Brabant is responsible for Het Groene Woud concerning the implementation of the National Landscape policy (see implementation plan, GMJP 2008, a combined plan for National Landscape Het Groene Woud and Reconstruction & Leader programmes for de Meierij area).

Obviously, the elaboration and implementation of National Landscape policy did not need to start from scratch. Many spatial policies, including landscape concepts, preceded the National Landscape policy; these policies concern, for example, nature development and agricultural reconstruction (although the areas referred to in these documents often have different names or slightly different boundaries than the Het Groene Woud area today). Accordingly, many landscape concepts have already been created and used to describe the landscapes, as well as their targets and possible futures.

Het Groene Woud is considered to be a valuable and emblematic case of dealing with Dutch 'rurban' landscapes with the help of landscape concepts. Moreover, the rich policy history of Het Groene Woud offers the opportunity to study the use of landscape concepts over a period of time. This chapter therefore 'recycles' previous policy documents by presenting an overview of landscape concepts encountered in the documents: a *genealogy*. The genealogy is used to answer some questions that follow from the research question "How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to describe landscapes?", as well as from the 'realistic expectations' concerning

colourful concepts (as formulated in Interface I of this study). How have landscape concepts been used in regional spatial policy documents in describing Het Groene Woud landscapes? Which striking trends in the use of landscape concepts can be interpreted from the material of the genealogy? How can spatial planners deal with the colourful and powerful nature of landscape concepts?

7.3 Approach and analytical framework

Method

This chapter presents a *genealogy* of landscape concepts: a historical overview of the use of landscape concepts in a selection of spatial planning documents, from the seventies of the 20th century until 2007. A genealogy centres the roots and traditions of a practice (Alvesson & Skoldberg 2000, in reference to Foucault; cf. Foucault 1977b, 2003). In this case, the meanings of landscape concepts are shaped by diverse 'wills of power' of spatial planners, including assumptions and claims that dominate spatial planning practice (cf. chapter 5, this study). A genealogy shows trends in a practice; these trends are characterised by discontinuity and difference, rather than nobly governed by reason (Alvesson & Skoldberg 2000, in reference to Foucault; cf. chapter 3). The genealogy in this chapter focuses on the context of landscape concepts in order to understand how the 'colours' of landscape concepts are shaped and how trends come about (cf. "contextualised story" Watson 2002 in chapter 3, this book; cf. Frouws 1998).

Selection of documents

The landscape concepts of fourteen spatial plans are included in the genealogy. Each spatial plan represents the cultural spirit and planning style of a specific time (in contrast to stories *about* that time, as interviews). Together, the plans show a typical overview of the rich history of Dutch spatial planning concerning 'rurban' areas. Appendix A presents the documents and landscape concepts encountered, per set of documents, in a chronological order (as far as possible):

- 1 spatial planning policy document about 'National Landscape - The Green Heart of Brabant' (1973);
- 6 Landscape Management Plans concerning De Geelders, De Scheeken and Het Dommeldal en Breugels Broek areas (1983-1993, based on availability at library Wageningen University);
- 4 Regional Plans of the province of Noord-Brabant including revisions (1978-2002);
- 2 documents concerning Reconstruction Plan 'de Meierij' (2005);
- 1 plan of Urban Network BrabantCity about 'BrabantCity Mosaic Metropolis' (2007).

Each document included in the genealogy meets the same criteria. These criteria follow the scope of this study (see part A), as well as the goal to 'recycle' regional concepts (this chapter). The criteria involve:

- Regional scale: Het Groene Woud is neither a detail of the document (i.e. national plans are excluded) nor incompletely described (i.e. local plans are excluded). Notice that the Landscape Management Plans can be considered as local plans but together provide a comprehensive picture of Het Groene Woud.
- Strategic planning nature: the document includes a vision about the future of Het Groene Woud area; it integrates various land use functions. Moreover, the document was commissioned by one or more governmental organisation(s).
- 'Home-grown': the document is not related to recent National Landscape policy (i.e. the regional story prior to the national designation is central).

From the fourteen documents, each landscape concept that refers to the area that is nowadays defined as Het Groene Woud is listed (see appendix A). A concept is listed in the genealogy if it is consistent with the definition of landscape concept in this study, being *a significant 'package' of landscape ideas and planning principles, tagged by an appealing label and strategically used for diverse spatial planning activities* (chapter 1.3).

Framework
An analytical framework is used to present and interpret the meaning of the list of landscape concepts. This framework encompasses the three dimensions that define a landscape in spatial planning context, as described in chapter 4 (see figure 7.3).
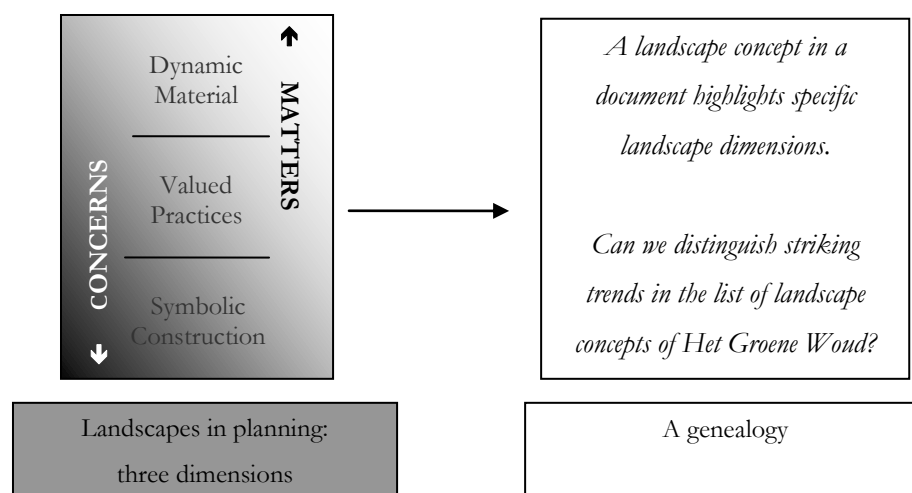

Figure 7.3 Analytical framework

The three dimensions that shape a landscape in spatial planning are: dynamic material, valued practice and symbolic construction. Each dimension is built by 'matters' and

'concerns' but in different combinations (see chapter 4). Each landscape concept highlights, predominantly, one or two of these landscape dimensions. The focus of a landscape concept on a specific dimension will provide insight into the content and character of a landscape concept. A landscape concept refers to one of the dimension if it includes these indicators (cf. chapter 4.3):

- Dynamic material: information about the physical substratum of a landscape, as well as the processes and developments of this physical substratum. Concepts that focus on this dimension will generally focus on the reasons for planning;

- Valued Practice: targets and norms concerning landscapes which show the engagement of spatial planners with their environment. Landscape concepts that focus on this dimension will generally relate to actions that are necessary to achieve targets;

- Symbolic Construction: images of future landscapes. Concepts that focus on this dimension will mostly focus on possible results of planning.

7.4 Results: a genealogy of landscape concepts

Chapter 7.4 presents the outcome of the genealogy (see appendix A for the complete list of landscape concepts). Firstly, it presents the policy history based on the documents analysed, as well as a description of Het Groene Woud based on the list of landscape concepts. Secondly, it provides a sequence of interpretations of the genealogy.

Genealogy & policy history

The first document in the genealogy is a spatial planning policy document of 1973 entitled "National Landscape - The Green Heart of Brabant". It was written in response to the Second National Spatial Strategy of 1966 and proposes an area as National Park (also referred to as National Landscape) that closely overlaps what is today Het Groene Woud. The policy document provides information about the topics spatial planning, agriculture and landscape. "The Green Heart of Brabant" seems to be a 'lost plan': the documents that follow in the genealogy do not refer to this specific plan. The genealogy continues with a set of Landscape Management Plans, concerning De Geelders, De Scheeken and Het Dommeldal and Breugels Broek areas. Landscape Management Plans are often considered to be the first plans that integrate various rural land use functions instead of promoting or detailing one land use function (Raad voor het Landelijk Gebied 2002). Landscape Management plans are a result of the national Land Use Interaction Report from 1975. The Land Use Interaction Report represents an important policy shift in the Netherlands in the 1970s: the shift from the processes of land consolidation, rationalisation and modernisation in agriculture towards protection of nature and promotion of recreation in rural areas (ibid). Landscape Management Plans include prescriptions for so-called reserve and management areas at local level. In management areas, farmers

and government make financial agreements about the adjustment of farm management so that nature and landscape values are sustained but farming can continue. Whereas Landscape Management Plans are written from an ecological perspective, two other sets of documents included in the genealogy are written from an agricultural and urban perspective. The Reconstruction Plan of the Meierij has an agricultural perspective. The Meierij is an area that nearly overlaps Het Groene Woud. The aim of the plan is to provide a constructive future for agriculture and horticulture and protect nature, manage water quality and quantity and enhance the 'liveability' of villages. A reconstruction plan provides a 'new balance' between various land use functions in the rural area (see e.g. Driessen & De Gier 2004). The province of Noord-Brabant formulates this plan in response to Dutch legislation from 2002 for the reconstruction of areas engaged in intensive livestock farming. The 'BrabantCity Mosaic Metropolis' has an urban perspective and is the most recent plan of the genealogy. BrabantCity is one of the national Urban Networks of the Netherlands, designated in the National Spatial Strategy (MinVROM 2004b). BrabantCity is an administrative partnership between five cities (Breda, Eindhoven, Helmond, Den Bosch, Tilburg) and the province of Noord-Brabant. The partnership aims to put Brabant firmly on the European map as a leading knowledge region as well as a green urban network (www.brabantstad.nl). Finally, a set of regional plans from the province of Noord-Brabant from the 1970s until now is included in the genealogy. These are strategic plans that include various land use perspectives. This broad perspective reflects the role of the province of Noord-Brabant in spatial planning; the province coordinates and integrates issues that transcend the responsibility of local councils.

Genealogy: a description of Het Groene Woud
Note: the text refers to documents listed in appendix A (i.e. [plan x]).
Together, the landscape concepts in the genealogy provide a comprehensive description of Het Groene Woud (see figure 7.4 for an alternative representation of the genealogy, created through www.wordle.net). More exactly, each landscape concept is like a small 'piece' of a large Het Groene Woud's 'puzzle'. Some 'pieces' are common (e.g. Green Main structure in [10]), some are more surprising (e.g. Camelisation in [14]); some 'pieces' belong to the same 'puzzle' as they match together, but some seem to be part of different 'puzzles' as they are conflicting.

Many landscape concepts present Het Groene Woud as a green landscape. The colour green does not merely refer to the conventional green function of nature (as Green Pearls in [14]). 'Green' is also used in reference to other functions: agriculture & nature (e.g. Green Mould in [12 & 13]), a less urbanised area (e.g. Green Heart in [1]), rural and urban culture (e.g. Green City in [14]), or multiple functions (e.g. Green Main Structure in [11]). By referring to various characteristics, these green landscape

concepts particularise the first of three core qualities of Het Groene Woud, being 'green character', as defined by the national government in the National Spatial Strategy. The other two core qualities both refer to the diversity of Het Groene Woud, being 'small-scale openness' and 'a connected complex of brooks, open and closed fields, forests and heath land'. These qualities are less covered by landscape concepts in the genealogy than the quality 'green character'. Apparently, it is difficult to refer to a diverse landscape and to integrate various landscape functions into one landscape concept. Some landscape concepts that do refer to Het Groene Woud's diversity are Transition Zones [in 5-7], Multi-functional Forest [10], a Garden [in 11], Mosaic Landscape and Green City [in 14].

Figure 7.4 An alternative representation of the geneaology of Het Groene Woud: a word cloud that gives more prominence to words that appear more frequently in the source (i.e. appendix A)

A local label often encountered in the genealogy is 'Brabant'. This label enlivens the factual core qualities defined by the national government, not directly by providing facts but by providing a specific 'feeling'. For example, Het Groene Woud concerns the Heart of Brabant [in 1], Brabant Mosaic [in 14], Brabant-DNA [in 14] and Burgundian Brabant [in 14]. 'Brabant' refers to the nature of the province Noord-Brabant: a dynamic environment with authentic features, including a warm and lively culture.

Interpretation a: striking results and trends?

The analytical framework of this chapter is used to present and understand the 'characters' of the landscape concepts in the genealogy (see figure 7.3). Figure 7.5 shows a summary of the outcome of the genealogy in numbers. Each landscape concepts refers to one or two landscape dimensions (i.e. dynamic material, valued practice, symbolic construction). Nearly half of the landscape concepts highlight the dimension valued practice. These landscape concepts go together with targets focusing on the threats and opportunities of a landscape (e.g. Ecological Main Structure in [10]). Over a quarter of the concepts highlight the dimension symbolic construction. These concepts bring to mind images of possible future landscapes, being a trigger to take action (e.g. Camelisation of the landscape in [14]). About a quarter of the landscape concepts highlight the dimension dynamic material. These concepts express why Het Groene Woud landscape is valuable (e.g. Green-Blue Network in [14]). Overall, the landscape concepts perform as could be expected from landscape concepts in strategic planning documents: they present landscape targets, in combination with reasons to act and inspiring descriptions of future landscapes.
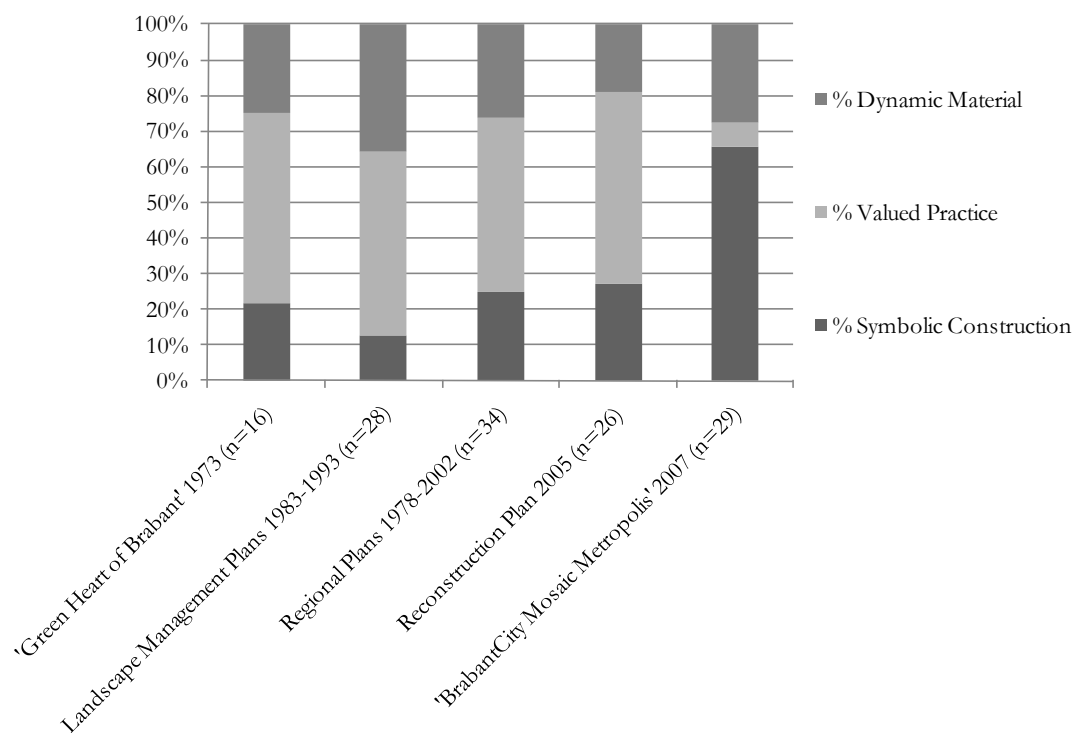

Figure 7.5 Which landscape dimensions do landscape concepts refer to?
The figure shows the percentage of landscape concepts that refers to a specific landscape dimension, presented per set of plans.

Figure 7.5 shows two distinctive sets of plans. Firstly, the set of Landscape Management Plans has a relatively high share of concepts that focus on the dynamic material dimension. Secondly, the BrabantCity Mosaic Metropolis plan clearly has a relatively high share of concepts that focus on the symbolic construction dimension. The difference between the two sets can be explained by the backgrounds of the spatial planners involved in producing the plans, these being either ecologically oriented or design-oriented. Likewise, the set of Landscape Management plans has a traditional scientific nature (cf. focus on matters) and the BrabantCity Mosaic Metropolis plan has an advocating and imaginative nature (cf. focus on concerns).

The genealogy shows a slightly growing interest in landscapes as symbolic construction, characterised by more inventive concepts and figurative descriptions over time. However, this cannot be defined as an obvious trend. Also within one set of documents, one can observe a slightly growing interest in landscapes as symbolic construction over time (for example, within the set of regional plans: the latest plan (2002/2004) has a relatively high share of concepts that refer to symbolic construction, in contrast to its predecessor (1992) that has a relatively low share of reference to symbolic constructions). Again, this is an interesting result but not an explicit trend.

Interpretation b – landscape dimensions detailed
The various references of landscapes concepts to one specific landscape dimension are not always of the same type (based on list of landscape concepts, see Appendix A). Consequently, the three landscape dimensions can be specified; in this case study, we can distinguish two types of references per landscape dimension. This results in six model characters of landscape concepts, which will be helpful in understanding differences between landscape concepts in practice.
- Some concepts referring to landscapes as dynamic material present a 'photo' of the material of landscapes (e.g. Enclosed Landscape in [3-4]). These landscape concepts can be defined as pattern concepts.
- Some concepts referring to landscapes as dynamic material present a 'film' of the dynamic material of landscapes (e.g. a Fading Mosaic in [14]). These concepts often highlight both dynamic material and the symbolic construction dimension. These landscape concepts can be defined as process concepts:
- Some concepts referring to landscapes as valued practice list established policy concepts, often in reference to other policies (e.g. Ecological Network in [12-13]). These landscape concepts can be defined as predefined concepts.
- Some concepts referring to landscapes as valued practice introduce new policy concepts, as 'home-made' ambitions (e.g. Agricultural Main Structure in [10]). These landscape concepts can be defined as target concepts.

- Some concepts referring to landscapes as symbolic construction evoke undesired images of landscapes (e.g. the fear of Rim-City Traits (Randstad Traits) [in 11]). These landscape concepts can be defined as spectre concepts.
- Some concepts referring to landscapes as symbolic construction evoke desired images of landscapes e.g. Het Groene Woud as a Garden in [11]). These landscape concepts can be defined as triggering concepts.

A landscape concept does not naturally belong to one of six model characters listed. Its character depends on the context in which it is presented and interpreted. For example, Green Pearls may be a pattern concept in plain reference to a set of nature elements, but may also be a triggering concept in expressive reference to the multiple 'splendours' of the landscape (see e.g. in [14]).

Interpretation c: lively landscape concepts
Most landscape concepts in this genealogy that can be considered as spectre and triggering concepts, but also some that can be considered as process and target concepts, promote ideas about landscape in a creative way and highlight immaterial more than plain material features. These landscape concepts can be considered as lively concepts that present a lively landscape, including distinct opportunities and threats (cf. Hidding & Teunissen 2002). Examples are Long-Winded Destinations (in [1]), Eyesore Elements (in [5-7]), the Camelisation of the landscape (in [14]) and Booming Brabant (in [14]). The BrabantCity Mosaic Metropolis plan is richer in lively landscape concepts than the other sets of plans. Again, this can be explained by the urban planning and design background of the people involved; they are more used to promoting landscapes than, for example, ecological planners. Moreover, the newest regional plan (i.e. [11]) shows more lively landscape concepts than the older regional plans. In other words, landscape concepts seem to have become more appealing and inviting over time (cf. Dammers et al. 2004). Overall, this movement towards more lively landscape concepts can be positioned in a changing perspective on rural landscapes in the Netherlands; the perspective has changed from a modern and merely agricultural perspective towards a more multifaceted, commercial, urban-cultural and recreational perspective (Frouws, 1998; Doevendans et al. 2007).

Interpretation d: dealing with complexity
The genealogy reveals different spatial planning attitudes towards dealing with the complex landscapes of Het Groene Woud, including protective and creative attitudes. These attitudes are in line with the analytical distinction between spatial planners with, in respective order, a 'fearing will' and an 'adventurous will' (as defined in chapter 5.3). The protective and creative attitudes are especially manifest in two issues in the genealogy of Het Groene Woud:
I.   Dealing with green complexity

A first group of green landscape concepts is associated with a *protective* attitude towards green; in these cases, green is considered to be nature or open area and defended against new developments (cf. 'fearing will'). In that case, Het Groene Woud needs to be protected, for example by considering the area as a Buffer or Boundary between cities (in [1]). A second group of green landscape concept is associated with a *creative* attitude towards green; in these cases, green is considered as a functional landscape (cf. 'adventurous will'). For example, Het Groene Woud is a 'beating' Recreational Heart (in [11]).

II.   Dealing with urban-rural complexity

Two different landscape concepts dominate the genealogy in describing the complex relation between urban and rural features in Het Groene Woud. The first is the Green Heart concept, which is probably a copy from the famous Green Heart of Holland (western part of the Netherlands). Green Heart is generally presented as a way to separate Brabant's cities from the more open and greener centre of Het Groene Woud (see [1]). The Green Heart concept represents a *protective* attitude (cf. 'fearing will'). The second dominating concept is the Mosaic concept (see figure 7.6). The Mosaic concept is used to reveal the complex reality of Het Groene Woud, including multiple functions and is used to propose an integrative planning approach (see [14])[18]. The Mosaic concept shows a *creative* attitude (cf. 'adventurous will').
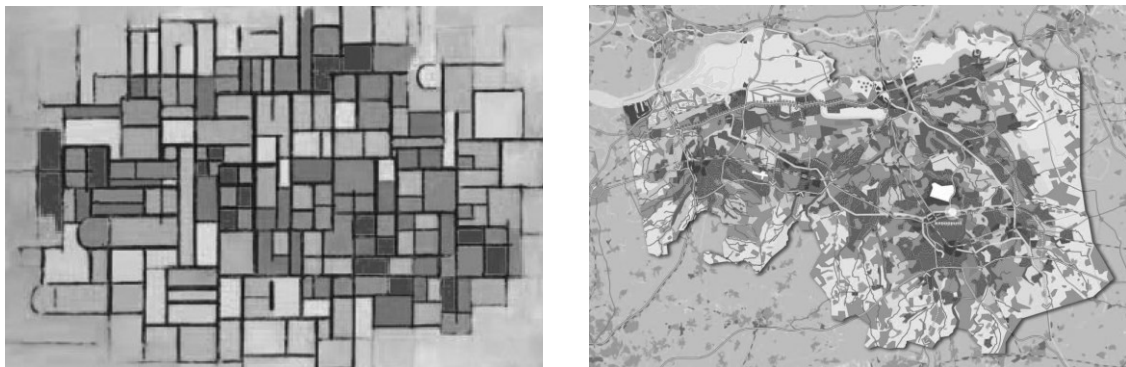
Figure 7.6 Visualisation of landscape concept Mosaic Metropolis
(Brabantstad 2007 p.59&78-79, scenario 'Booming Brabant').

Outcome

The genealogy shows a developing engagement over time with so-called lively landscape concepts. The spatial planners involved with these concepts can be considered as more creative spatial planners, who especially focus on landscapes as symbolic constructions. This engagement reflects an expectation concerning the basic role of landscape concepts (as defined in Interface I, this study): landscape concepts involve useful colourful descriptions of landscapes rather than simplified neutral

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[18] For an international comparison: Forman (at www.fedenatur.org) introduces Land Mosaic as a planning 'paradigm' for a heterogeneous urban region (for example, the Greater Barcelona Region in Spain). Land Mosaic elucidates both spatial structures and changes by a simple spatial language; it is based on theory of landscape ecology (ibid).

descriptions, which is in line with the nature of spatial planning. The use of colourful landscape concepts can be related to the process of place branding (also defined as country-, region-, urban- and city branding in geographical and regional studies; see e.g. Kotler & Gertner 2002, Flowerdew 2004, Kavaratzis & Ashworth 2005, Jensen 2005, Boesch et al. 2008). The potential of place branding for spatial planning will be discussed in chapter 7.5.

7.5 Discussion: towards landscape branding
Place Branding
Place branding is the communication of mental images of the 'product' place by a 'producer' to a 'consumer' (Kavaratzis & Ashworth 2005, in reference to product branding and marketing). The mental images can create an 'indirect' experience of a place but the images are related to actual places: "(…) place products remain places with the distinct attributes that accrue to places, such as spatial scale, spatial hierarchies, resulting scale shadowing, the inherent multiplicity and vagueness of goals, product-user combinations and consumer utilities" (Kavaratzis & Ashworth 2005, p.513). More exactly, branding means that a 'producer' of a mental image of a place adds social and emotional values to functional and physical values of that place; these added values are strategically selected and promoted (ibid). Place branding not only concerns 'foregrounding' valued features of a place but also 'backgrounding' ineffective features (Jensen 2005). In short, place branding is like 'selective story telling' (ibid).

Place branding is an instrument for place management: it offers an opportunity for governments to differentiate their place from other places (Kavaratzis & Ashworth 2005; Jensen 2005). A first target of branding is to influence 'consumers' and their recognition and appreciation of a place and its added values. A second target is to influence actions of these 'consumers', as decision-making and investments (Kavaratzis & Ashworth 2005). There are several place branding techniques, such as personality branding, event branding and flagship construction. "All are designed to not only attract attention and place recognition (thus *brand awareness*) but also to create associations between the place and attributes regarded as being beneficial to its economic or social development (thus *brand utility*)" (ibid, p.513). In addition, place branding can be used for 'alterity construction' to explain what places are unlike (Jensen 2005, in reference to Czarniawska). The use of alterity construction is not without risk; for example, the Danish city Aalborg is branded as the 'anti-dote to Copenhagen', which in fact illustrates its 'underdog' position rather than presenting a point forward for Copenhagen (ibid).

Landscape concepts as brands

The strategic use of landscape concepts in spatial planning can be compared with the process of place branding. As a 'producer', a spatial plannercan highlight specific social, emotional and functional values of the 'product' landscape by using a landscape concept. The landscape concept is like a mental image or 'brand'. The 'selective story', created by using a landscape concept, can influence 'consumers' of that story; they experience a 'fictional' landscape, which can trigger their thoughts and decisions and may result in actions that change the 'real' landscape. This process, then, can be called *landscape branding*.

Spatial planners can apply several branding techniques (as defined by Kavaratzis & Ashworth 2005), in order to enrich the description of a landscape and to associate with possible actions. Some fictional examples of landscape concepts for Het Groene Woud are related to specific branding techniques:

-   Van Gogh's Golden Fields (personality branding); characteristic landscapes and farm life, in reference to paintings by famous Dutch painter van Gogh who was born and raised in Brabant;
-   Networks of Vos (personality branding); promoting sport and recreation by providing attractive routes, in reference to Marianne Vos, a famous Dutch cyclist from Brabant, Olympic Gold 2008);
-   Landscape of Carnival (event branding); associating the dynamic landscape with the lively festival of carnival which takes place in the Catholic regions of the Netherlands.

The work of a spatial planner as 'producer' can benefit if he approaches a landscape as a 'product', translates it into a brand by using landscape concepts and relates to his 'consumers' (cf. an appeal for an 'entrepreneurial' attitude of spatial planners in mobilising ideas, see chapter 6). A spatial planner, in this case, is forced to accurately designate and promote landscape values; the effect of landscape branding is limited if the values presented do not reflect the prior knowledge and priorities of 'consumers' involved (cf. chapter 5.4). A spatial planner therefore needs to identify and engage with his target group; he needs to note the willingness or resistance of people to change and act according to the values presented. This way of 'consumer' thinking is constructive in the light of growing public-private partnerships in spatial planning (see e.g. Dammers et al. 2004).

Considerations

The comparison between product branding and landscape branding is in fact a simple comparison and needs some considerations (see also Kavaratzis & Ashworth 2005; Jensen 2005). Firstly, most landscapes have a complex physical nature and rich human history, which is hardly comparable to 'simple' material products. Secondly, it is

difficult to define who are 'producers' and who are 'consumers' in landscape branding, because spatial planners are sometimes 'producers' of plans and landscapes but sometimes 'consumers' of plans and landscapes developed by other spatial planners. The 'consumer' can also be defined in various ways; it may be a governor as commissioner of spatial planning activities or the public itself as users (residents, visitors) of the landscape. Thirdly, branding needs an ethical consideration as it has a 'dark side' (Jensen 2005). Various public targets are advanced by spatial planning, being a task that constitutes the democratic nature of planning (see e.g. Healey 2000). Some public targets may be at risk if a spatial planner is overly selective in branding (Jensen 2005). For example, urban branding is generally focused on the 'creative city' (targets concerning culture, leisure and a knowledge-based environment) at the cost of the 'welfare city' (targets concerning safety, health and education) (ibid). In this case, spatial planners risk excluding specific groups. Another ethical consideration, related to exclusion, is exemplified by the branding activities of the city of Toronto (in Jensen 2005, in reference to Grundy). Toronto promotes its gay community, its lively places and open-minded environment. In contrast to this promotion, Toronto has a history of homophobic campaigns including the notorious 'bathhouse raids'. "Ironically the same places that were targeted during the anti-gay campaigns are now being rehabilitated and celebrated as new hip places in the tolerant city" (ibid, p.17). These two examples show how place branding can be a selective procedure: it can exclude targets and thus people; it can exclude historical facts and thus re-write history. It is hard to define in advance when decisions in branding are 'too' selective. At least, spatial planners need to take into account the potentially selective consequences of landscape branding.

The warnings against possible exclusion of groups or the ridiculisation of history by place branding also apply to the case of Het Groene Woud. The BrabantCity Mosaic Metropolis plan shows an example. In one of the scenarios presented Het Groene Woud is part of the 'brand' Burgundian Brabant that focuses on enhancing Brabant's authenticity. In a text about the relationship between city and the countryside, Het Groene Woud is presented as a Central Park for surrounding cities. In this scenario, "[t]he romanticised image of the farmer on his tractor in an almost pastoral landscape is cultivated and idealised" (in [14], p.71). Likewise, the function of agriculture is presented as figurative rather than functional; more specifically, agriculture is reduced to a façade that hides the challenging reality. Agricultural history (like the vital role of farmers as landowners) as well as present-day agricultural issues (like sustainable development) are ignored in this scenario.

Landscape branding can result in hyper-symbolic texts, as the example of 'the farmer on his tractor'. This resembles a form of landscape design that can be defined as an 'arrogant' form of landscape design (Roncken 2008). Such hyper-symbolic texts may

in fact distort the sublime reality in landscapes: it creates picturesque images that are merely static and simplified (ibid). Likewise, an overly picturesque approach to branding can de-materialise landscapes and result in short-term solutions; such approaches ignore the short-term and long-term dynamics that shape and threaten our landscapes (cf. ibid).

7.6 Conclusion

Together, the landscape concepts of the genealogy tell a story about the landscape of Het Groene Woud, being a story of a green landscape with diverse land use influenced by Brabant's dynamic culture. Moreover, the genealogy is a story about the future of Het Groene Woud; many landscape concepts in the genealogy include policy targets concerning functions of nature, urbanisation and agriculture. In addition, these concepts go together with spatial strategies which are sometimes creative and sometimes protective attitudes towards new spatial developments. In short, the landscape concepts in the genealogy refer to the three dimensions of landscapes in spatial planning (i.e. landscapes as 'dynamic material', 'valued practice' and 'symbolic construction', see figure 7.7)

Six model characters of landscape concepts are identified, based on the genealogy of Het Groene Woud, which are related to the three landscape dimension (see figure 7.7). A character distinguishes one concept from another concept. Moreover, it is not simply the landscape concept itself but especially the way in which it is used that defines a character of a landscape concept; the characters of the landscape concepts listed in the genealogy generally depend on the political period and background of spatial planners involved (cf. chapter 5).
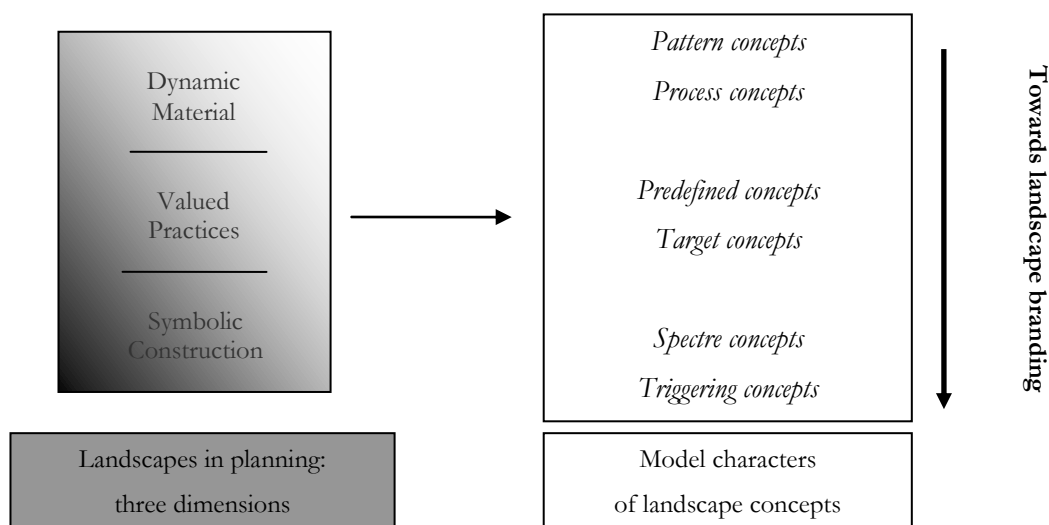

Figure 7.7 Conclusions from the Het Groene Woud genealogy

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The colourful nature of landscape concept becomes particularly evident by process, target, spectre and triggering concepts which can present a 'lively' landscape. Process concepts can be useful in dealing with the inherent dynamics of a landscape. Target concepts can be useful in defining specific and local ambitions. Spectre and triggering concepts, in particular, provide an opportunity for presenting the spirit of a landscape.

The 'lively' landscape concepts in particular are useful in the process of landscape branding. Landscape branding is the differentiation of a particular landscape from other landscapes, by promoting distinct features of that landscape in an inventive way (see e.g. Kavaratzis & Ashworth 2005). The genealogy shows a modest trend towards landscape branding, as the newest documents include more 'lively' concepts than the older documents[19]. Spatial planners need to take into account various practical and ethical considerations when applying landscape branding. A risk of branding is, for example, the unnoticed exclusion of certain land users by a short-sighted selection of landscape features. An overly selective process of landscape branding as well as the use of 'hyper-symbolic' concepts can be prevented by considering a landscape concept as a matter of concern. Likewise, an overly plain and static concept can be prevented by considering a landscape concept as a matter of concern. Overall, a 'colourful' landscape concept refers to both landscape matters and concerns (see figure 7.7).

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[19] A study into more policy documents concerning Het Groene Woud, for example national and local plans, may further ground the results. The kind of material used in the genealogy can also be broadened, for example, with 'lay' views or popular media including landscape concepts. Alternatively, other tools that also 'describe' landscapes can be included (e.g. photos, advertisements, speeches). Finally, a comparable genealogy of a Dutch National Landscape or other rurban area is helpful in comparing results considering the use of concepts in describing a landscape. These insights can also confirm or reshape the categories of concepts as defined in chapter 7.5 (see also figure 7.7).

Chapter 8 Interpretations of IJmeer concepts

…practices have their own rationality, which is different than we think, and which is dependent on our fears and desires rather than on our ability to reason.
Widdershoven in Foucault 1988, p.13

8.1 Landscape concepts for dealing with conflicts of interest

Incompatible ambitions, various views on the future of landscapes, different perspectives on spatial planning; these are examples of common conflicts in spatial planning (cf. Couclelis 2005). Conflicts range from obvious disagreement about the future of an area to subtle differences in attitudes towards spatial strategies. The second research question of this study addresses the supportive role of landscape concepts in spatial planning in dealing with these diverse conflicts: "How do spatial planners use landscape concepts for dealing with conflicts of interest?" (see chapter 2.3). Chapter 5 of this study gives a theoretical reflection on this research question. In that chapter it is described why and how spatial planners need to deal with conflicts in order to progress their ambitions. Cooperation between planners is not only a necessary but also a difficult process. Spatial planners can use a landscape concept as a helpful tool for dealing with conflicts of interest, not as a pre-defined solution with a unique meaning but as a shared and open concept that is used to trigger debate, assist design and guide decision-making. Various interpretations of 'one' concept, if unnoticed, may result in miscommunication and misleading consensus about the condition and future of a landscape. The supportive role of a landscape concept is only shown to full advantage if spatial planners firstly acknowledge that each person interprets a concept in a unique way, depending on their specific situation and ambitions (i.e. mix of collective goals and personal drives). This implies that spatial planners need to replace an 'old certainty' for a 'realistic expectation': a landscape concept cannot simply provide a fixed consensus from the start, rather it can be a start for a shared process (see interface I, based on chapter 5). This statement is further investigated and elaborated in this chapter by the presentation of a case study.

In this chapter it is investigated how landscape concepts are used in practice in order to deal with different ambitions concerning the future of a Dutch landscape[20]. It presents the example of a diverse team of professionals who decide to create a collective landscape vision for the IJmeer region in the Netherlands. The landscape vision includes a set of landscape concepts.

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[20] This chapter is based on: Hagens, J.E. (2007), *Principles of Spatial Conceptualisation; Examples from IJmeer: a Dutch Regional Planning Case.* Paper presented at the International Conference "New concepts and approaches for Urban and Regional Policy and Planning?", organised by the ESDP network and the SP2SP research project. 2 April 2007, Leuven Belgium (Based on Abstract 'Principles of spatial conceptualisation: telling the 'gap story' of the ideal and the actual').

The IJmeer region, the landscape vision and the team of professionals involved are introduced in chapter 8.2. The method, analytical framework and material studied are listed in chapter 8.3. The results and an analysis are presented in chapter 8.4. Consequently, the outcome is discussed in broader context in chapter 8.5. Finally, chapter 8.6 concludes this chapter by explaining if and how a landscape concept can be a start for a shared planning process.

8.2 Introduction to an innovative coalition

The IJmeer region of the Netherlands (Amsterdam-Almere) faces a typically Dutch regional spatial planning challenge:

> "In the IJmeer case, all aspects of the modern Dutch spatial planning profession seem to come together. A palette of problems and opportunities will appear in the (medium) long term with regard to water management, nature conservation and development, urban growth, infrastructural congestions, recreation and cultural heritage. This wide-ranging palette of developments will certainly influence the experience and characteristics of the IJmeer. (…) This (sometimes conflicting) multitude of questions requires the search for creative solutions. The search should be performed in such a way that the IJmeer will develop as a 'relief' in the urban dynamic of Amsterdam and Almere." (www.verkenningijmeer.nl)

The IJmeer region has diverse land uses and land users. Part of the capital of the Netherlands, historical Amsterdam, is positioned within the boundaries of the IJmeer case. The spatial and political influence of Amsterdam in the IJmeer region is significant. The second major city in the IJmeer case is Almere. Almere, part of the southern Flevoland polder, is a 'new town' (1976) that was planned during the major land reclamations in the Netherlands, the 'Zuiderzee Works' (see e.g. Constandse 1989). Almere was designated to relieve the housing shortage of the heavily urbanised centre of the 'old land', including Amsterdam (ibid). Besides this 'urban landscape', the IJmeer region can be considered as a 'water landscape'; it includes lake IJmeer. This lake was part of an inland sea, the Zuiderzee, until a closure dyke, the Afsluitdijk, separated the lake from the sea. This was the basis for the major Zuiderzee's land reclamations (see e.g. Potter 1986). The IJmeer is situated in between the old and new land. In line with its physical position, the IJmeer blocks urban development of Almere and Amsterdam in a natural way. Nevertheless, lake IJmeer has been object of a, relatively small but heavily disputed, land development project (i.e. IJburg, a district of Amsterdam on artificial islands), as well as object of several non-realised major reclamation plans (see e.g. Potter 1986; Neijens & Van Praag 2006). The IJmeer not only blocks urban growth, it also causes infrastructural problems: there are only two bridges that deal with the daily flow of commuters between Almere and Amsterdam and surroundings. Above all, the IJmeer region is a valuable area which offers

opportunities for nature, serves water recreation and provides an attractive environment for housing (www.verkenningijmeer.nl).
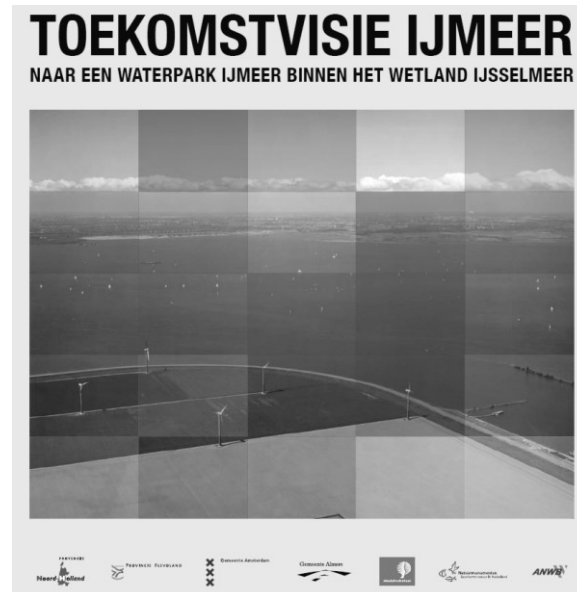

Figure 8.1 Cover of the IJmeer vision (ANWB et al 2005)
"IJmeer Vision, towards a Waterpark IJmeer surrounded by wetlandsystem Lake IJssel"

The IJmeer Vision (ANWB et al 2005) is one of many spatial plans to address the spatial challenges in the IJmeer region (see figure 8.1). It is a long-term vision for 2030 to 2050. The vision includes a set of key landscape concepts: Waterpark, North-Wing, Double City and Ecological Mainport. The vision provides a typical case of innovative spatial planning (along the lines of so-called 'development planning', cf. Dammers et al. 2004). Firstly, the boundaries of the case were determined by the spatial issues at stake and not by institutional boundaries. Secondly, the making of the IJmeer Vision was initiated by an interest group rather than the government, namely by Natuurmonumenten (Dutch Society for the Preservation of Nature)[21]. Thirdly, the IJmeer Vision was produced by an informal coalition of representatives (professionals) from seven different organisations, including governments and interest groups: Natuurmonumenten, Municipality of Almere, Municipality of Amsterdam, Province of Flevoland, Province of Noord-Holland, Staatsbosbeheer (Dutch Forestry Commission) and ANWB (Royal Dutch touring -tourist and traffic association). An explorative document precedes the vision, with all seven organisations but the two provinces as authors. All representatives in the team can be defined, at least temporarily and in this specific case, as spatial planners in line with the definition of

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[21] Interestingly, Natuurmonumenten was a leading opponent of the Amsterdam City Council in the 1997 referendum about the development of the IJburg district, referring to the potentially negative impact on nature. A majority of voters was against the development, yet the number of votes was insufficient and developments have accordingly started (see interview Natuurmonumenten, in Boekel et al. 2006; Neijens & Van Praag 2006). In that case, Natuurmonumenten could be defined as a protester and not as a spatial planner.

this study: a practitioner who is professionally involved in strategic and collective efforts to enhance landscapes, which includes practical, ethical and political considerations about land uses and interests (see chapter 1). Moreover, although each representative has a specific ambition or interest, each representative acknowledges that he depends on the others and is willing to cooperate (cf. chapter 5). In addition, the team members can be defined as 'adventurous' spatial planners with a flexible and cooperative attitude who acknowledge the diversity of team members (cf. chapter 5). Likewise, in the foreword of the vision it is explained that the vision should not be a 'plain' compromise (ANWB et al 2005).

The IJmeer case provides an interesting case for studying how landscape concepts are used by a team of 'adventurous' spatial planners in dealing with diverse interests concerning a regional and complex 'rurban' landscape. The case study is used to answer questions that follow from the research question "How do spatial planners use landscape concepts for dealing with conflicts of interests?" and the 'realistic expectations' as formulated in interface I. How is the set of landscape concepts used to deal with conflicts of interests in the IJmeer case? To what extent are the landscape concepts in the IJmeer case 'shared concepts'? What is the possible role of landscape concepts in dealing with difference?

8.3 Approach and analytical framework

The case study concerns a *comparative analysis*, being a method for interpretive analysis; it presents the various ways in which, in this case, the landscape concepts of the vision are interpreted and understood by various people of one team at a certain moment (Yanow 2000; see also chapter 3). More specifically, the definitions of four main landscape concepts in the collective vision (in 2005) and the 'readings' of these concepts by the representatives of the seven organisations involved (in 2006) are listed, interpreted and compared (see appendix B & chapter 8.4). The 'readings' of the concepts are influenced by the expectations and assumptions of the professional, as well as by the history and culture of the organisation involved (cf. landscape concepts as discursive construction; see chapter 5.4 in reference to Barthes and Culler). The user of a concept, being the 'reader' of a 'text', interprets a concept in his own way; his 'reading' is based on his horizon of experience. A 'reader' thus 're-writes' the initial meaning of the 'author' (ibid). Interestingly, in the case of the IJmeer Vision, the professionals of the team involved are both the collective 'author' of the vision as well as different 'readers' of their own 'texts'.

Two sources are used to study the collective definitions and individual readings of four landscape concepts. The four main landscape concepts studied are: Waterpark, North Wing, Double City and Ecological Mainport. Firstly, the collective definition of each concept is interpreted from the IJmeer Vision document (ANWB et al 2005).

Secondly, the various 'readings' are interpreted from interviews with a key participant of each organisation involved (documented in Boekel et al 2006). The interviews focus on how the professionals, as representatives of the organisation, define the landscape concepts in terms of both landscape matters (e.g. functions and locations) and landscape concerns (e.g. worries and opportunities), as well as the role of the concept in the spatial planning process. Expectations, ambitions and the culture of the organisation involved will be revealed, as far as possible. See appendix B for a description of the main interests of the seven organisations, as well as their 'readings' of each concept.

8.4 Results: a comparative analysis of the IJmeer concepts

In chapter 8.4, the outcome of the comparative analysis is presented. It describes the interests of the organisations involved as well as the collective definitions and diverse readings of the landscape concepts (see appendix B for detailed descriptions). Consequently, the outcome is interpreted; both positive and negative signs of dealing with the diverse interests are presented.

Outcome

Comparative analysis & interests

The seven organisations involved represent a variety of organisations with diverse goals and responsibilities (listed in appendix B): they range from nature manager to recreation representative, from local to regional government, from spokesperson of a specific target (e.g. attractive waterfronts) to general objectives (e.g. 'spatial quality'), from 'footloose' to area-bound organisation. Notwithstanding this variety of organisations, all interests seem to fit in one picture: the coalition of organisations is concerned with the combination of water, nature, housing and recreation functions in the IJmeer region.

Comparative analysis & landscape concepts

Waterpark

Definition(s) in the vision: the main motto of the vision is 'Waterpark IJmeer for the North Wing'. "[T]he term Waterpark expresses the ambition to develop IJmeer and surrounding watersides towards an area in which recreation, nature and urbanisation go together in harmony." (ANWB et al 2005, p.11) Literally, "[w]ater refers to the classical element that has shaped Holland: the sea, delta, rivers, pools and lakes. The term park refers to an enclosed area in an urban environment, providing place for people and nature" (ibid, p.11). The addition of 'for the North Wing' in the motto expresses the regional value of Waterpark. Waterpark is part of the Markermeer'wetland system' and is related to the European Water, Bird and Habitat directives (nature). Moreover, the vision document describes the value of Waterpark in relation to 'experience' and water sports (recreation). Furthermore, Waterpark is

named as an important regional business establishment criterion (urbanisation). Waterpark, as a diverse landscape, is also linked to three typical shore areas (i.e. Waterland, Vechtstreek, Almere). Thus Waterpark refers to a combination of functions and ambitions, with special attention to the attractiveness of the IJmeer.

Readings of the organisations: in line with the vision, the respondents regard Waterpark as the appealing motto and relevant result of the making of the vision. Overall, the organisations consider it a "full package" of spatial functions. Furthermore, Natuurmonumenten and the province of Noord-Holland mention that the concept needs further financial and strategic considerations.

North Wing

Definition(s) in the vision: North Wing is generally used as an organisational concept, referring to the cooperation of local and regional governments in the fields of urbanisation, infrastructure, economic and other spatial development in the northern part of the Randstad conurbation (Rim-City metropolitan area in the western part of the Netherlands). As a geographical concept, it accordingly refers to the Northern part of the Randstad. Likewise, North Wing is used as an addition to the main motto (i.e. Waterpark) by presenting 'Waterpark of the North Wing'. This addition particularly emphasises the regional dimension of the IJmeer case, referring to its broader (geographical) context. North Wing also implies a big urbanisation challenge: a housing task of 150.000 new houses for 2010-2030, together with economic development.

Readings of the organisations: overall, the respondents refer to the North Wing as a regional approach for dealing with urbanisation, in line with the vision. Natuurmonumenten, Staatsbosbeheer and the Province of Noord-Holland also link 'green' ambitions to the North Wing, for example, the IJmeer is the 'centre' of the North Wing. ANWB does not specify the concept in line with the other organisations but emphasises the need of recreation areas.

Double City

Definition(s) in the vision: Double City is less central in the vision than Waterpark and North Wing both in quantity and significance. The main message behind Double City is expressed in a picture featuring an 'old' and 'ideal' map of the region entitled "from two separate cities towards one Double City Amsterdam-Almere surrounding the IJmeer" (ibid, p.22). In contrast to the 'old' map, the 'ideal' map shows two arrows; the arrows connect both cities and possibly refer to infrastructural connections. Moreover, in the 'ideal' map, the central space (i.e. IJmeer, here as Ecological Mainport) is part of Double City rather than separated from the cities; even more, the central space is described as 'vital' component of the concept. So, Double City refers to a desired future development; it includes the (physical) connection of Amsterdam and Almere and presents the IJmeer as 'centre' of the region.

Readings of the organisations: the respondents present diverse interpretations of Double City but mostly focus on 'red' functions. Firstly, two organisations have little sympathy with the concept: Staatsbosbeheer 'does not embrace' the concept although it does accept the reality of urbanisation; the municipality of Amsterdam prefers the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area concept although it does sympathise with the idea of cooperation. The other organisations particularly underline the regional and integrative approach to housing which embraces the relationship between Almere and Amsterdam. In addition, the province of Flevoland states that ecological and water issues firstly need to be tackled prior to 'red' investments. ANWB emphasises the recreational role of the IJmeer and states that Amsterdam and Almere should not 'turn their back on' but 'watch over' the IJmeer.

Ecological Mainport
Definition(s) in the vision: lake IJmeer, together with lake Markermeer, is presented as future Ecological Mainport. It will be part of a 'wetland system', an extensive nature area with "an absolutely unique position on the 'green-blue' map of Europe" (ibid, p.27). More specifically, it is a 'stepping stone' for the migration of birds. The concept is also presented as 'at least equally important' as the Economic Mainport Schiphol.
Readings of the organisations: most organisations underline the 'green-blue' description and 'ecological voice' of the Ecological Mainport as presented in the vision. The respondents consider IJmeer as part of a, potentially, valuable wetland system of national and international importance. In addition, they describe nature as a valuable feature for housing environments. The province of Flevoland wants more details about the ecological possibility and feasibility of the concept. The ANWB expresses worries about the accessibility of nature, as well as about the feasibility of the concept itself. In line with worries about its feasibility, but in a more constructive way, Natuurmonumenten and the municipalities emphasise that the concept depends on the financial support of other concepts: investments in the 'mainport' are crucial. Finally, Natuurmonumenten worries that this 'green' concept will be overruled by 'red' ideas in future. Are these worries valid?

Interpretations
Interpretation a – convergence
The four landscape concepts of the IJmeer Vision studied are shared by the seven organisations on paper in the vision; however, their individual readings show that they are only shared to a certain extent in reality. More specifically, some readings can be interpreted as signs of convergence whereas others can be interpreted as signs of divergence of interests.

Some observations from the comparative analysis imply the *converging* of diverse interests or organisations by the use of landscape concepts:

- The four landscape concepts are problem or area specific concepts rather than general concepts. Accordingly, the organisations involved identify with the concepts as they refer to their specific interest, territory or responsibility. They recognise both problems and solutions, which are 'packed' together by the concepts. The combination of problems and solutions form a useful point of reference in processes of planning and design: "[o]ften the problem may not even be fully understood without some acceptable solution to illustrate it (Lawson 2006, p.48; cf. Van Duinen 2004, p.14).

- All landscape concepts studied appear to be open concepts without detailed meaning; there is 'room' for the organisations involved to link their interest to a concept and thus to connect with the concepts (e.g. the 'full package' of Waterpark);

- In their readings, the professionals make references to the broader spatial context of the concepts (i.e. regional, national and international scale). These 'scale shifts' will favour the involvement of other organisations.

- The landscape concepts are presented as a visionary tool rather than as a direct rule or restriction (e.g. 'Waterpark' as motto, not as guideline)[22]. Due to this 'safe' role, organisations do not directly feel forced to elaborate or strictly follow the concept; they will be more willing to accept these concepts even if they may conflict with their interests.

Together, these observations of 'convergence' show a paradoxical balance: the landscape concepts are open and abstract as well as specific and local. Overall, the use of the landscape concepts connects both land use in spatial sense as well as people in strategic sense.

Interpretation b - divergence

Notwithstanding the signs of convergence, other observations from the analysis indicate to a *diverging* process:

- The respondents give different details to the landscape concepts; for example, they give either a 'housing' or a 'recreational' reading. In another example, a respondent even presents an alternative concept (i.e. Amsterdam Metropolitan Area instead of Double City);

- The respondents give different priorities to land use functions, exemplified by discussions about 'red' and 'green' (e.g. 'green' as prerequisite for 'red' development, or vice versa). In other words, the respondents mostly consider all concepts as important (at first sight) yet favour them differently. For example, some respondents define the concept Ecological Mainport as reasonable but not

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[22] In the words of chapter 4 & 7 of this book, the landscape concepts hardly refer to the IJmeer landscape as 'valued practice' but rather as 'dynamic material' and 'symbolic construction'. In other words, they do not imply official policy targets or rules. An exception is the concept North Wing as it includes government commitments about numbers of houses to be built. Nevertheless, in this specific case, the professionals involved mostly describe the concept North Wing in spatial and visionary terms.

realistic; they suggest that it is merely a 'sop' concept to please nature organisations, rather than a significant concept.
- Respondents express worries about the functional or financial feasibility of a concept in future (e.g. Natuurmonumenten is worried about the future of Ecological Mainport).

The first observation, contrasting details, is to be expected since the diverse ambitions and backgrounds of the various professionals and organisations can simply not be ruled out. But what are the consequences of contrasting readings in the long term? The second observation, different priorities, suggests that problems may arise in the long term when postponed decisions about land use have to be made. The third observation, fears about feasibility, indicates an underlying challenge: are the organisations truly committed to the vision? What will be their future contribution to the IJmeer region? Moreover, do the organisations trust each other in their commitments?

Interpretation c – convergence or divergence?
Overall, the landscape concepts are shared solutions for the specific moment but conflicts might arise in future when design details and decisions about finances are made. The landscape concepts may then appear to be partial or even seeming solutions. Another evaluation of the IJmeer process, which focuses on the process in general, presents a similar conclusion: organisations are positive about the vision but are worried about the feasibility of ideas involved (Soeterbroek & Rijckenberg 2007). Moreover, organisations involved have a different view on the status of the vision (ibid). Was it a starting point of cooperation that should have been continued or was it the final result of a cooperation?

A short survey of two documents concerning the IJmeer region, which were produced shortly after the vision, provides insight into the continuation of the four landscape concepts studied. Notably, these documents can be labelled as 'traditional' documents in contrast to the innovative IJmeer Vision; namely, the documents are a 'red' programme for the entire North Wing area on the authority of the national government (MinLNV et al 2006[23]) and a 'green' answer to this programme by a group of nature organisations (Staatsbosbeheer et al 2007[24], including Natuurmonumenten and Staatsbosbeheer). Interestingly, the main concept of Waterpark is only mentioned once in the first document and never in the latter document. Furthermore, Double City is defined as a comprehensive concept in the IJmeer Vision but is mainly presented as a 'red' concept in the North Wing document.

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[23] 'Implementation of the 'scale shift' Almere in relation to the development of the Amsterdam region, accessibility and ecological improvement of IJmeer-Markermeer' is also one of the priorities listed in the national strategic vision Randstad 2040 [Rimcity 2040] (MinVROM 2008).
[24] This programme is only one of many green protests to developments in the IJmeer region. See, for example, www.ijmeeropen.petities.nl of Foundantion de Kwade Zwaan [angry swan].

The green manifesto also introduces new, mainly sector-based landscape concepts for the IJmeer area, like Blue Hart. In these cases, Waterpark is no longer 'alive'. It is a sign that some landscape concepts are temporary yet helpful for that specific moment. They help bring people together and provide an initial and innovative direction for future landscapes. Landscape concepts have, in this case, a 'modest' role.

Not only the landscape concepts but also the vision itself has a 'modest' role in spatial planning processes in the IJmeer region after the production of the vision. The IJmeer Vision studied has not been the leading vision for the area (Soeterbroek & Rijckenberg 2007). The organisations involved do continue their spatial planning activities in the IJmeer region but mostly in different ways: Amsterdam and Almere tend to deal with housing and design issues, the provinces are key participants in creating a vision for the entire IJmeer-Markermeer area with special attention for water and nature[25] and the other organisations involved in the vision return to their traditional role (ibid). Overall, national decisions about the North Wing as well as a national Randstad (Rim-City) programme are leading for future spatial initiatives concerning the broader IJmeer-Markermeer region (see e.g. Soeterbroek & Rijckenberg 2007). Another development with probably major consequences for the future of the IJmeer area is the official designation of the IJmeer and Markermeer lakes as European Natura 2000 area (minLNV 2009).

The IJmeer case shows that, despite a result defined as successful, it is difficult to progress new ideas as presented by landscape concepts as well as continue the achievement of an innovative coalition of diverse professionals. Chapter 8.5 discusses how a shared result can be continued, including the possible role of visioning by 'adventurous' spatial planners.

8.5 Discussion: the power of a dream

The outcome of convergence and divergence of interests in the IJmeer process in relation to the use of landscape concepts can be related to the complex nature of strategic planning and planners. Firstly, the process of 'imagineering' a future landscape is a tricky process. Secondly, the possibility of 'adventurous' spatial planners finding solutions together may be temporary or restricted. Moreover, rigidities in the planning system explain some restrictions in the outcome of the IJmeer process.

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[25] Commissioned by the national government; the provinces cooperate with ANWB, Natuurmonumenten, Staatsbosbeheer, municipalities of Amsterdam and Almere among other participants (see e.g. www.markermeerijmeer.nl; Province of Noord-Holland et al. 2009).

Imagineering

The creation of the IJmeer Vision can be considered as a powerful visioning process. The spatial planners involved are concerned with the preferable future, rather than the possible or probable future. The process concerns 'imagineering' like vision planning rather than 'engineering' (Gaffikin & Sterrett 2006; cf. Van Duinen 2004):

> "Vision planning is premised on the idea that the best way to predict a more uncertain future is to have the inventiveness and reflexivity to create it. In this understanding, visioning is about thinking in the future tense, appreciating that in a period of rapid and profound change it is less viable to deduce from the experienced present than to trace back from an imagined future" (ibid, p.162; cf. Hidding 2006, p.228-29).

Visions are helpful in participative, value-driven and action-oriented practices (Neuman 1998; Gaffikin & Sterrett 2006). Comprehensive visions can be considered as the 'loci' for useful conflicts (Neuman 1998, p.215). Accordingly, landscape concepts may play a central role in visioning as 'nodal point' or 'the power of a dream' (Neuman 1998, Gaffikin & Sterrett 2006). Moreover, visions and concepts can be helpful in bonding spatial planners. Bonding is even possible if spatial planners have diverse drives:

> "[Spatial planners] normally fall into two camps: those who want to secure development potential and those who are opposed to particular developments. Visioning offers an opportunity to widen and deepen participation beyond this adversarial dialogue" (Gaffikin & Sterrett 2006, p.174; cf. Van Wesemael et al. 2009).

Indeed, the landscape concept Waterpark in the IJmeer Vision can be considered as 'the power of a dream' since it is an 'open' concept that bundles diverse interests together; some readings of Waterpark even move beyond the traditional 'red versus green' deadlock as functions are considered as interrelated. Nevertheless, it appears to be a short-term success. Notwithstanding the possible function of an 'open' landscape concept, an 'open' concept risks becoming an 'empty signifier' if ending up meaningless by meaning too many different things (ibid, p.164, in reference to Torfing; cf. chapter 5). Likewise, ideas created in visioning processes risk ending up as ideas of intermediate level, being plain compromises (ibid). The extent to which the landscape concepts in the IJmeer Vision have developed into empty or plain concepts also depends on the interpretations of the users of the concepts.

Adventurous spatial planners?

The participants of the IJmeer coalition were defined as *adventurous* spatial planners in chapter 8.2. They were indeed adventurous, at least for that moment: they were open to the diverse ambitions of other spatial planners and used shared landscape concepts for a complex planning issue (cf. chapter 5.3). However, the organisations returned to their traditional positions after the vision was completed (see chapter 8.4). Overall,

the coalition of organisations that developed the vision can be defined as a group with an 'adventurous' will at the start but as a group with a 'fearing' will at the end (cf. chapter 5.3). Moreover, could the participants involved be described as adventurous *spatial planners*? In the interview, the organisation ANWB states that its input was restricted since it mainly represented recreation and mobility related interests. Likewise, other organisations blame ANWB for its minimal and one-sided input (cf. Soeterbroek & Rijckenberg, p.41: traditional spatial planners were disappointed about the weak role of the new spatial planners). Accordingly, ANWB was rather a 'watchdog' than a spatial planner who was willing to integrate functions (cf. definition of spatial planner in chapter 1.2: a practitioner who is professionally involved in strategic and collective efforts to enhance landscapes, which includes practical, ethical and political considerations about land uses and interests.) However, instead of pointing the finger, another problem should be dealt with, which is indicated by ANWB itself. Namely, a spatial planner needs time, capacity and financial resources to participate in a spatial planning process. Lack of time, capacity or financial resources excludes potential spatial planners. For example, according to the interviews, some organisations involved regret that small municipalities of the IJmeer region could not actively participate in the vision process; they were merely represented by the provinces. Notwithstanding this plea, the local council of the small municipality of Muiden refused the involvement of Muiden in the vision process since it does not want to participate in a process that favours housing development on the water shore of Almere (Soeterbroek & Rijckenberg 2007). Likewise, part of the green lobby favours Natuurmonumenten in an opposing and not in a compromising role (see e.g. Volkskrant 2006). Clearly, some people do not want their organisation to become an active spatial planner at all.

Flexibility in a rigid planning system
The informal status of the Waterpark landscape concept was crucial in bringing professionals together but made it easier for the professionals involved to put away the concept in later stages. They reached no official agreements about land use priorities or about future responsibilities (see also Soeterbroek & Rijckenberg 2007). From a traditional conformance perspective, this can be considered a failure of the landscape concepts or of the spatial planners themselves (cf. chapter 6.2). From a performance perspective, however, the landscape concepts and spatial planners can also be defined as successful since the process generated new ideas and constructive relationships (cf. chapter 6.2). Paradoxically, the IJmeer Vision process needs 'flexibility in rigidity': it requires an open and informal network and flexibility of 'adventurous' professionals involved on the one hand, but on the other hand it depends on strong leadership and the legitimacy of new ideas by institutionalisation in existing power structures (cf. Gaffikin & Sterrett 2006, Neuman 1998). The problem is thus that new ideas and relationships created seem to be 'lost' in the force of old

habits and 'overruled' by traditional authorities (as national programs). Problematically, spatial planners who appeal for innovative spatial planning approaches need to break through old patterns and habits of a system yet are part of the old system themselves (Van Assche 2006; Hillier 2005).

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter presents a comparative analysis of the readings of seven organisations concerning four landscape concepts of a vision for the Dutch IJmeer region. The analysis shows that the landscape concepts are shared concepts; they are recognisable and inspiring ideas that bond professionals involved together but are neither durable agreements nor detailed designs. This conclusion is in line with the statement in chapter 8.1 about the supportive role of a landscape concept: a landscape concept cannot simply provide a fixed consensus from the start, rather it can be a start for a shared process (see interface I & based on chapter 5).

First of all, 'a problem shared is a problem halved'. The landscape concepts in the IJmeer vision are used to represent and bundle the diverse planning challenges of the organisations involved; they are open yet problem-specific concepts. Moreover, the concepts were used to link planning problems to preferable solutions: they are mottos or points of reference that can inspire further spatial planning actions. The organisations involved are duly proud of the landscape concepts. However, they also express worries about the future of the landscape concepts in the vision. In fact, the landscape concepts rather seem to be the result of a shared process than the start of a shared process. How to move from synergies towards forms of commitment and realisation?

The continuation of the main Waterpark landscape concept is hindered by a combination of aspects, such as the lack of a leading and committed organisation that could progress the vision. Above all, the participants have returned to old positions and the traditional power of national plans has overruled. It is a missed opportunity that the Waterpark concept, as an innovative idea of a group of adventurous spatial planners, has been lost.

The weak continuation of Waterpark does not, however, deny the success achieved in inspiring and bonding the organisations of the coalition. A short-term success may be inevitable and even essential for a future with shifting spatial planning coalitions, in which each new coalition is assisted by another point of reference that inspires and guides the planning process.

Chapter 9 Tactics around concept Plan Stork

… writing about worlds does as much reflect about ourselves as it does about the worlds represented.
Barnes & Duncan 1992, p.3

9.1 Landscape concepts to establish direction

"How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to establish direction?" This question about the consequential role of a landscape concept was introduced in chapter 2.3 of this study. In other words, when is a landscape concept successful? Chapter 6 explains how, in order to establish direction, a landscape concept needs the power to challenge leading but outdated ideas and to mobilise people in new directions. The power of a landscape concept is rooted in its rhetorical nature and depended on the 'entrepreneurship' of its promoter (see chapter 6).

A performance perspective on the success of a landscape concept does not merely embrace the formal achievement of a concept, but particularly the tactical power of a concept: namely, it not only takes in whether the concept is settled in practice (or not) but especially *how* the concept has (not) been settled, including intended and unintended consequences (see chapter 6). This subtle learning process through the use of a landscape concept is underestimated on paper in assessments and research, but prevails in the reality of practice. Likewise, spatial planners and planning researchers need to adjust their expectations about the possible success of landscape concepts. Landscape concepts play a powerful role in spatial planning practice, not only after being formalised, but especially by their subtle effects towards formalisation in challenging invalid landscape ideas and mobilising people (see interface I, based on chapter 6). This statement, based on theoretical reflections, is further investigated in this chapter by the presentation of a case study.

This chapter presents the performance of a landscape concept in establishing direction in spatial planning practice. It presents a case study about a landscape concept in Dutch regional spatial planning that has proved a popular but also disputed concept: Plan Stork[26]. The history of Plan Stork is firstly introduced in chapter 9.2. The case study approach, being a narrative analysis, is explained in chapter 9.3. The results of the case study are presented in chapter 9.4, being the narrative of Plan Stork. The results are related to the process of agenda-setting in the discussion in chapter 9.5. Finally, chapter 9.6 concludes by answering questions about the use of landscape concepts in establishing direction.

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[26] This chapter is based on a reflection with Hetty van der Stoep and Jannemarie de Jonge on the project 'Doorbraken in het rivierengebied' (i.e. De Jonge & Van der Windt 2007; see also De Jonge 2009) and has been further developed in cooperation with Hetty van der Stoep (researcher into 'Space in Transition: Planning, Knowledge and Action in Metropolitan Landscapes' Land Use Planning Group, Wageningen University).

9.2 Introduction to celebrated Plan Stork

In 1986, a Dutch team of landscape architects, an ecologist and river expert created a comprehensive regional design for the future of the river areas in the Netherlands, entitled "Plan Stork". The design was one of the entries in a design competition organised by the EO Wijers Foundation. The challenge was to provide an innovative regional design with new spatial structures for Dutch river area landscapes (www.eowijers.nl). Together, the spatial structures should create a recognisable river identity and restore the ecological aspects of the river system. Plan Stork dealt with three specific challenges: solving spatial problems that restricted agricultural development, satisfying the demand for sand and clay extraction and developing a river management strategy that would prevent ground rise by silt accretion. The Plan Stork team was eager to break through traditional, sector-based and non-dynamic, perspectives on landscape and spatial planning. The team therefore presented an integrated design and planning approach, focusing on river-related, ecological and agricultural functions and developments (Van Nieuwenhuijze et al., 1986).

The team won first prize for their design and approach. According to the jury report, Plan Stork was comprehensive, 'pushing back frontiers' and including an ecological perspective. The ecological perspective is expressed by the Plan Stork landscape concept, which includes spatial ideas and strategies for the river area: "… the return of the black stork in the river area, to be achieved by the plan, can be interpreted as a (symbolic) contribution to a more respectful river environment" (ibid, part D, no page). More than twenty years later, several nature areas in the river flood plains of the Netherlands have been designed according to the ideas and principles behind the landscape concept Plan Stork, for example, the Blauwe Kamer along the River Rhine (see e.g. www.utrechtslandschap.nl; see figure 9.1) and the Gelderse Poort along the River Waal (see e.g. Bekhuis et al. 2005). In contrast to the open and cultivated river areas in the Netherlands, these places have an 'uncultivated' appearance, including flood plain forest, marshy woodland and grazers.

Plan Stork is still a common landscape concept; it is known, applied and discussed by professionals in spatial planning as well as related fields. For example, researchers consider Plan Stork to be a crucial idea that changed the vision on water management; it includes a broader focus on the environment and has an adaptive rather than a technocratic style (Van der Brugge et al. 2005; Van der Brink & Wiering 2009). In addition, Plan Stork has had a significant influence on Dutch designs for river landscapes (De Jonge 2009). The ecological field has been more critical, for example, about the ambivalence of the offensive approach to nature conservation by creating 'new nature' as presented in Plan Stork (Van den Belt 2004). Likewise, some practitioners consider some of the results of the implementation of the Plan Stork concept as undesired. For example, Plan Stork's wilderness vegetation literally sits in

the runway of river runoff; likewise, it figuratively 'sits in the runway' of the Directorate-General for Public Works and Water Management as their new plan 'Streamline' promotes straightforward river runoff (MinVenW 2007b). Both positive and negative attention indicates that Plan Stork has become a well-known landscape concept.

Figure 9.1 Nature area De Blauwe Kamer, designed according to principles of Plan Stork (www.utrechtslandschap.nl)

This chapter specifically focuses on the performance of Plan Stork as a landscape concept, i.e. the impact of a comprehensive concept that is 'packed' with diverse landscape ideas and is 'tagged' with the creative label Stork (i.e. a metonym, see chapter 6.4). In line with the research question (see 2.3) and taking into account the realistic expectations about the impact of landscape concepts (based on part B, see interface I), this chapter focuses on the consequential role of a landscape concept. How has the concept Plan Stork been used in establishing direction in spatial planning? What are crucial or successful elements of the process?

9.3 Approach and analytical framework

The performance of the Plan Stork landscape concept in establishing direction is studied by concept analysis, based on an interpretive research approach (see chapter 3). In this case, the concept analysis is a comprehensive narrative analysis of the performance of Plan Stork, resulting in a detailed narrative of 'one' concept; the narrative includes the promoters and users of the concept, as well as the created successes and failures (e.g. congruence and conflicts) (cf. Yanow 2000). The comprehensiveness of the narrative is central. In other words, in order to show the reality and complexity of the situation, it is crucial to show the 'rich ambiguity' of the narrative rather than directly simplify or generalise it (Flyvbjerg 2006). The narrative of Plan Stork is an 'extreme case' as it is a remarkable and popular case, involving many people and being a sequence of events, which provides a great amount of information (ibid).

The narrative is constructed by interpreting the meaning of Plan Stork in several planning and political documents. The documents include the introduction and elaboration of the concept by the Plan Stork team itself, as well as documented debates concerning Plan Stork by other professionals and politicians (see details about

material in chapter 9.4). In addition, some general studies are used to further explain the (political) context of Plan Stork. Together, the documents present important 'episodes' of the narrative of Plan Stork. These 'episodes' specifically highlight the subtle process of Plan Stork towards formalisation in policy documents and implementation via projects.

The performance of Plan Stork in each 'episode' is analysed by a dramaturgical framework (after Hajer & Uitermark 2008, see also chapter 6.2). A dramaturgical framework helps understand the sequence of performances of Plan Stork, including its promoters and their "tactical intelligence" in public and political settings (Hajer & Uitermark 2008, p.4). The dramaturgical framework in this chapter focuses on:

- The 'setting' of the episode: political context and spatial situation;
- The 'scripts' and 'counter-scripts' of Plan Stork: definitions and roles linked to Plan Stork, as well as definitions and roles that argue against other 'scripts';
- The 'staging', including 'active players' and 'the audience': relevant interactions that put forward Plan Stork.

So, the narrative of Plan Stork is a combination of 'settings', 'scripts', 'counter-scripts', 'stagings', 'active players' and 'audience'.

9.4 Results: the narrative of Plan Stork

Chapter 9.4 presents seven episodes of the narrative of Plan Stork. Each episode starts with an *interpretation* of the performance of Plan Stork following a dramaturgical framework (see chapter 9.3). This interpretation can be considered as a summary. After the interpretation, either an elaborated version or some examples of the episode are described, being *details*.

Episode 1: Prior to Plan Stork
Interpretation episode 1
In the 1970s and 1980s, Plan Stork is not yet a known landscape concept. However, some 'active players' in the field of spatial planning, landscape design and landscape ecology create 'scripts' about environmental approaches to river area designs. These ideas are later bundled into the landscape concept Plan Stork. Likewise, the professional and political 'setting' becomes more receptive to ecological and integrated approaches to spatial planning and land development.

Details episode 1
Spatial planning in the Netherlands from the post-war era to the 1980s is characterised as technical and modernistic planning (Doevendans et al., 2007). The Netherlands reconstructs after the Second World War. Agricultural development is central, resulting in intensification of land use and large land consolidation projects (Raad voor het Landelijk Gebied, 2002). Concerns about the natural environment and

other functions in rural areas are marginal but become slightly evident from the seventies onwards (ibid). A 'static' landscape perspective is challenged by a 'system' perspective (De Jonge & Van der Windt 2007); namely, the dynamics and consequences of a land use function, including its relation with other land use functions, receive more attention (cf. Kleefmann 1984). For example, land use development policies for rural areas go beyond agriculture alone and include functions like recreation and ecology (Raad voor het Landelijk Gebied 2002, in reference to the Land Use Interaction Report from 1975). In addition, a protective approach towards nature policy is challenged by a development approach, for example, triggered by spontaneous nature development of the Oostvaardersplassen (i.e. wetlands) in the new Dutch Flevoland polder (De Jonge & Van der Windt 2007). In line with these changes, the dominant image of Dutch rivers as merely important for shipping industry and water runoff becomes outdated. Plan Stork will build on these new approaches to landscape and planning (De Jonge & Van der Windt 2007).

Episode 2: Plan Stork as prize winning design
Interpretation episode 2
In 1986, Plan Stork is presented in a landscape design that is designated as a prize winning design. This victory is a first 'staging' of Plan Stork, being a crucial promotion. Plan Stork is a comprehensive 'script' that includes an innovative combination of land use functions for Dutch river areas. "At a cursory glance, the plan creates the impression that it is particularly focused on nature development and that it slightly neglects the cultural anthropogenic aspects. That is not so" (in Van Nieuwenhuijze et al. 1986, no page). This somewhat defensive statement of the jury neatly summarises the spirit of the age. Namely, the 'setting' is subjected to conflicts between different perspectives on landscape and spatial planning, being technical agricultural on the one hand and novel environmental on the other hand.

Details episode 2
The national EO Wijers Foundation organises a design competition and demands comprehensive regional designs for Dutch river areas including new regional spatial structures (www.eowijers.nl). One of the entries is called Plan Stork. Plan Stork is a design by a team of landscape architects and an ecologist and river expert. The document is a basic document with a bunch of replicated pictures of Black Storks (Ciconia Nigra) on the cover (Van Nieuwenhuijze et al. 1986). Plan Stork introduces three land use zones in the river area: a zone for ecological restoration of the dynamic river system in the forelands, a zone for opportunities for agriculture inside-the-dyke area and a zone in-between nature and agriculture intended for other land use functions (e.g. housing on the natural levees). Likewise, 'nature' dominates the landscape outside-the-dike area and 'culture' inside-the-dike area. This approach results in Nature Threads of rivers through the central Netherlands, along with

regional river-related landscape diversity. In addition, Plan Stork introduces a new form of government: the Waard board (being Property board; the Dutch word 'waard' means low land as well as landlord). The Waard board is a private law organisation responsible for the management of the river section and the flood plains. The total design and approach is represented by the Plan Stork landscape concept but includes several other landscape concepts (i.e. 'sub-scripts'). The document describes how the Dutch river areas form the Green Heart of the Netherlands; how Wild Nature is created in the flood plains; how the rivers are like Urban Gates to the cities of Nijmegen and Arnhem; how 'strong' land use functions are like Locomotives of Change that 'pull' other functions (e.g. clay extraction as a Locomotive for nature) and how nature development strategy is based on an Ecological Infrastructure, including Stepping Stones and Hot spots (or Generator Areas). Plan Stork, including new approaches and a bunch of new landscape concepts, wins the competition.

Episode 3: a striking news item
Interpretation episode 3
Minister Kroes from the Dutch Ministry of Transport, Public Works and Water Management plays a leading role in the narrative of Plan Stork. In 1986, she presents ideas from Plan Stork on the popular Dutch TV news, being a crucial 'staging'. An overstated version of Plan Stork is presented, like a 'false script', exemplified by the statement "let's burst the dykes". The ideas represented by Plan Stork are caught on by both supporting and opposing policy makers.

Details episode 3
A few months after the outcome of the design competition, one member of the Plan Stork team has the opportunity to inform the Dutch Minister Kroes from Transport, Public Works and Water management about Plan Stork (De Jonge & Van der Windt, 2007). In a period dominated by a controversy between ecologists and engineers regarding the approach to Dutch coastal preservation, 'engineer' Minister Kroes promotes the 'ecological' ideas of Plan Stork on the popular Dutch TV news (ibid). The news item is groundbreaking as it is announced that the intention is to burst all river dykes; in fact, the official plan only refers to the summer dykes (see e.g. Kerkstra in Klaassen & Nauta 2008). The Ministry of Agriculture is surprised by the media promotion of Plan Stork. Some team members of Plan Stork are working for this ministry; they had been reprimanded by their managers due to their controversial ideas (ibid). However, after the news item, the Ministry of Agriculture is willing to learn more about Plan Stork. Also the Ministry of Public Works and Water Management is challenged to reflect on its technical view on water management (ibid).

Episode 4: the 'glossy' edition
Interpretation episode 4
The Plan Stork team is given another opportunity to promote the Plan Stork 'script': a more detailed and refined document about Plan Stork is published in 1987 with financial support from governmental organisations (i.e. De Bruin et al. 1987). The document is in fact a collection of 'sub-scripts': each team member elaborates his specific contribution to Plan Stork in an individual chapter, based on his background and expertise. The 'private' document (i.e. Van Nieuwenhuijze et al. 1986) is replaced by a government-backed document (i.e. De Bruin et al. 1987), which is illustrated by the preface of former Minister of Agriculture Mansholt. This replacement positions Plan Stork from a more 'informal setting' into a more 'formal setting'. This will trigger more spatial planners to read and follow the plan.

Details episode 4
The Gelderse Milieufederaties (Environmental Federation of Gelderland) and three Ministries (Agriculture & Fisheries; Housing, Spatial Planning & the Environment; Transport, Public Works and Water Management) financially support the Plan Stork team to detail their plan. The new document was also written to correct 'mis-interpretations'[27]. The result is a 'glossy' and elaborated version of the competition document (i.e. De Bruin et al. 1987). The document consists of several individual chapters written by diverse authors; the chapters concern diverse topics, such as river systems, nature, an integrated design approach and clay extraction. The result is a collection of stories rather than one story, in contrast to the original document. The preface is written by Mansholt, former Minister of Agriculture. The double meaning of the label Plan 'Stork' is explained in the introduction. 'Stork' is translated in Dutch as 'Ooievaar'. Firstly, Ooievaar refers to the black stork; the black stork disappeared from the Netherlands 300 years ago but it is hoped that it will return when flood plain forest is once again established in the flood plains. Secondly, 'ooi' 'e' 'varen' means: 'flood plain forest' (i.e. nature) 'and' 'navigating' (i.e. shipping). This 'cryptogram' therefore emphasises the integrated approach of Plan Stork to landscape and spatial planning (ibid).

Episode 5: a professional debate
Interpretation episode 5
Plan Stork is praised as well as criticised. A set of Dutch papers[28] in specialised journals reinforces attention for the 'script' of Plan Stork in the 'professional setting';

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[27] Interestingly, Westra (1987) refers to a bundle of critical news and journal papers about Plan Stork that was attached to the Plan Stork document of De Bruin et al. 1987. This appendix, however, is nowadays nowhere to be found (i.e. detached from the document).

[28] Selected papers, via Artik – WUR library, including key word "ooievaar" (i.e. Stork) and referring to Plan Stork: Overmars 1986, Westra 1987, De Boo 1987, Jongman 1987, Rademakers 1989, De Graaf 1990, Willink 1993, Steenman 1995, Prins 1995, Brandsma & Ten Haaft 2001, Klijn et al., 2004, Teunissen et al. 2004, Joop 2006.

the attention is reinforced no matter whether the author confirms, details or criticises Plan Stork. Each paper can be considered as a short 'staging' presenting 'sub-scripts' or 'counter-scripts'

Details episode 5
Two examples of journal papers both verify and disagree with the ideas and position of Plan Stork:
I. Overmars (1986), one of the team members of Plan Stork, describes what Dutch river areas should *not* look like. Plan Stork, then, is a 'counter-script' to a 'traditional script' about river landscapes. Specifically, the famous poem 'remembering Holland' by Marsman, about the Dutch cultivated river landscape, contradicts the ideas about nature in Plan Stork; "when I think of Holland I see wide rivers; flowing slowly in boundless lowlands; rows of improbably thin poplars; stand like high plumes on the horizon" – is not in line with Plan Stork.
II. Jongman (1987) is critical about the feasibility of the ecological component of Plan Stork, including water quality. Moreover, he criticises the media for presenting the design as an official 'blueprint' plan, whereas it does not directly fit with other regional policies. Instead, Plan Stork should be considered an inspiring design. Moreover, Jongman defines the TV item with Kroes as an incorrect procedure for announcing the future of Dutch river areas. Above all, he is worried that the public is overwhelmed by the ideas and that trust in nature protection is at stake (ibid).

Episode 6: a political debate
Interpretation episode 6
The political debate of Plan Stork[29] shows how ideas of Plan Stork are continued by Minister Kroes and Members of Parliament: 'scripts' are put forward and transformed in a political 'setting'. Some ideas behind Plan Stork are subtly merged into other debates (e.g. the integrated design approach of Plan Stork supports the discussion about the 'broadening' of agriculture). Moreover, some ideas are established in policy documents (e.g. nature development in flood plains). At the same time, ideas about nature in combination with clay extraction are translated into practice by projects in test areas, with financial support from the national government. These projects are explicit 'stagings' of Plan Stork. Some 'sub-scripts' of Plan Stork dominate the 'setting', being nature development and an integrated approach to river areas and water management. Other 'sub-scripts' presented in the initial competition document, like the Waard boards and Urban Gates, are not explicitly put forward in relation to Plan Stork. Members of Parliament also discuss the status of Plan Stork as well as the procedures of Plan Stork, for example, the relationship with existing policies, the

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[29] Selection of all Parliamentary Proceedings of Dutch Lower House and Upper House that include the key word 'ooievaar' (i.e. stork) and do indeed concern ideas of Plan Stork. Sources: *Staten Generaal Digitaal* and *Opmaat* (final selection concerns 1987 -1995). See appendix C.

validity of projects in test areas, finances and the responsibilities of diverse governments.

Details episode 6

In 1987, Members of Parliament introduce and debate Plan Stork in the Parliamentary Commission of Agriculture. The response of Minister Braks is reserved and he mainly defends the position of agriculture. During another meeting of this Parliamentary Commission in 1987, Plan Stork is presented by the Plan Stork team itself. Consequently, Minister Kroes lists three new policies and programmes that might build on specific ideas of Plan Stork: the National Nature Policy Plan, for elaborating ideas about the Ecological Infrastructure (i.e. network of nature); the Third Policy Document on Water management, for elaborating ideas about river ecosystems; the National Structure Plan on Agriculture, for elaborating ideas about the future of agriculture 'in general'. She also mentions that the Province of Gelderland is involved in the further development of Plan Stork. Moreover, she presents a long list of possible areas that are suitable for the implementation of a Plan Stork project. The Parliamentary Commission of Transport, Public Works and Water Management is also informed about Plan Stork and discusses the plan in 1988. These members of Parliament also plea for alignment of Plan Stork with the National Nature Policy Plan, the Third Policy Document on Water Management and the National Structure Plan on Agriculture, as well as with the fourth National Spatial Strategy and extraction plans of provinces. Some members of Parliament prefer the Plan stork approach to be applied to river areas in general (i.e. no 'lex specialis' for specific areas); other members firstly want to apply Plan Stork in some test areas. In addition, members discuss the legitimacy and resources for Plan Stork, including possibilities for financial compensation for farmers.

Plan Stork acquires an 'official' position in the National Budget document of 1989. In this document, Plan Stork is linked to the topic water management and responsibilities are listed:

> "Plan Stork, aiming at an environmental development and natural use of the flood plains, needs to be implemented. This is not only a concern of the national government but also of other governments, as well as private organisations and persons. Ambitions can only be realised in consultation and with joint forces. The province will have a crucial role. In line with the national scenario and the province of Gelderland's policy for river areas, there will be experiments to test the ideas in practice" (In: 20 800 hfdst. XII, nr. 2, p.58-59, see appendix C).

Moreover, the role of the Ministry of Transport, Public Works and Water Management is rephrased: "[It] goes beyond the role of managing shipping and the river runoff of water, ice and silt; namely, flood plains, as crucial element of the river, are part of integrated water management" (ibid, p.59).

During several meetings of the Parliament in 1988 and 1989, the Parliament is informed about the progress of Plan Stork: the province of Gelderland is involved in the implementation of Plan Stork, some other nature development projects in the river flood plains are started, some resources are linked to Plan stork and a policy vision for the river areas is made that takes into account the ideas of Plan Stork. Statements from the participation procedure document on the Fourth National Spatial Strategy (1988-1989) show the continuous conflict behind Plan Stork. This conflict is a clash between people who represent nature interests and consider river flood plains as part of an Ecological Network on the one hand and people who represent the interests of farmers who are restricted in farming management or should be replaced due to nature development on the other hand. The actual Fourth National Spatial Strategy does not explicitly mention Plan Stork[30]. In June 1989, Minister Kroes discusses the Water Management Act and reviews the development of water policy and related developments; in short, water management goes beyond 'dry feet'. She also talks about her visit to a Dutch river area (i.e. part of the Gelderse Vallei):

> "Kroes: It is unbelievable; [in that river area] there is a high potential for high quality water management, the complete biotope and so on. This challenge concerns our next generations; and it is initiated by our generation. I hope that this will result in a unique water landscape with aspects of national proud (…). Chairman! (...) I realise that this is a little fanatical, but I will give a recommendation to the Parliament for the beautiful days that will come. Take your bike, your car or a boat and have a look in that area. You will love it (…). I will give everybody who visits the area a book about Plan Stork. Chairman: I understand it. Your enthusiasm is one of your secrets." (in EK 32, p.1206-1207, see appendix C)

Plan Stork is again listed in the National Budget document of 1990 under the heading water management. The project 'Blauwe Kamer' and projects in the province of Overijssel are referred to as first attempts to recover flood plains in an ecological way. Cooperation between organisations is necessary; therefore, the national Policy Document concerning Rivers and provincial visions will be merged in the Fourth National Spatial Strategy.

In 1990, after the collapse of the national Cabinet, Kroes is succeeded by Minister Maij-Weggen. Maij-Weggen underlines that an integrated approach to water management is important but is reserved about Plan Stork in general. For example, in a debate about a revision of the Law concerning Rivers and Public Waterworks, Maij-Weggen prioritises waterwork interests above the implementation of nature targets as

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[30] The label 'Plan Stork' is not explicitly mentioned in the Fourth National Spatial Strategy but ideas related to Plan Stork can be retraced in the description of chapter 'The Netherlands as Waterland'; that is an integrated approach to land use functions, attention for nature development and a description of rivers as Connection Lines (MinVROM 1987-1988).

presented by Plan Stork. Likewise, she supports the implementation of Plan Stork, like the 'Lively Rivers' project of the Dutch World Wildlife Fund, but emphasises that Plan Stork is merely a project and not the leading philosophy for water management. Meanwhile, Plan Stork is still subject to debate, for example, during proceedings of the National Budget document. The national programme Nature and Landscape (1991-1995) defines Plan Stork as a guideline for new designs of river areas, with reference to the projects 'De Blauwe Kamer' and 'Duursche Waarden'. The National Budget document of 1991 again mentions Plan Stork, this time in reference to the Third Policy Document on Water Management, as an example for the design of river flood plains and banks. In 1993 and 1995, the Netherlands experiences severe flooding. Plan Stork is lastly mentioned in a debate about the revision of the Law concerning Waterworks in 1995. Joritsma, the new Minister of Transport, Public Works and Water Management, indicates how Plan Stork has 'survived': "The flooding in Limburg [of Maas river] and the threats in the river areas [of the Rivers Waal & Rhine] made us realise (…) that protection against water involves more than defensive water protection. The river needs 'space'. The relationship with spatial planning cannot be ignored" (in TK 24, p.1714).

Episode 7: Plan Stork in the new century
Interpretation episode 7
In the 21st century, Plan Stork is still a known 'script', although reduced to a nature development concept. The debate about Plan Stork is still going on. Some professionals build on the ideas and success of Plan Stork but others call it a dominant or outdated concept.

Details episode 7
In 2007, the Directorate-General for Public Works and Water Management promotes straightforward river runoff by their plan "Streamline". Accordingly, the wilderness vegetation, as presented by Plan Stork, is considered obstructive (MinVenW 2007b). Other professionals are also critical about the nature 'script' of Plan Stork but for different reasons. The suggestion that a project like the Blauwe Kamer (i.e. an implementation of Plan Stork) concerns 'new' and 'untamed' nature is criticised; namely, this 'new nature' is not 'untamed' but also designed and controlled nature and just one of many images of nature (Lörzing in Metz 1998)[31].

> "The human aspect disappears in the river forests [according to Plan Stork] – so that the pressure [i.e. human force] that has been decisive for the Dutch landscape also disappears. Nature provides a product, a soil and the human adapts it and adds to it, (…). That combination is extremely interesting (…) it has created a lot of differences in the landscape. If we create river forests

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[31] Indirectly, Lörzing blames the supporters of 'new nature' for having a 'fearing' (i.e. controlling) approach, whereas the ideas are presented as an 'adventurous' (i.e. untamed) approach by the supporters themselves (cf. chapter 5.3).

everywhere, there would be a plain and defensive 'blanket' of nature over the Dutch landscape. That would be a 'mortal sin' (Lörzing in ibid p.93)."

In contrast to these critics, other professionals have supported and implemented the ideas of Plan Stork. For example, Helmer is one of a group of supporters of the nature development concept of Plan Stork; he is involved in the implementation of several nature development projects in river areas, as well as in the promotion of 'nature experience' for the public (De Jonge & Van der Windt 2007). In 2007, he wins a prize for his work in the field of nature protection (www.donckerstichting.nl). Consequently, he introduces the project Missing Lynx to demonstrate that there is room for 'spectacular nature' in a modern society: "Large predators are a particularly suitable metaphor to put down the static system of nature targets [in policy] that reinforces the petty image of nature. [It is] a metaphor for a connected network of nature areas" (www.ark.eu, see figure 9.2). The prize offers Helmer the opportunity to promote his nature ambitions which are not directly supported by the 'established interests' (ibid). Missing Lynx resembles Plan Stork. Again, ideas about nature development are 'packed' together under the symbolic but functional 'label' of an animal [32].
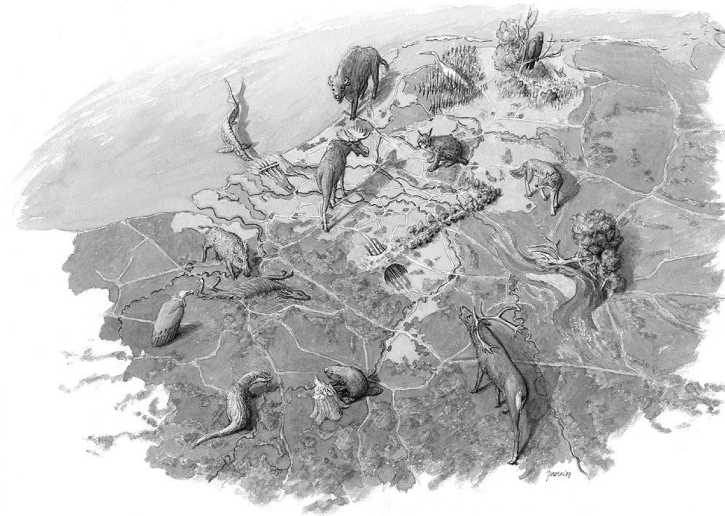
Figure 9.2 Representation of the ecological system of the Netherlands, based on the principles of Missing Lynx (picture by Helmer at www.ark.eu)

Overall observations

Plan Stork was a comprehensive and appealing 'script', including innovative ideas; it could challenge dominant ideas about spatial planning, design, nature and water management in the Netherlands (cf. the rhetorical power of landscape concepts in

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[32] For an international comparison see Popper & Popper 1999. The Buffalo Commons has been used as a regional metaphor to engage the public in decision-making about the United States' Great Plains (ibid). It is essential to link a regional metaphor to a recognisable and positive regional narrative; moreover, a regional metaphor need to be "ambiguous, edgy, annoying to some, admirable to others" (ibid, p.506).

chapter 6). As an award-winning design, Plan Stork attracted both support and criticism from its 'audience'. The political and professional 'setting' was receptive to change; the battle between environmental versus agricultural-technical perspectives on spatial planning continued but the need and attention for environmental perspectives prevailed. The 'active players' of Plan Stork continued to progress and promote several ideas of Plan Stork, with special attention for nature development. Moreover, Minister Kroes played a leading role in the narrative of Plan Stork as she had the power and enthusiasms to promote Plan Stork at various influential 'settings' and moments; this resulted in some decisive 'staging'. Accordingly, the Plan Stork team and Kroes were a crucial 'cast' in the narrative of Plan Stork. The design for the Dutch river area, specifically the ideas about nature development, is put on the priority lists of spatial planning and policy concerns. Moreover, some ideas were realised in practice and changed parts of Dutch river landscapes. Today, Plan Stork is still a known and debated concept, particularly associated with nature development in river flood plains (i.e. one of the 'sub-scripts').

The ideas of Plan Stork are prioritised above other spatial ideas for river landscapes; this is due to a combination of an innovative 'script', a powerful 'cast', the right 'setting' as well as some essential 'stagings'. In addition, the success of Plan Stork is influenced by both organised and accidental 'timing' of some 'stagings'. It was not one explicit element but the set of elements that resulted in a successful performance. So, the narrative of Plan Stork shows that change is, in this case, a comprehensive and subtle process consisting of a lucky and constructive combination of dramaturgical elements. Chapter 9.5 elaborates and discusses a process that resembles the combination of dramaturgical elements of Plan Stork, being a process that is helpful in prioritising issues: agenda-setting.

9.5 Discussion: agenda-setting
From informal action towards formal standard
Agenda-setting involves prioritising issues at the expense of other issues in pre-decision processes; these issues consequently gain serious attention and are listed on public, media or policy agendas for decision and action (Dearing & Rogers 1996; Jones & Baumgartner 2005, p.x/xi; Kingdon 2003; i.e. media and communication studies). Agenda-setting studies explain 'how time has come' for a specific issue (Kingdon 2003).

Agenda-setting does not receive much elaboration in spatial planning research, as if it is a minor spatial planning subject. However, when spatial planning researchers do describe agenda-setting, they relate it to major spatial planning subjects such as change and power (see e.g. Jensen & Richardson 2004; Forester 1999; Böhme et al. 2004). Agenda-setting in spatial planning is associated with new ideas and with the

influence of spatial planners (ibid). New ideas about future landscapes can challenge hegemonic ideas and can consequently play a part in change (Jensen & Richardson 2004). Controversial and marginalised ideas are useful "[t]o shift the agenda, to open up room for new and challenging ways of thinking…" (ibid, p.243). Likewise, landscape concepts can shift agendas as they can represent new ideas. These ideas, then, need attention from politicians, professionals and the public. Spatial planners contribute to "[how a concept] enters a policy arena, reaches the status of an agreed aim or need, and thus becomes established as hegemonic concept within the spatial policy discourse" (Böhme et al. 2004, p.1181). Shifting agendas is assisted by spatial planners who have a 'will to friction': they need to have a reflexive critique on current modes of actions and a form of engagement with marginalised ideas (Jensen & Richardson 2004, p.242). In addition, spatial planners need to be powerful to succeed in the messy political world that is overloaded with information (Forester 1999). Spatial planners can have formal power to make decisions over ideas and policies (ibid, p.184). Moreover, spatial planners can have subtle power to filter issues onto or off decision makers' agendas, including 'insidious' power to shape others' perceptions of issues (ibid, p.184, in reference to Lukes, Foucault, Habermas; cf. Hillier 2000). In summary, the promotion of a spatial idea requires powerful strategies of spatial planners that approach "political entrepreneurship" (Böhme et al. 2004, p.1181; cf. Kingdon 2003, p.204).

Both the issues and 'entrepreneurs' involved in the process of agenda-setting come in different shapes. Accordingly, the process of agenda-setting can be further detailed by three streams (i.e. crucial actions); each stream focuses on specific issues and is dominated by specific entrepreneurs (McCombs and Shaw 1972 & 1993, in reference to Cohen; Kingdon 2003; see figure 9.3):

1. Problem recognition is critical to agenda-setting (Kingdon 2003). This is the moment when people are convinced that an issue should be dealt with at all. This stream is dominated by 'visible entrepreneurs' (ibid). These entrepreneurs convince people *what to think about,* being a "selection of objects for attention" (McCombs & Shaw 1993, p.62). Many problems become evident by trigger events, like a crisis, political swing or elections (Kingdon 2003).

2. The presentation of solutions is also crucial for agenda-setting (ibid). Many solutions consist of existing knowledge created over time, rather than being a direct response to problems (ibid). The solution stream is dominated by 'hidden entrepreneurs', including specialists and researchers (ibid). In this stream, agenda-setters are successful in telling people *how to think about it*, being a detailed "selection of frames for thinking" (McCombs & Shaw 1993, p.62).

3. The moment when an entrepreneur has the chance to link a certain solution to a certain problem is called a 'window of opportunity' (Kingdon 2003). The entrepreneurs in this stream can be considered decisive entrepreneurs (after

Kingdon 2003). "[They] try to take advantage of political receptivity at certain points in time to push [a] package of problems and solutions" (Kingdon 2003, p.202; cf. 'reticulist skills' by Friend 2006). The result of this stream is that people are influenced about *what to think* as well as what to do (McCombs and Shaw 1972 & 1993). An issue (i.e. solution to a problem) is established, for example, in official documents and procedures.

Streams of agenda-setting (after Kingdon 2003)	Entrepreneurs (after Kingdon 2003)	Issue (McCombs and Shaw 1972 & 1993)	Landscape concept, representing:
A selection of problems	Visible entrepreneurs	*What to think about*	**An urgency**
The development of solutions	Hidden entrepreneurs	*How to think about it*	**A strategy**
The combination of problems and solutions	Decisive entrepreneurs	*What to think*	**A standard**

Figure 9.3 Agenda-setting and the position of landscape concepts

Landscape concept can represent the issues that are at stake in agenda-setting. Given that the issues come in different shapes, depending on the stream and entrepreneurs involved, landscape concepts also come in different shapes in the process of agenda-setting (see figure 9.3):

1. In the problem stream, landscape concepts can represent an *urgency*, being an issue that should be dealt with.
2. In the solution stream, landscape concepts can represent a *strategy*, being an idea developed by experts.
3. In the 'opportunity' stream, landscape concepts can represent a *standard*, being an established idea that is, temporarily, undisputable.

A landscape concept in spatial planning is a powerful tool for defining 'what to think' about landscapes by influencing 'what to think about' and 'how to think about it'.

Agenda-setting actions take place in both formal and informal settings (Jensen & Richardson 2004). Actions like lobbying, promoting and foregrounding are mostly informal actions (Hillier 2000). Formal actions relate to official settings and include open debates about, for example, new policy and rules. Formal actions are easier to observe and define than informal actions. Figure 9.4 summarises the process of agenda-setting including the position of landscape concepts.
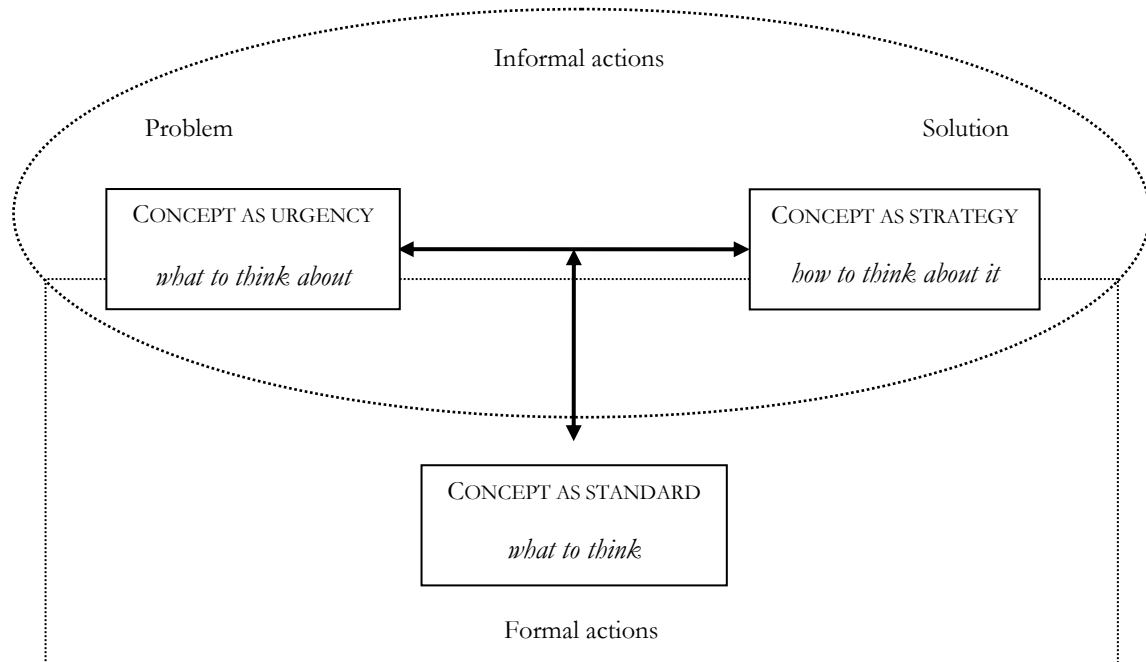
Figure 9.4 Agenda-setting and the position of landscape concepts

The narrative of Plan Stork can be compared with the process of agenda-setting (see chapter 9.4). Firstly, the design competition of the national EO Wijers Foundation can be considered as a crucial event that supported 'problem recognition'. Environmental and water management related challenges in river areas were the focus of the competition. The competition, accordingly, contributed to a selection of problems and reinforced the political debate in society about these problems. Likewise, Plan Stork as the winning entry can be considered as representing an *urgency*. (i.e. 'what to think about'). Plan Stork was not built from scratch; it was a combination of several solutions to diverse challenges in spatial planning (nature development, design approaches, river management, etc.). In other words, it presented a detailed *strategy* built by existing ideas of experts. The competition provided an opportunity for the members of the Plan Stork team to become visible rather than hidden entrepreneurs. Consequently, Plan Stork was subject to diverse debates about 'how to think about it': the design was elaborated by both promoters and opponents in both 'informal' and 'formal' settings. Minister Kroes can be considered a decisive entrepreneur as she played a leading role in providing a 'window of opportunity' for Plan Stork, being the presentation of Plan Stork on TV. Moreover, she played an important role in establishing ideas from Plan Stork into policy programmes and practice. Plan Stork, specifically the ideas about dynamic nature development and an integrated approach to planning and water management, presented a popular new *standard* for spatial planning in river areas.

The formalisation of a landscape concept into a standard can be considered a success: the concept is 'officially' ready to create or prevent specific change. However, this formalisation can also be considered, especially in the longer term, as a negative stagnation if other useful ideas are overruled or neglected. The landscape concept, in that case, becomes hegemonic itself and may exclude new or alternative ideas.

Another risk of agenda-setting is the exclusion of less 'powerful' spatial planners including their ideas about, for example, a specific area or a particular combination of land uses. "[K]ey components of direct action or lobbying activity are communication and interpersonal networks with access to people in positions of power. These aspects often privilege the already privileged" (Hillier 2000, p.39-40). Moreover, important networks are often hidden; less 'powerful' professionals will find it hard to enter the networks and put forward their ideas.

Finally, the formalisation of a landscape concept into a standard should not automatically be considered as the only or ultimate goal of a concept in spatial planning. "To shift the agenda, to open up room for new and challenging ways of thinking may be achieved by formal institutional means, but we should remember how much policy work is informal, and reflect on how much is achieved by informal working" (Jensen & Richardson 2004, p.243). A landscape concept can create crucial dynamics in informal debates, thoughts and actions; these dynamics are crucial for creating new directions, no matter whether these directions are directly formalised or not (cf. landscape concept Waterpark, chapter 8).

9.6 Conclusion

This chapter presents the consequential role of a landscape concept in spatial planning by the example of the narrative of Plan Stork. The performance of Plan Stork helped establish a new direction in spatial planning and related fields like landscape design; namely, the producers and supporters of Plan Stork were able to promote their ideas about nature and design and, eventually, to formalise them into policy and practice. In short, Plan Stork has succeeded in agenda-setting. The success is due to a combination of elements: an innovative and rhetorical 'script' with an appealing and recognisable label (cf chapter 6.4); a motivated and powerful 'cast' (i.e. coalition) of professionals, with novel ideas and some tactical actions (cf. chapter 5.3); some valued 'stagings' at right moments, often assisted by trigger events; and a period and 'setting' that was open for change.

This chapter shows that a landscape concept can be helpful in the process of prioritising specific ideas, being a process of agenda-setting. This process includes a combination of formal ('official') and informal ('unofficial') actions. More specifically,

the process incorporates some subtle elements, including unforeseen opportunities, fortunate coincidences and tactical steps of the professionals involved. In the case of Plan Stork, for example, subtle elements were: the status of award-winning design, the role of an informal meeting of a Plan Stork member with Minister Kroes, the suggestion that Plan Stork was already an official concept generated by the media and the sharp criticism of other professionals resulting in more attention.

Ideas packed in Plan Stork became popular and established ideas (e.g. about nature development in river areas). However, some initial ideas were not directly promoted by Plan Stork (as Urban Gates). From that perspective, Plan Stork can eventually be considered a simplified or reduced concept. In addition, a landscape concept like Plan Stork that was successful in challenging outdated ideas can become an inflexible or hegemonic concept itself. Ideally, landscape concepts need to be regularly reconsidered and replaced if necessary (e.g. if outdated or out of favour). A critical attitude towards established ideas and room for discussion of new ideas is thus essential.

The performance of Plan Stork can be considered as an 'extreme case' of a successful landscape concept since it shows an obvious example of how the use of landscape concept establishes new direction (cf. Flyvbjerg 2006). The performance of a more 'modest' landscape concept, however, can also help establish new directions in spatial planning. Namely, each landscape concept can be helpful in promoting new ideas if tactically used in presenting a combination of 'urgency' and 'strategy' and accordinglyin linking problems and solutions (see figure 9.4; cf. figure 4.1).

Interface II - Expectations in reality

PART A **Research questions:**	PART B **The nature of landscape concepts in spatial planning** *Framing theory*		PART C **The working of landscape concepts in Dutch spatial planning** *Space-time context*		PART D
How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to describe landscapes?	**Chapter 4** Landscape concepts and rich landscapes		**Chapter 7** Colourful concepts in the case of 'Het Groene Woud'		
How do spatial planners use landscape concepts for dealing with conflicts of interests?	**Chapter 5** Landscape concepts and adventurous spatial planners	**Interface I - Realistic expectations**	**Chapter 8** Interpretations of IJmeer concepts	**Interface II – Expectations in reality**	**Chapter 10 Discussion & conclusion** *Including 'indigenous planning theory'*
How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to establish direction?	**Chapter 6** Landscape concepts and subtle success		**Chapter 9** Tactics around concept Plan Stork		

Figure Iii-1 Outline of study

Interface II provides an overview of part C of this study (see figure Iii-1). The theoretical reflection (part B) resulted in the formulation of realistic expectations concerning the basic, supportive and consequential roles of landscape concepts (see interface I). These expectations can be considered an alternative understanding of the possible success of landscape concepts in practice, which replace unrealistic or outdated ideals (ibid; related to ideals about the 'malleability' of landscapes). Part C reveals the extent to which Dutch spatial planning cases meet these expectations in reality. In other words, to what extent do spatial planners in the cases presented use landscape concepts:

1. to 'colour' landscapes - rather than factualise landscapes?
2. to support dealing with conflicts of interests - rather than directly 'solve' problems?
3. and to create subtle effects - besides 'official' effects by formalisation of concepts (see interface I)?

The realistic expectations about the use of landscape concepts are met in practice: the cases in part C of this study confirm that the use of landscape concepts can 'colour' landscape, support cooperation and create subtle effects (see specific descriptions Ad A, B, C).

<u>Ad 1.</u> The case of Het Groene Woud (chapter 7) shows that spatial planners use landscape concepts to 'colour' landscapes, with attention to both landscape 'matters' and 'concerns': they are used to characterise landscapes. Newer landscape concepts are, overall, more 'lively' than 'plain': the genealogy created shows a slight trend towards landscape *branding*.

<u>Ad. 2.</u> The main concept of the IJmeer case (chapter 8), Waterpark, is a point of reference for all spatial planners involved in the process. It is an open, comprehensive and 'shared' concept; accordingly, it includes interests of the organisations involved. It supports the *bonding* of the various spatial planners involved.

<u>Ad 3.</u> The case of Plan Stork (chapter 9) shows an example of a landscape concept that is 'packed' with creative ideas for river areas created by motivated 'entrepreneurs'. Following a combination of explicit promotions, sharp debates and fortune opportunities, some of the ideas were caught on and some were established in spatial policies and practice. Plan Stork was *bringing about* change.

In short, each case is different yet shows a similar story of motivated spatial planners who produce effects by the use of powerful (i.e. colourful, rhetorical and creative) landscape concepts. In other words, all landscape concepts are powerful but in different ways and with different outcomes. For example, some landscape concepts reinforce existing ideas about landscapes, others present innovative ideas; some bundle spatial interests, others evoke debate; some are 'fads' (i.e. temporarily), others become 'mainstream' (i.e. long-lasting).

In many cases, spatial planners misunderstand the power of a landscape concept; the possible effects can be overestimated or underestimated. On the one hand, spatial planners risk overestimating the possible effects of landscape concepts; this specifically applies to innovative landscape concepts. In many of these cases, planners ignore the possible hindering effect of existing planning patterns and procedures. Namely, the effect of innovative landscape concepts can be overruled by the power of dominating landscape approaches (e.g. a protective attitude towards 'green') or restricted by the rigidity of the planning system (e.g. traditional tasks of organisations). In these cases, spatial planners are overly optimistic about the possible effect of a landscape concept (cf. interface I: 'remnants of false certainties'). On the other hand, spatial planners risk neglecting some possible effects of successful landscape concepts, being the possible exclusion of interests by the selective content of a concept. In these cases, spatial planners are blind to the 'discriminating' effects of a landscape concept (cf. interface I: underestimating the political nature of planning practice).

The outline of this study is based on three research questions; the questions are pragmatically elaborated in separated chapters and related to three different roles of landscape concepts. In reality, however, roles can be complementary and all roles are inherent to a landscape concept. As an example, figure Iii-2 shows an overview of the roles of landscape concepts studied in Part C. The examples show how the performance of a landscape concept is defined by a combination of roles in a specific situation.

Landscape concept: Roles:	Mosaic landscape *In the case of 'Het Groene Woud'*	Waterpark *In the IJmeer case*	Plan Stork *In the case of Plan Stork*
Basic role	Innovative approach to characterise Brabant's 'rurban' landscape.	Area-specific concept that integrates various land use functions in the IJmeer region.	Comprehensive but controversial design concept for river areas.
Supportive role	Used to present a future scenario for the Brabant-City region. Useful concept to trigger debates.	Point of reference for a coalition of diverse spatial planners.	Created by a professional group of counterparts. Both supported and detested by other professionals.
Consequential role	Used to promote ideas and helpful in debates about planning approaches.	Bonding diverse planners, although temporarily.	At first: breaking traditional ideas about planning and design. Later: content is minimised and becomes hegemonic itself.

Figure Iii-2 Examples of the performance of a landscape concept: a combination of roles

PART D

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Chapter 10 Discussion and conclusion

... planning needs to draw diverse entities and processes into heterogeneous collectives in which new, more complex relations are established between all participants. In drawing these aspects together, planning needs to harness both technical and political resources: the technical to visualize and demarcate the many heterogeneous features of the spaces to be planned (...), and the political to ensure that these heterogeneous features are brought into some kind of regulatory alignment (...).
Murdoch 2006, p.155

10.1 Introduction

In this final chapter, I reconsider and complete the outcome of this study. Firstly, based on this study, I appeal for a 'will to connect' in spatial planning in chapter 10.2. Secondly, I specify the definitions of spatial planning, spatial planners, landscapes and landscape concepts in chapter 10.3 by taking into account the outcome of this study (see chapter 1 for initial definitions). Thirdly, in chapter 10.4, I reflect on recommendations presented in this study. Fourthly, I reconsider my interpretive research approach in chapter 10.5. Fifthly, taking into account this reconsideration, I present possibilities for more research in chapter 10.6. Finally, in chapter 10.7, this study is completed with the presentation of answers to the research questions (see chapter 2 for background of research questions).

10.2 An appeal for a '*will to connect*'

This study about the use of landscape concepts in spatial planning takes account of many aspects of spatial planning, such as: spatial planners as producers and users of concepts, ideas about future landscapes packed in concepts, planning principles resulting from concept, rules and habits influencing concepts and activities of spatial planners with the help of concepts. This study, accordingly, gives an interesting impression of spatial planning in general and Dutch spatial planning in particular. The landscape concepts are thus remarkable symbols of spatial planning stories.

The Netherlands has a long tradition in spatial planning. It can be considered as a practice with motivated spatial planners who continuously create innovative ideas; landscapes have been considered as 'matters of concern', with attention for the dynamic physical material of landscapes as well as for inventive future possibilities (e.g. land reclamations). This passion for planning can be considered as a 'will to control' the future of our landscapes. However, spatial planners can meanwhile be restricted by that same 'will to control'. In other words, change can be hindered by a hidden 'fear' to change. This 'fear' relates to a planning system based on a 'will to control', with fixed ideas and top-down rules. This study shows some examples of potential change restricted by a hegemonic planning system. For example, Dutch spatial planners demand the use of area-specific landscape concepts instead of general

concepts (see chapter 2.1). In the IJmeer case, a diverse coalition of spatial planners does create an area-specific concept, being Waterpark (chapter 8). The concept is briefly valued but consequently overshadowed by traditional priorities and conventional conflicts (i.e. national programmes and a clash between 'green' and 'red' ambitions). A related example is the demand for an innovative approach to regions with rural and urban landscapes (see chapter 2.1). Notwithstanding this appeal, a Mosaic landscape concept is still an exemption of a 'rurban' approach and even considered as controversial (see chapter 7)[33]. In line with these restrictions, potential developments are hindered by a traditional view on the definition and evaluation of success (see chapter 6). From a traditional viewpoint, 'official' landscape concepts (i.e. formalised in rules) dominate the planning system at the cost of other landscape concepts in 'informal' settings (e.g. Waterpark and Mosaic-landscape concept). Innovative landscape concepts require serious attention from spatial planners who need to have an open and critical-constructive attitude in order to become effective.

Dutch spatial planning needs a shift from a 'will to control' towards a 'will to connect'. A 'will to control' is associated with traditional planning ideals about control (cf. 'fearing' attitude, chapter 5.3), whereas a 'will to connect' is associated with realistic expectations about control (cf. 'adventurous' attitude, chapter 5.3). A spatial planner with a 'will to connect' is concerned with the inherent relation between planning issues which are often separated by others (cf. a 'relational approach' to space and planning: Graham & Healey 1999, Healey 2004, Van Duinen 2004, Dühr 2005, Van Ark 2005, Boelens 2006, Murdoch 2006). Examples of issues that need to be related are: urban and rural landscapes (see chapter 2.1), landscape matters and the concerns of people (see chapter 4.4), a substantive and procedural perspective on planning (see chapter 4.2), public goals and personal drives of spatial planners (see chapter 5.3), national spatial policy and local realities (see chapter 6.4) and subtle and formal effects of landscape concepts (see chapter 6). A 'will to connect' is a prerequisite for fair decisions, deliberate planning actions and durable results in the field. In other words, a spatial planner with a 'will to connect' accepts the complex, political and dynamic reality of spatial planning situations and acts according to this reality (cf. Hagens 2010). Likewise, a spatial planner with a 'will to connect' can be associated with an 'adventurous' approach to spatial planning (see also chapter 5.3).

A spatial planner with a 'will to control' uses landscape concepts in a different way than a spatial planner with a 'will to connect' (cf. Zonneveld 1991 vs. Murdoch 2006). Likewise, they link different criteria of success to the basic, supportive and consequential roles of landscape concepts. Figure 10.1 presents the different perspectives towards the roles of concepts, resulting in different types of landscape

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[33] See, for example, Slabbers about the Mosaic-concept for Brabant, at www.brabantmozaiek.nl: "the main message [of this concept] was never understood so wrongly".

concepts (based on Hagens 2010). Misunderstandings about the meaning and outcome of landscape concepts can develop for different reasons. Firstly, interpretations can clash if spatial planners link a *different role* to a landscape concept. Moreover, interpretations can clash even when a landscape concept is associated with one specific role, namely, if spatial planners do not recognise that they have a *different perspective* on planning.

Traditional perspective: 'will to control'						
Roles of landscape concepts:	*Basic role*	Neutral description ↕ Characteristic inscription (cf. 'matter of concern')	*Supportive role*	Consensus as solution ↕ Collective point of reference as encouragement (cf. 'discursive construction')	*Consequential role*	Authority (e.g. rule or mandate) ↕ Creator of interaction (cf. 'order-word')
Adventurous perspective: 'will to connect'						

Figure 10.1 Different perspectives = different types of landscape concepts (cf. Hagens 2010)

A 'will to connect' implies the acceptance of complexity. An appeal for a 'will to connect' neither means that control is outdated nor that simplification is useless (cf. Murdoch 2006). Rather, we are looking for different forms of control and simplification. The challenge is to understand (previous) order as well as (new) relations in landscapes and planning (ibid). This is a difficult challenge in view of the use of landscape concepts. Namely, in line with the 'packing' nature of landscape concepts, concepts are generally used to simplify complexity rather than to underline complexity. So, paradoxically, we need landscape concepts that 'simply' picture complexity. This requires sharp landscape concepts with inventive labels; concepts need to refer to the dynamics, multiplicity and identity of landscapes (for example, based on the work of Deleuze & Guattari). Imaginary examples of such landscape concepts are:

- a rurban-landscape characterised as an endless pattern of *"Colourful Rhizomes"*, in order to emphasise the various interconnections between 'green', 'red', 'purple', 'blue', 'brown' and 'yellow' land use functions;
- the concept *"Flowing Nature"*, which underlines the dynamics of ecological 'material' (i.e. focus on both activities of species and the qualities of habitats), used to assist the development of principles for nature management;

- the lively province Brabant presented as *"Brabant Becoming"* to underline the continuous 'flux' of land use activities;
- and *"Local Landscapes"* instead of National Landscapes in order to highlight specific values of places.

10.3 Definitions specified

Chapter 1 of this study provides preliminary definitions of spatial planning, spatial planners, landscapes and landscape concepts. Taking into account the lessons of this study, including an appeal for a 'will to connect', we can now fine tune these definitions.

Spatial planning was defined as: a dynamic practice concerned with the political interests and professional efforts of various spatial planners who each try to enhance landscapes (chapter 1). On the one hand, this study shows that (Dutch) spatial planning is indeed a *dynamic* practice filled with various tasks and initiatives to improve landscapes. Moreover, these various activities often result in overlapping and conflicting views on the 'right' future and planning approaches of landscapes. This in turn results in a practice filled with sharp debates and tactical movements in order to promote plans and formalise ideas. On the other hand, spatial planning is often a *non-dynamic* practice as old rules and habits hinder the development of new ideas and answers to planning challenges. So, we can specify the definition of spatial planning as *an established but demanding practice concerned with the political interests and professional efforts of various spatial planners who each try to enhance landscapes.*

In line with the definition of spatial planning, a spatial planner was defined as: a practitioner who is professionally involved in strategic and collective efforts to enhance landscapes, which includes practical, ethical and political considerations about land uses and interests (chapter 1). In this study it is emphasised that it is important to understand *why* spatial planners plan. They have a 'will to order' based on collective goals as well as personal drives (e.g. 'will to control' or 'will to connect'). Personal drives are hard to grasp and may be less related to the enhancement of landscapes than collective goals; moreover, they are central to tactical but less predictable movements of planners. Consequently, spatial planning is often a collective effort yet complicated by ambiguous drives. So, a spatial planner is defined as *a practitioner with a 'will to order' who is professionally involved in collective but tactical efforts to enhance landscapes, which includes practical, ethical and political considerations about land uses and interests.*

A landscape in spatial planning was defined as: both a social and natural 'product', which is continuously transformed by people into a new 'product'. This study explains that landscapes in spatial planning are a central 'matter of concern' for spatial planners

(after Latour): landscapes are not merely a natural 'matter' but always related to social and individual 'concerns' of planners. Landscapes in planning can be defined as being simultaneously 'dynamic material', a 'valued practice' and 'symbolic construction' of spatial planners (see chapter 4). So, a landscape in planning is defined as *a significant 'matter of concern', which is continuously changing itself, as well as valued, envisioned and transformed by people into new 'matters of concern'.*

Finally, a landscape concept in spatial planning was defined as: a significant 'package' of landscape ideas and planning principles, tagged by an appealing label and strategically used for diverse spatial planning activities (chapter 1). This study shows how the use of landscape concepts is even more complicated than suggested. Firstly, the ideas and principles packed in a concept are 'coloured' by the ambitions of spatial planners involved as well as the situation in which a concept is used. Secondly, the labels of concepts are not simply appealing but rhetorical as they include powerful language. Thirdly, concepts can have powerful effects yet are often used in a natural and overlooked way; they are thus used more subtly than strategically. So, we define a landscape concept as *a powerful 'package' of ambitious landscape ideas and planning principles, tagged by a rhetorical label and subtly used for diverse spatial planning activities.*

10.4 Ethical considerations
In part B of this study, the 'dark side' of some traditional spatial planning ideas is presented. This 'dark side' includes risks that are related to a 'will to control'. A 'will to control' can be associated with false or overly high expectations concerning the use of landscape concepts. Examples of these expectations are the illusion of a fixed consensus with the help of a concept or the short-sighted focus on the formalisation of a concept as ultimate criterion of success. In answer to these expectations, alternative expectations about the use of landscape concepts are elaborated in part C of this study: concepts have a colourful nature, can serve as open agreements and have subtle effects on the ideas and actions of spatial planners (see interface I). Bearing in mind these alternative expectations, the potential of three concept-related planning activities is discussed: landscape branding (in chapter 7), collective visioning or 'imagineering' (in chapter 8) and agenda-setting (in chapter 9). These planning activities can comply with a 'will to connect' to the reality of a political practice that deals with complex landscapes (see chapter 10.2). These activities, in fact, are promising in dealing with actual planning challenges (see chapter 2 for questions and chapter 10.7 for answers). Nevertheless, these activities go together with pitfalls that resemble the pitfalls of traditional planning ideas (which were criticised in part B of this study). Namely, landscape branding, collective visioning and agenda-setting all include a 'new' form of control. Specifically, these activities aim at securing specific ambitions by forms of selection; this in turn risks exclusion of other ambitions. Exclusion can be the ignorance or 'back-grounding' of specific groups, including their

interests and ideas, as well as specific places or land use functions. Obviously, selection is part of spatial planning. That does not mean that spatial planners should take exclusion for granted. Above all, spatial planners constantly need to reflect on their individual selection-actions as well as on the selective effects of the planning system. Likewise, spatial planners need to consider the consequences of the use of landscape concepts: what and who is excluded but what and who can be included?

10.5 "What if…" – research approach

This study is a combination of a theoretical reflection on the *nature* of landscape concepts in spatial planning (part B) together with three case studies about the *working* of landscape concepts in Dutch regional spatial planning (part C). The presentation of various theories together with specific examples (in part B)[34] as well as specific cases and discussions about the consequences of possible actions (in part C)[35] results in a 'problematised' but realistic view on the meaning of landscape concepts in spatial planning (i.e. an interpretive research approach, see chapter 3.2).

Part B of this study reveals some 'mechanisms' of the use of landscape concepts in spatial planning, focussing on the multiple content and possible influence of concepts. This theoretical perspective can be considered a general description of the nature of landscape concepts, yet the actual power of landscape concepts is shaped and defined in a particular case. Readers are encouraged to contextualise the conclusions about the nature of landscape concepts, reflect on consequences of the use of landscape concepts in individual situations and act accordingly.

The three cases presented in part C of this study were selected as emblematic cases for the basic, supportive and consequential role of landscape concepts in Dutch regional planning in recent decades. An emblematic case implies that similar cases will show similar stories with similar 'mechanisms' of powerful concepts; however, an emblematic case does not imply that similar cases will show similar *outcome*. More specifically, the specific 'space-time' context of the use of a landscape concept will define the performance of a landscape concept; the 'space-time' context includes the actuality of spatial problems (cf. chapter 4 & 7), the attitude of planning players (cf. chapter 5 & 8) and the influence of political priorities (cf. chapter 6 & 9).

The outcome of the theoretical reflection together with the case studies result in context-specific planning lessons (i.e. 'indigenous planning theory' Allmendinger 2002b; see chapter 3.1, this study). These lessons are based on a combination of

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[34] See examples of the landscape concepts Cluttering as 'matter of concern' (chapter 4.4), Ecological Network as 'discursive construction' (chapter 5.4) and National Landscape as 'order-word' (chapter 6.4).
[35] See the Dutch spatial planning cases of region Het Groene Woud and landscape branding (chapter 7), The IJmeer region and 'imagineering' (chapter 8) and river areas and agenda-setting with the help of concept Plan Stork (chapter 9).

theories and cases, as well as illustrated by examples. The outcome is also my interpretation of the nature and working of landscape concepts, based on my critical selection of literature and influenced by my experiences in regional planning (see chapter 1.1). The lessons of this study can be confirmed and continued with the help of more research that includes, for example, additional theories or similar case studies. Alternatively, I suggest extending the 'space-time' setting of this research by investigating *different* planning situations, in order to reconsider and sharpen the outcome of this study. I present two possibilities that extend the setting of this research, being a comparative study (cf. different 'space') and a follow-up study (cf. different 'time').

10.6 "What if..." – more research

Comparison

A comparative study of spatial planning in the Netherlands with a country with a different planning culture, history and system is valuable for specifying which outcome of this study is recognisable for spatial planners in other countries. Moreover, insight into a different situation helps break through knowledge and approaches which are taken for granted in our own planning system (cf. chapter 3.3). Again, I use the example of spatial planning in Latvia (see also example in chapter 3.2).

The leading perspective on landscape and spatial planning in Latvia is a rural perspective; this is an idealistic perspective based on folkloristic images of the 19th century and taking in the power of individual family farms, but less focused on progress and change (Kūle 2008). This perspective contrasts with the dominant perspective of the Soviet period; in that perspective the differences between urban and rural landscapes were reduced, resulting in the ignorance of local spatial identities (ibid). The actual challenge is to search for 'new rules of the game' concerning the future of rural-urban relations. Related challenges are, for example, the issue of land abandonment and the functions of summer homes and family gardens (ibid). Moreover, Latvian spatial planners need to explore the various perspectives on rural and urban landscapes as there are various groups with diverse interests which together constitute the multi-national Latvian population (ibid).

Some of Latvian spatial planning issues relate to relevant Dutch planning actualities. For example, Dutch planning processes normally take account of a wide-ranging yet 'standard' set of planning players and related interests (e.g. 'nature' and 'agriculture'); planning perspectives can be broadened and processes improved by the inclusion of new players and interests (see suggestions for Latvia: Kūle 2008). For example, spatial planning of urban fringes in the Netherlands can be extended by the inclusion of multi-cultural perspectives and interests (cf. Latvia) and landscape management of

these areas may be supported through the functions of second homes and family gardens (cf. Latvia). In addition, the Latvian issue of land abandonment is interesting in the light of the potential depopulation of some Dutch rural regions. Likewise, does Latvia provide examples of landscape concepts that attract or represent 'new' spatial planning players? Does Latvia provide examples of landscape concepts that support local identities of areas that are starting to become 'empty'? Examples of other countries may provide unexpected examples of useful landscape concepts.

Follow-up

This study answers spatial planning questions which are rooted in 2003 but which still relate to actual challenges in 2010 (see chapter 2, research programme of Habiforum 2003a/b). Although the questions are still valid, the political and economic context has changed and will change. A follow-up study can take into account new developments in (Dutch) spatial planning after 2003, which will influence the use of landscape concepts and can in turn be influenced by the use of landscape concept. I will list three examples. Firstly, landscape and environment have returned as priority issues on the planning agenda, both at national and international level (e.g. the national debate about the 'cluttering' of landscapes and the international issue of 'climate change'). Likewise, there is more attention for the environment and more reason to focus on the continuous processes of landscapes. More specifically, spatial planning will be assisted more than ever by landscape concepts that take in the dynamics of the environment and insecurities about future landscapes. Secondly, the world is in the throes of a financial crisis. In response to the consequences of this crisis, some Dutch spatial planners want more governmental involvement and fewer restrictions on building activities (see e.g. www.vng.nl). This argument for building activities should not automatically be labelled as a threat to landscapes. This situation can rather be considered as an opportunity to promote 'sustainable' landscapes and planning processes with a renewed focus on both the socio-economic opportunities and the physical values of landscapes. This requires, in turn, 'sustainable' landscape concepts that can show the potential of both temporary and long-term land-use-combinations. In addition, the future of a region can be assisted by an appealing landscape concept that helps attract governments, investors and visitors in the battle for attention (i.e. commitment and resources). Thirdly, a new Dutch Spatial Planning Act became operational in July 2008. In short, the Law can change the complex and hierarchical relations between governments (see e.g. Kamphorst et al. 2008; cf. Buitelaar & Sorel 2009). The outcome of the Act in practice is still unclear; for example, the possible outcome for the role of provincial governments in relation to local governments is wide-ranging (see Kamphorst et al. 2008). On the one hand, provinces can impose binding plans on local governments, being legal instruments that imply detailed control (cf. 'sticks'); on the other hand, provinces can use communicative and consultation strategies to guide local developments and support

local governments (cf. 'carrots') (ibid). The 'carrot approach' offers the possibility for provinces to produce inspiring and regional-specific landscape concepts, created and supported by a coalition of local governments, organisations, companies and inhabitants.

10.7 Answers: the performance of landscape concepts

Landscape concepts in spatial planning have a powerful nature; they comprise thoughts and concerns about the future of landscapes, caught by a rhetorical label and can support the fulfilment of ambitions of spatial planners. Landscape concepts can help characterise landscapes, link diverse spatial interests and promote specific principles about landscapes and planning (i.e. in respective order: basic, supportive and consequential roles of a concept). The powerful *nature* of landscape concepts notwithstanding, the actual *working* of landscape concepts in spatial planning is diverse. Spatial planners use concepts for various reasons and in diverse situations; each performance of a concept is a combination of the basic, supportive and consequential role. Likewise, the success of the performance of a landscape concept depends on its content of 'matters' and 'concerns' (see chapter 4 and 7), the ambitions and power of its users (see chapter 5 and 8) and the political and physical setting of a concept (see chapter 6 and 9).

The performance of a landscape concept is *part of* spatial planning activities such as landscape analysis, discussion about spatial priorities, decision-making about planning policy and presentation of future landscapes. It is hard to explicitly detect the performance and guide the success of a landscape concept since the effect of a concept is 'overshadowed' by the effects of various other actions. Moreover, a landscape concept can be considered as 'simply language' rather than an explicit tool. In that view, landscape concepts seem to have a modest position in spatial planning. However, this modest position is deceptive; the subtle power of landscape concepts makes them tactical instruments that can either reinforce or challenge existing landscape perceptions and planning principles. This study, accordingly, confirms and elaborates the assumption in the introduction of this study: *landscape concepts are 'innocent' at first sight yet 'guilty' of various effects in reality.*

To further define the performance and potential of landscape concepts, I finally return to the three research questions of this study. These questions relate, in respective order, to the basic, supportive and consequential roles of concepts in spatial planning.

1.   How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to describe landscapes?
The *basic role* of a landscape concept is to characterise landscapes. This is an essential challenge in spatial planning since landscapes can be considered a central 'matter of

concern' of planners. It is also a difficult challenge since the notion 'landscape' in spatial planning has several dimensions; these dimensions are often mixed into one concept. Landscapes are lively since they continuously change through physical processes and land use development (i.e. landscape as dynamic material), for example. Moreover, spatial planners relate landscapes to threats and possibilities as they try to accomplish public spatial goals (i.e. landscape as valued practice). Consequently, landscapes in spatial planning are often fictional future landscapes, being feared or desired landscapes (i.e. landscapes as symbolic construction).

Landscape concepts are not intended to describe complete landscapes. Landscape concepts tend to highlight specific elements of a landscape; as a consequence, other landscape elements are played down. This selection is based on a specific spatial challenge and summarised by a creative label. Likewise, landscape concepts can be regarded as 'colourful descriptions' of landscapes, rather than 'pure descriptions'. The colourful and selective nature of landscape concepts makes them useful for landscape branding: spatial planners can use concepts to promote or warn about, specific landscapes or specific features within a landscape.

2. *How do spatial planners use landscape concepts for dealing with conflicts of interests?*

A landscape concept can have a *supportive role* in planning processes with various spatial planners who each have an individual interest. Importantly, spatial planners interpret a landscape concept in their own way, based on their specific ambitions and professional background. Accordingly, a landscape concept does not have one unique meaning; a concept tends to have various, but closely related, meanings. Comprehensive concepts, which link various interests, are particularly open to various interpretations. The openness of a concept in fact supports the cooperation of spatial planners as each individual ambition can be recognised. The creation of a collective landscape concept is accordingly helpful. The concept can serve as a collective point of reference, like an encouraging 'slogan' that links spatial problems with solutions. Accordingly, a landscape concept can support the planning process of coalitions of diverse spatial planners. A collective concept creates a bond between spatial planners, as a shared promise; it does not bind planners, as an imposed restriction. A shared landscape concept seems a promising foundation for cooperation and convergence of various interests; however, a shared concept also entails risks. Namely, in the long term, open concepts can still lead to divergence as conflicting interpretations become evident but unsolvable. Open concepts can thus cause, often unnoticed, miscommunication from the start of a process which can weaken cooperation in the long term. Conversely, a very specific or controversial landscape concept which is not shared by a coalition of spatial planners can also be useful. Namely, it can trigger debate and finally result in a shared and durable alternative concept.

3. How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to establish direction?

The *consequential role* of a landscape concept concerns its power to put forward new ideas about landscape and planning and mobilise planners to take on these ideas. A landscape concept can establish new directions as it is formalised in spatial policies and rules. The power of a concept, however, goes beyond its 'official' setting: the subtle effects of landscape concepts in 'pre-official' and 'un-official' settings are abundant and crucial for change. Namely, the use of landscape concepts can bring about information, discussion, creativity and solutions: a landscape concept is a package full of surprises. For example, spatial planners use landscape concepts to challenge problem definitions that are taken for granted or to trigger debates about landscape design. Then again, the use of a landscape concept can also reinforce existing assumptions about landscape and planning and, likewise, hinder change. The use of a landscape concept can be helpful in agenda-setting of planning issues, although at the cost of attention for other planning issues. To set the agenda requires a landscape concept with an innovative solution to an actual planning challenge, as well as a powerful promoter of a concept.

All together, I conclude that a landscape concept has a modest position in spatial planning. Even so, the use of a landscape concept can have, unforeseen, tactical power in spatial planning practice. In other words, a landscape concept can bring about effects in the complex process of spatial planning, for example, by means of landscape branding and bonding of professionals. In short, a landscape concept in spatial planning is a package full of surprises; likewise, it needs to be handled with realistic expectations and critical consideration about its possible outcome.

Appendix A – A genealogy of landscape concepts, chapter 7

Documents in the genealogy:

1. Landinrichtingsdienst, Provinciale Directie Noord-Brabant, Staatsbosbeheer (1973) *Een Nationaal Landschap Het Groene Hart van Brabant*, Min LNV
2. Commissie-Beheer-Landbouwgronden (1983) *Beheersplan voor het relatienotagebied "De Scheeken"*, Utrecht, Ministerie van Landbouw en Visserij.
3. Commissie-Beheer-Landbouwgronden (1986) Beheersplan *voor de reservaatsgebieden het Dommeldal en het Breugels Broek*, Utrecht, Ministerie van Landbouw en Visserij.
4. Commissie-Beheer-Landbouwgronden (1992) *Beheersplan voor het reservaatsgebied Het Dommeldal en Het Breugels Broek (707 ha reservaatsgebied): herziening*, Utrecht, Directie Beheer Landbouwgronden.
5. Commissie-Beheer-Landbouwgronden (1984) *Beheersplan voor het relatienotagebied "De Geelders"*, Utrecht.
6. Gedeputeerde-Staten-Noord-Brabant (1989) Beheersplan *voor het beheers- en reservaatsgebied De Geelders*, 's-Hertogenbosch, Gedeputeerde Staten van Noord-Brabant.
7. Sigmond-Kindt-Partners (1993) *Beheersplan De Geelders voor de periode 1994 - 2004*, Nijmegen
8. Provincie Noord-Brabant (1978), *Streekplan Midden- en Oost-Brabant 1978*
9. Provincie Noord-Brabant (1985), *Streekplan Midden- en Oost-Brabant : partiele herziening 1985*
10. Provincie Noord-Brabant (1992), *Streekplan Noord-Brabant 1992*
11. Provincie Noord-Brabant (2002), *Brabant in balans - Streekplan Noord-Brabant 2002* – met herziening in 2004.
12. Provincie Noord-Brabant (2005), *Reconstructieplan/Milieueffectrapport Meierij – Deel A*
13. Provincie Noord-Brabant (2005), *Reconstructieplan/Milieueffectrapport Meierij – Deel B*
14. BrabantStad (2007), *Brabantstad Mozaiek Metropool*

Column I. Which landscape concepts does the text include? Concepts are written in *italic*.

Column II. Which one or two landscape dimensions does the concept, predominantly, highlight?

- Dynamic Material = DM
- Valued Practice = VP
- Symbolic Construction = SC

National Landscape - The Green Heart of Brabant [1]	
Two proposals come together in this note. The first is a proposal in a Dutch recreational journal (1970) to create ten National Parks in the Netherlands (also called National Landscapes). One of the areas is De Mortelen's area, a valuable area in terms of landscape and nature. Together this is an area of 10,000 hectares in between Oirschot, Oisterwijk and Boxtel. The second proposal comes from landscape consultants and is based on the indication for 'Parks' in the Second National Spatial Strategy. Both proposals suggest extending the De Mortelen's area with a similar bordering area in the East including the Dommel stream valley. Together, it creates an area of about 20,000 hectares (about two thirds of what is now Het Groene Woud): National Landscape the Green Heart.	
I.	II.
The document starts with a poem of Harriët Laurey entitled *"Heart of Brabant"*. Heart of Brabant refers to the 'Land of Brabant', including the warmth of Brabant, bird singing, poplars and the 'smile' of Brabant.	SC
95% of the National Landscape is *Park Area*, as defined by the Second National Spatial Strategy, with strategic consequences for regional spatial planning.	VP
At provincial level, the area is a *Green Zone* between the urbanisation 'row' of Tilburg, Den Bosch, Oss and Nijmegen and the Eindhoven-Helmond agglomeration	DM
The area is a meaningful *Link*, for nature and landscape, between the large and empty zones of the Dutch and Belgian De Kempen's area in the West and De Peel's area in the East.	DM
The area resembles the *Green Heart* of Holland: it too faces pressure from growing urbanisation. And like the Green Heart of Holland, the Green Heart of Brabant is of national importance.	VP / SC
Aim: to preserve the area as a *Green Space*, *Buffer*, or *Boundary* between the northern and southern 'wings' of cities.	VP VP

	VP
The development of 'ribbon' city Boxtel-Den Bosch will isolate nature areas; these new urban areas need to become part of *Urban-Region Parks*, as 'transitions' between the National Landscape and the urban-'wings'.	VP
The larger cities and villages are the *Picture Frame* of The Green Heart.	SC
Spatial principle: diversity in environment and landscape and diversity in *Concentration Points* in the landscape	undefined
Spatial principle: clarity in the *Main Structure* but adventure in details	VP
Spatial principle: *Broken-winded and Long-Winded Destinations* of spatial functions	VP / SC
The *Park Area* should keep its 'rural' character and should be protected against further urbanisation.	VP
The *Rural Heart* of the Landscape Park is created by a chain of related *Nature Cores* and villages.	SC / DM DM
The *Chains* between Nature Cores need attention.	DM / VP

Landscape Management Plans [2 – 7]	
The Landscape Management Plans studied are: 'De Scheeken' [2], 'Het Dommeldal en het Breugels broek' [3-4] and 'De Geelders' [5-7]. Each plan covers a small part of Het Groene Woud but together they provide an ample impression of the characteristics of Het Groene Woud.	
I.	II.
De Scheeken [2]	
Management Area: nature and landscape values are sustained but farming continues	VP
Reserve Area [no specification]	VP
Transition Strip, for example, between Dommel's stream valley and swamp forest	DM
There are landscape-'blotting', i.e. *Eyesore Elements* as dunghills, waste and pits outside the farmyard.	SC / DM
Management areas are presented as *Problem Areas* in a European context (i.e. 'Mountainous' Farming Areas, as Less Favoured Areas, part of European Common Agricultural Policy). These areas are special: they have a natural 'handicap' that needs to be maintained (e.g. water management, accessibility, vegetation, parcel lay out).	VP /SC
Dommeldal & Breugelse Broek [3-4] (i.e. Dommel's stream valley & Breugel's swamp)	
Management Area: nature and landscape values are sustained but farming continues	VP
Reserve areas are characterised by a great variety of roadsides, channels, ditches and various soils that define the variety of biological values (fauna).	VP / DM
Dommel's stream valley is an *Enclosed Landscape*; there are therefore fewer typical meadow birds but other special birds that need shelter.	DM
Management areas are presented as *Problem Areas* in a European context (i.e. 'Mountainous' Farming Areas, as Less Favoured Areas, part of European Common Agricultural Policy). These areas are special: they have a natural 'handicap' that needs to be maintained (e.g. water management, accessibility, vegetation, parcel lay out).	VP / SC
Dommel's stream valley is a *Refuge* for animals and plants	DM / SC
The area is situated in a *Core Area* of the *Ecological Main Structure*, as defined by national nature policy of 1990	VP VP
A *Buffer-area* of meadow and fields is necessary between farming production and nature areas	DM / VP
De Geelders [5-7]	
Management Area: nature and landscape values are sustained but farming continues	VP
Reserve Area [no specification]	VP
Transition Zones between forests, tree lines and meadows & *Transitions* of small landscape elements (i.e. potential for plants and animals).	DM
Reference is made to the Regional Plan: nature areas include *Protection Zones*, which are areas that need to be isolated from groundwater extraction, disturbance and technical infrastructure.	VP
Reference is made to Local Plans: *Multi-functional zones*	VP
Lay-out: a core of forest, *Boundary Zones* (including forests and meadows), *Border Situations* (including	DM

rims) and small scale landscapes (i.e. potential for plants and animals).	DM
There is a *Crazy Patchwork Quilt* of landownership (previous situation, in reference to cultural heritage).	DM / SC
There are landscape 'blotting', i.e. *Eyesore Elements* like dunghills, waste and pits outside the farmyard.	SC / DM
Management areas are presented as *Problem Areas* in European context (i.e. 'Mountainous' Farming Areas, as Less Favoured Areas, part of European Common Agricultural Policy). These areas are special: they have a natural 'handicap' that needs to be maintained (e.g. water management, accessibility, vegetation, parcel lay out).	VP / SC
There has been a development from *Farmer Forest* in the 19th century towards *Nature Forest*	DM
Multi-functional Forest, in reference to a mix of tree species	DM
In reference to Regional Plan: the area include a *Nature-Core-Area, Touristic-Recreational-Main-Structure, Green Main Structure*	VP VP VP

Regional Plans [8-11]	
The regional plans, including revisions, range from the 1970s to 2004. Landscape concepts are included in the list if they refer to an ample part of the actual area of Het Groene Woud.	
I.	II.
[8] In this plan, what is today Het Groene Woud is described in the chapter Rural Area	
The 'forest and fens of Oisterwijk', a nature area in what is today Het Groene Woud is designated as a *Large Nature Reserve*; the National government studies if and how it can designate this area as a *National Landscape Park*.	VP VP
There have been undesirable developments, i.e. *Brickification*: non-agricultural buildings and activities outside villages, which negatively influence our landscape experience.	SC
There is an *Open Area* between the north and south 'wings' of the urban 'back', including an infrastructural 'connection axis'. 'Open', on a provincial scale, means a less urbanised area. 'Open', on a local scale, means a non-build area or visually open area.	DM
The reason for land use zoning policy is to reduce *Fragmentation* of the rural area caused by urbanisation and to guide the process of *Interweaving* of the city and countryside, to promote both individual characters.	SC / DM SC / DM
The result of land use zoning policy should be: an *Open area* at provincial level; a *Buffer Zone* to separate cities on regional level; and a recreational *Stretch Out Zone* at city-regional level.	VP VP VP
The province is one of the strongest *Agricultural Centres* of the Netherlands; agriculture is important to maintain Open Space.	DM / SC
[9] = Partial Revision of [8]	
The policy category of Large Nature Reserve [see 8] is changed into *Large Unity of Nature area* (Oisterwijk area). A new category is *Large Landscape Unity*, with a focus on connecting spatial elements (North of Best). A neighbouring area of Het Groene Woud is now designated as *National Park* (Loonse and Drunense Duinen area), including targets for ecology and cultural landscape heritage.	VP VP VP
[10] In this plan, what is today Het Groene Woud area corresponds to the Meierij area, which is part of the 'Dommel's River Basin' region.	
A *Spatial Main Structure* is introduced to separate high-dynamic and low-dynamic land use activities with the help of various 'Structures'.	VP / DM
Policy categories Large Unity of Nature area and Large Landscape Unity [see 9] are changed: there are *Nature Core Area* (including De Geelders' area), *Multi-functional Forest* (south of Oisterwijk) and *Nature Development Area*. Together, they create a *Green Main Structure*.	VP VP VP VP
About one third of what is today Het Groene Woud is part of the *Agricultural Main Structure* (mainly beef cattle).	VP
Most villages in what is today Het Groene Woud are part of an *Urban Main Structure*; a few villages	VP

are part of the 'central urban area'.	
In the long term development perspective, Central Brabant is described as an attractive landscape for recreation as it is a diverse landscape with a small-scale character: the area is an *Enclosed Area*.	DM
There is a *Central Green Area* that counters urbanisation and other 'dynamics' of Brabant. It includes spatial qualities for the cities; it thus supports Brabant's attractive image.	VP / SC
The area is a *Tourist Recreational Development Area*, including room for new developments.	VP
Both Brabant's and National's policies are referred to. A comparison: The priority in the Green Main Structure is nature but there is also scope for agriculture, forestry, military fields, tourism and recreation. Hereby, Brabant's Green Main Structure differs from the national *Ecological Network* (focus on nature). The national government considers whether De Loonse and Drunense Duinen area will be designated by the national status of *National Park* but Brabant does not use that label since the national policy corresponds [sic] to the ambitions of Brabant's Green Main Structure.	VP VP
The Meierij area includes a *Dense Network* of nature and forest areas as well as a *Transition Zone* from sand towards clay landscapes.	DM DM
The Meierij area is an important recreational *Stay Over Area*.	VP / SC
National Landscape Midden-Brabant (northwest of Eindhoven) offers potential for extensive forms of recreation [NB it is unclear to which national policy documents the text refers].	VP
[11] The title of this plan is 'Brabant in Balance' ('Balanced Brabant')	
In the general Vision: Brabant is one of the most 'dynamic' provinces of the Netherlands but it fears *Rim-City Traits* (Randstad Traits) such as uniformity and urban spatial claims, at the cost of valuable *Open Spaces*.	SC DM
In the vision for Brabant 2020, what is today Het Groene Woud is presented as the *Green Heart* of Brabant, in the centre of 'Brabant city' (i.e. the Urban Network of Eindhoven, Den Bosch, Tilburg, Helmond and Breda).	SC
In the vision for Brabant 2020, what is today Het Groene Woud is presented as a *Garden* for the urban region, including a diversity of nature and cultural heritage values and a combination of *Open and Enclosed landscapes* (i.e. a characteristic landscape).	SC DM
In the vision for Brabant 2020, what is today Het Groene Woud is *The Recreational Heart* that is 'beating' and strong: an important 'carrier' of an attractive living and business environment.	SC
The plan prolongs the *Green Main Structure* (see [10]) but includes some minor changes. It is a coherent network of areas with high nature values. In the long term, the Green Main Structure is only intended for nature, land-based agriculture, 'green' recreation and other 'low-dynamic' functions.	VP / DM
The plan presents some specifications of the *Green Main Structure* (cf. [10]) by presenting two 'main-zones' and various 'sub-zones': 1. Green Main Structure - Nature, e.g. including *Nature Pearls* and *Ecological Corridors* as 'sub-zone'. 2. Green Main Structure - Agriculture, e.g. including *Nature Development Areas* as 'sub-zone'.	VP VP VP VP
The plan prolongs the *Agricultural Main Structure* (see [10]), being the *Contra-Mould* of the Green Main Structure. The main goal is the continuation and development of the agricultural sector.	VP DM / SC
The plan presents some specifications of the *Agricultural Main Structure* (cf. [10]) by presenting two 'main-zones' and various 'sub-zones' 1. Agricultural Main Structure – Landscape, for example, including *Regional Nature- and Landscape Unities* as 'sub-zone'. What is today Het Groene Woud includes parts of two Regional Nature and Landscape Unities. A Regional Nature and Landscape Unity mainly includes Green Main Structure but also some parts of the Agricultural Main Structure. 2. Agricultural Main Structure – Agriculture	VP VP
What is today Het Groene Woud includes parts of three *Rural Regions* (Boxtel; Oistwijk-Hilvarenbeek; Groot-Kempen). The main goal of a Rural Region is to prevent further 'degradation' of the countryside by urbanisation.	VP / SC
What is today Het Groene Woud corresponds to *Reconstruction Area* Meierij (see plan [12-13]), designated to 'revitalise' the rural area.	VP

Reconstruction Plan [12-13]	
The Reconstruction Plan of the Meierij deals with an area that nearly overlaps Het Groene Woud. The aim of the plan is to provide a constructive future for agriculture and horticulture but to 'balance' these claims with other claims like nature development, water management and enhancing the 'liveability' of villages. According to the preface: 'Brabant turns soil' (i.e. Brabant takes action). An environmental impact assessment (eia) is integrated in the plan. Part A [12] is the main plan & part B [13] provides background information	
I.	II.
The area is divided into three Reconstruction zones: Zone (1) *Extensifying Area*: the function nature dominates and intensive livestock farming needs to be restricted.	VP
Zone (2) *Intertwined-functions Area*: the functions nature, agriculture and housing go together; intensive livestock farming is possible but under specific conditions.	VP
Zone (3) *Agricultural Development Area*: the function agriculture dominates; there are possibilities for new farms, the rebuilding or the enlargement of farms. Only a very small part of what is today Het Groene Woud is designated as *Agricultural Development Area*.	VP
National Park Loonse and Drunense Dunes area (only partly situated in what is today Het Groene Woud), as well as 'Het Groene Woud' are designated as *Regional Nature and Landscape Unities*, to protect these large-scale nature areas against urbanisation.	VP
The area should be protected against *Brickification* by *De-brickifation*	SC / DM SC
Likewise, protection of nature areas against *Fragmentation* caused by other land use functions (e.g. infrastructure) with the help of *De-fragmentation*.	SC / DM SC
Nature Pearls: special nature areas due to soil or water values; these areas need to be incorporated in local plans.	SC / VP
Part of the area is designated as *Ecological Network*, including *Nature Core areas* and *Ecological Corridors* (national nature policy), as well as *Buffer areas*.	VP VP VP VP
The quality of the landscape is threatened by 'sneaking' *Levelling-out* and *Fading* and *Cluttering* of the landscape.	SC SC SC
Green-Blue Veining: a local network or 'plaiting' of landscape elements in the rural area. For example, Het Groene Woud's farmers develop Green-Blue Veining in the 'test garden' Het Groene Woud.	DM
Recreational Gate Ways: a gathering of recreational facilities used to guide recreational activities.	SC / VP
Green Mould: the zone of agriculture and nature around Tilburg	VP
Ambition: the development of a *Land-estate Zone* around Boxtel, resulting in a recreational *Stretch Out Zone* for Boxtel.	VP VP
Green Main Structure and *Agriculture Main Structure* (see regional plans)	VP
Core-Rim Zone: a transition zone between village and countryside, including a relatively large number of buildings.	DM
Blue Junction: a transition of two sub-drainage areas of one water system.	DM
Landscape-Ecological Zones, as open and *Green Buffer Zones*, to prevent the merging of two cities or villages (for example, the Dommel Valley near Son en Breugel).	DM / VP DM / VP

BrabantCity Mosaic Metropolis [14]	
The document presents strategic directions for the future of the urban network BrabantCity. It is the result of an extensive design workshop; most participants work for the larger municipalities (Breda, Den Bosch, Eindhoven, Helmond, Tilburg). The document has no official status but is a source of inspiration for future policy by presenting several scenarios. The document is published in 2007. Het Groene Woud is thus already designated as National Landscape by the national government. Het Groene Woud is part of the 'centre' or 'mesh' of the urban network.	
I.	II.

Mosaic is the main concept: *Brabant-Mosaic* and *Metropolis-Mosaic*. Mosaic is the distinctive quality of BrabantCity, which distinguishes Brabant from other urban networks.	DM / SC
BrabantCity is generally part of a sandy landscape. It has a *Fine-meshed Mosaic* structure with a 'Kaleidoscopic' image of different small areas. In other words, the landscape is constructed by a mix of colours.	DM / SC
BrabantCity has a multiplicity of *Green Pearls* (i.e. it has not one Heart). Brabant is Green: it has many *Green Pearls* (forests, parks, nature areas).	SC DM
In line with its Mosaic structure, BrabantCity contrasts Holland's *Rim-City* (Randstad) with its division between one open *Green Heart* and the surrounding *Urban Wing ('Horseshoe')*.	VP / SC VP / SC DM / SC
Descriptions of BrabantCity: *Urban Network*, according to the National Spatial Strategy	VP
Descriptions of BrabantCity: the sum (i.e. symbiosis) of five cities, villages and the surrounding landscape. The traditional urban-rural division is left. Brabant has changed from rural area towards a *Green City*. The difference between city and countryside has 'levelled out'.	SC
Ambition of BrabantCity: "we are not sure whether Brabant<u>City</u> needs to be a city. But one thing is certain. <u>Brabant</u>City needs to be Brabant." It has to be a network that has a *Brabant-DNA* 'into the capillaries'.	SC
A map of the area, from the beginning of the twentieth century, shows a *Starry Sky* of cities and villages.	SC
One can observe the *Camelisation* of the rural landscape. Camelisation is the superlative of 'Horsification' of the landscape. Horsification is generally used as a negative sign, i.e. the development of 'non-rural' activities in the countryside (as horse business related facilities); Camelisation is, here, used as a positive sign of the typical urban culture in the landscape (restaurants, recreational facilities, antique shops, camels and ostriches, etc.).	SC
There is a *Fine-Meshed Network* of infrastructure, topped by a *Diamond* of highways, resulting in easy accessibility. Likewise, there is a *Fine-Meshed Network* of small and 'close' stream valleys, topped by a *Diamond* of larger canals.	DM DM
The landscape has various historical landscape elements and structures, resulting from its military, religious, agricultural and industrial histories. It is a *Layered Landscape* with many stories.	SC
Trend: the (rural) landscape has changed from *Production Landscape* towards *Functional Area*, i.e. *Stretch Out Area*, for townsmen.	DM / SC DM / SC
Challenge: tackle the *Fading* of colours within the *Mosaic*. In other words, one fears for the *Uden-isation* of the landscape (in negative reference to the settlement of Uden in Brabant, which is neither village nor city, neither rural area nor urban area). Instead of Fading, the Mosaic should include a widespread *Palette* of (new) colours, in various sizes, as the 'Victory Boogie Woogie' of painter Mondriaan.	SC / DM SC SC / DM
The document presents three scenarios for the future of Brabant: *1. Burgundian Brabant*: enhancing Brabant's authenticity	SC
2. *Lively Brabant*: new élan for the urban culture	SC
3. Booming Brabant: a new relationship of reciprocity between city and countryside	SC
Aim in the Burgundian Brabant scenario: enhancing the contrast between the cities and villages, i.e. 'red' and 'green'. Het Groene Woud will extend and develop as a *Central Park Landscape* of BrabantCity. Het Groene Woud will be a large National Park. There will be *Forest Carpets*, like red-carpets, from the heart of the city directly to the centre of Het Groene Woud.	SC SC
In the Lively Brabant scenario: preservation of the *Mist* of small villages and settlement in the countryside.	SC
In the Booming Brabant City: BrabantCity has a 'low-dynamic' *Rural Heart* surrounded by an Open Frame of high-dynamic functions; the rural Heart is a *Landscape Park*. BrabantCity equates other urban networks as the Dutch Rim-City (Randstad) and the Flemish Diamond.	DM / SC DM / SC
Het Groene Woud and the Maas (Meuze) Valley will be connected by the *Green Delta*: the *Green-Blue Network* in and around the city of Den Bosch	DM / SC DM

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Appendix B – Readings of the IJmeer concepts, chapter 8

Interviews were held with key participants from each organisation that was part of the IJmeer vision team. The interests of the organisations involved as well as the individual readings of four main landscape concepts in the IJmeer vision are listed in this table. Interviews were held in September and October 2006 and reported in Boekel et al 2006

Main interests, *according to the vision ANWB et al 2005, p.2*		
Natuur-monumenten Dutch Society for the Preservation of Nature	**Staatsbosbeheer** Dutch Forestry Commission	**ANWB** Royal Dutch touring -tourist and traffic association
- Owner of three nature areas in the IJmeer region - Promoting 'more space for nature' in the Netherlands - Concerned with the future of the IJmeer (in continuation of the protest against IJburg's housing development)	- (Intended) responsible organisation for nature management in several (new) nature areas. - Offering nature-orientated recreation	- Representing mobility and recreation related interests of its members. - Target: 'recreation nearby - Target 'chain mobility' (combination of traffic modes)

Municipality of Almere	**Municipality of Amsterdam**	**Province of Flevoland**	**Province of Noord-Holland**
- Preferring urban development towards the IJmeer; 'City at the IJmeer' - A feasible vision on the future of the IJmeer region is helpful	- Inner-city urban development (since no space for expansion) - Recreation possibilities in the surrounding of Amsterdam due to further urbanisation of Amsterdam city - Network of cities, to cooperate	- Development of a 'waterfront identity' for Lelystad and Almere - Improvement of the connection of Flevoland with the North Wing / Randstad by an extra road connection - Nature development; wetland system	- Protection and improvement of 'spatial quality'; with special attention for water (quantity & quality), recreation, urbanisation, safety (concerning the water level)

Concept Waterpark		
Natuur-monumenten Dutch Society for the Preservation of Nature	**Staatsbosbeheer** Dutch Forestry Commission	**ANWB** Royal Dutch touring -tourist and traffic association
- Described in combination with Double City: - To cope with (i.e. preferably prevent) developments outside-the-dyke and consequential recreational pressure - A more detailed strategy and deliberation of consequences is necessary.	- IJmeer is part of a large system (IJmeer-Markermeer). - Ecology, recreation, urbanisation, accessibility, water management, safety. - Landscape, experience, cultural heritage. - (Financial) support - Various challenges are addressed in relation to each other. - Green development is necessary to create space for housing (wetland system). - Waterpark *is* Vision - Related to diverse scale	- Nature area, for townspeople - Accessible nature - The Vision should go beyond ecology and silt issues - Fearing Almere's urban and infrastructural pressure

Concept Waterpark			
Municipality of Almere	**Municipality of Amsterdam**	**Province of Flevoland**	**Province of Noord-Holland**
- Appealing and open motto - Creating an identity for Almere - Inter-urban bay - Meeting of people and nature (city, water, nature and recreation) - Preventing undesired development	- Investments in nature development will benefit if the issue is dealt with on regional level - Recreation, nature and housing - Reference for nature: fen/wetland system in Estland.	- A nature-recreation boulevard, including water-sports. - Development but ecological development. - The design of the province of Flevoland needs to be finished with the help of Waterpark.	- 'Full Package' - Crucial functions are housing, infrastructure, recreation and water. - Concept is the main outcome of the Vision - The financial issues and land-management need to be elaborated

Concept North Wing			
Natuur-monumenten Dutch Society for the Preservation of Nature	**Staatsbosbeheer** Dutch Forestry Commission	**ANWB** Royal Dutch touring -tourist and traffic association	
- Housing and infrastructure is necessary but should be properly (re)considered and designed: the area is a valuable nature area (Natura 2000).	- Beyond the development line Haarlemmermeer-Almere: take in green areas, i.e. an ecological connection on (international) level (Oostvaarders-plassen, Veluwe, Schwarzwald in Germany)	- Specific ambition: to develop sufficient and accessible recreation areas in the North Wing (e.g. East of Amsterdam).	
Municipality of Almere	**Municipality of Amsterdam**	**Province of Flevoland**	**Province of Noord-Holland**
- Concept is used for cooperation - Housing task (150.000 houses) - Line Schiphol (airport)-Amsterdam-Almere, i.e. North Wing of the 'Delta-Metropolis' - Connection Almere and mainland	- Housing does not restrict yet financially supports nature development. - High land prices in Amsterdam; urbanisation on regional scale is efficient.	- Including the area from Schiphol (airport) to Almere, but should also include the role of Lelystad. - Possibilities for the city of Lelystad, for example, relieving Schiphol airport and providing high segment housing.	- Interprovincial and metropolitan strategy for housing - IJmeer as centre of the North-Wing - IJmeer as 'blue wedge' of the North-Wing, creating an attractive living environment - Opportunities to improve the quality of water and recreation facilities - Concept as starting point for the Vision

Concept Double City		
Natuur-monumenten Dutch Society for the Preservation of Nature	**Staatsbosbeheer** Dutch Forestry Commission	**ANWB** Royal Dutch touring -tourist and traffic association
- Described in combination with Waterpark: - To cope with (i.e. preferably prevent) developments outside-the-dyke and consequential recreational pressure - A more detailed strategy and deliberation of consequences is necessary.	- Recognising the reality of the growth of Amsterdam and Almere but not embracing the concept - A green scale shift (wetland system) is prerequisite for the creation of Double City: connect ecology and urbanisation (then, link to accessibility and recreation).	- Functional and spatial relationship of Amsterdam & Almere (e.g. concerning infrastructure). - Priority: IJmeer as recreational area. Amsterdam and Almere should not 'turn their backs on' but 'watch over' the IJmeer.

Municipality of Almere	**Municipality of Amsterdam**	**Province of Flevoland**	**Province of Noord-Holland**
- Motto and direction for development - Connection/relation Amsterdam & Almere - Answer to housing task	- The concept does indicate the extent (size) of the issue. - However, Amsterdam and Almere will never be a Double City. Preference: Amsterdam Metropolitan area - Nevertheless, some of Amsterdam's facilities (sport and university) are relocated to Almere (for financial reasons). And Almere can provide affordable housing (in contrast to Amsterdam). - Development opportunities for Almere; Amsterdam has the knowledge and experience to assist the growth of Almere.	- Amsterdam & Almere - Priority: development of Almere and lake's shores - Preference: to scale up the concept (Markermeer scale). And the support of the national government is essential - Firstly deal with ecological and water issues, prior to red investments.	- Almere can develop as a 'complete' city (400,000 inhabitants) if the quality and attractiveness of Amsterdam is used (i.e. an integrative, regional approach, for example, concerning business locations)

Concept Ecological Mainport		
Natuur-monumenten Dutch Society for the Preservation of Nature	**Staatsbosbeheer** Dutch Forestry Commission	**ANWB** Royal Dutch touring -tourist and traffic association
- Wet Heart of the Netherlands - Nature of national importance, cf. De Veluwe - Need for improvement - Relationship with other areas is crucial (as Markermeer) - Characteristic big lake, nature-friendly shores, nature inside-the-dyke, wet nature, water quality, reduce silt problems - Implementation requires the (financial) support of the other concepts - Natuurmonumenten is worried about the further elaboration of the concept. Will the 'green' voice survive?	- Ecological Mainport is the junction of Natura 2000 (European Ecological Network), i.e. function for migratory water birds. This function needs improvement. - Ambition to scale up from national towards international. - Important for management: consider nature areas as one overall picture (not as individual pictures). - Beyond protection of species: create a robust Wetland system (that can deal with the effects of urbanisation). - Important concept, together with Double City	- Mainly considered as nature (wet axis); however, key word should be accessibility - Concept is ok but not realistic: red functions dominate in this area and the size is too small

Municipality of Almere	**Municipality of Amsterdam**	**Province of Flevoland**	**Province of Noord-Holland**
- Concept represents the weight (voice) of nature - Lake IJssel is important 'stepping stone' for birds - Cf. mainport Rotterdam: a place to invest in. - Beyond 'nature as compensation for building': status, i.e. a unique environment (also for housing outside-the-dike)	- Integrated approach: housing provides resources to support new nature. - Investments in nature development (e.g. fish stock) will benefit if the issue is dealt with on regional level - Reference for nature: fen/wetland system in Estland. - Concepts needs to be elaborated (e.g. silt issue).	- Mainport is important for birds. - Is the ecological role of mainport realistic? Are we protecting birds, or achieving (overall) quality? More research is necessary. - Important concept for nature (organisations)	- Main concern is the quality of water - Related to the European Habitats and Birds Directives - The 'voice' of ecology

Appendix C – Parliamentary proceedings Plan Stork, chapter 9

Selection of all Parliamentary Proceedings of Dutch Lower House and Upper House that include the key word 'Ooievaar' (i.e. Stork) and concern ideas of Plan Stork. Sources: *Staten Generaal Digitaal* en *Opmaat*.

1987 *Vaste Commissie voor Landbouw en Bijzondere commissie Groene structuurschema's*: UCV 45

1987 *Tweede Kamer Landbouw en Visserij/Landbouw-Egalisatiefonds*: TK 15

1987-1988 *Tweede Kamer Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat Verslag van een mondeling overleg*: 20 200 hfdst. XII, nr. 57

1987-1988 *Tweede Kamer Rijksmeerjarenprogramma Natuur- en Landschapsbehoud 1988-1992*: 20 203 nr. 3

1987-1988 *Eerste Kamer Beleidsdebat over onderwerpen rakende het Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat*: 20200 XII enz. 160B

1988 *Eerste Kamer Toespraken*: EK 19

1988-1989 *Tweede Kamer Lijst van vragen en antwoorden Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat:* 20800 hfdst. XII, nr.13

1988-1989 *Tweede Kamer Vaststelling van de begroting van de uitgaven en ontvangsten Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat:* 20 800 hfdst. XII, nr. 2

1988-1989 *Tweede Kamer Wijziging van de begroting van de uitgaven van hoofdstuk XIV (Ministerie van Landbouw en Visserij) voor het jaar 1987 (slotwet; derde wijziging)*: 20 827, nrs. 1-3

1988-1989 *Eerste Kamer Hoofdstuk XIV (Ministerie van Landbouw en Visserij) voor het jaar 1989: Vaststelling van de begroting van de uitgaven en ontvangsten*: 20 800 hfdst. XIV en 8,. Nr. 135b

1988-1989 *Tweede Kamer Vierde nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening*: 20 490. nrs 7-8

1988-1989 *Tweede Kamer De verontreiniging van de Rijn Brief van de Minister van Verkeer en Waterstaat*: 12872, nr. 48 en nr. 50

1989 *Eerste Kamer Waterhuishouding 32ste vergadering*: EK 32

1989-1990 *Tweede Kamer Vaststelling van de begroting van de uitgaven en ontvangsten van hoofdstuk XII (Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat) voor het jaar 1990*: 21 300 XII, nr. 2

1989-1990 *Tweede Kamer Vaststelling van de begroting van de uitgaven en van de ontvangsten van hoofdstuk XII (Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat) voor het jaar 1990*: 21 300 XII, nr. 21

1989-1990 *Tweede Kamer Vaststelling van de begroting van de uitgaven en van de ontvangsten van hoofdstuk XIV (Ministerie van Landbouw, Natuurbeheer en Visserij) voor het jaar 1990*: 21 300 XIV, nr. 27 en nr. 58

1989-1990 *Tweede Kamer Aanhangsel van de Handelingen*: 650

1989-1990 *Tweede Kamer Derde Nota Waterhuishouding*: 21 250, nr. 3

1990 *Vaste Commissie voor landbouw en natuurbeheer en voor het midden- en kleinbedrijf Natuurbeheer, openluchtrecreatie en toerisme*: UCV 13

1990 *Tweede Kamer Regeling van werkzaamheden*: TK 42

1990 *Tweede Kamer Verkeer en Waterstaat*: TK 44

1990-1991 *Tweede Kamer Meerjarenprogramma Natuur en Landschap 1991-1995*: 21 878 nrs. 1-2

1990-1991 *Tweede Kamer Wijziging van de Wet van 28 februari 1891 tot vaststelling van bepalingen betreffende 's Rijks waterstaatswerken en van de Rivierenwet*: 21721, nr. 5

1990-1991 *Tweede Kamer Vaststelling van de begroting van de uitgaven en de ontvangsten van hoofdstuk XII (Ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat) voor het jaar 1991*: 21 800 XII, nr. 2

1990-1991 *Tweede Kamer Voortgang rivierdijkversterkingen*: 18 106, nr. 31 en nr. 33

1991 *Tweede Kamer Verkeer en Waterstaat*: TK 20

1991 *Vaste Commissies voor justitie en voor binnenlandse zaken Bestuursrecht*: UCV 17

1992 *Tweede Kamer Leden*: TK 21

1992 *Vaste Commissie voor landbouw en natuurbeheer Leden*: UCV 10

1995 *Tweede Kamer Waterkering*: TK 24

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Summary

The performance of landscape concepts in spatial planning
Branding, bonding and bringing about
Janneke E. Hagens 2010

Part A. Introduction

Spatial planners are expressive people. The conversations and texts of planners are filled with metaphorical and strategic language. This language often includes landscape concepts: 'packages', tagged by an appealing 'label', of creative landscape ideas and planning principles. Examples are Urban Network, the Camelisation of landscapes, the Green Heart of the Netherlands and Nature Pearls. Landscape concepts are used to grasp a complex topic, being a central concern of spatial planners: landscapes. Landscapes are continuously changing 'products' with both physical and social features. Landscape concepts are not only used to deal with a complex topic, they are also used in a complex setting, being spatial planning. Spatial planning is a lively practice involving the political interests and professional efforts of various spatial planners who each try to enhance landscapes. Spatial planners are professionals who need to balance practical, ethical and political issues, in partnership with other people, about the future of landscapes. Likewise, landscape concepts are interesting 'packages' filled with information about landscapes, planning activities and the spatial planners involved. A study into landscape concepts can reveal this information.

The aim of this study is to explore the *nature* of landscape concepts in spatial planning and the *working* in Dutch planning cases. I investigate the assumption that landscape concepts are 'innocent' at first sight yet 'guilty' of various powerful effects in reality. I use a critical but realistic perspective on the meaning of landscape concepts, which will challenge an overly optimistic, instrumental perspective. A critical perspective implies that the meaning of a landscape concept in spatial planning is extensive and powerful. Whereas an instrumental perspective focuses on official stages of concepts (i.e. institutionalised policy concepts), a critical perspective also focuses on pre-official and un-official stages (e.g. focused on problem definition, debating and inspiring).

Dutch spatial planning faces shortcomings, which may be tackled with the support of landscape concepts. Three shortcomings are addressed in this study. Each challenge is linked to a specific role of a landscape concept, resulting in three explorative research questions.
1. **Basic Role** *How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to describe landscapes?*
A first challenge is to overcome traditional descriptions of landscapes. Traditional descriptions ignore the complexity and dynamics as well as the regional variety of

Dutch landscapes. For example, spatial planners hold on to a rigid but outdated division of regions into 'urban' and 'rural' landscapes. Moreover, even when approaches are innovative, they often do not break through the dominant planning system. Landscape concepts can assist in this challenge but we firstly need more insight into the basic role of concepts.

2. **Supportive role** *How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to cope with conflicts of interests?*

A second challenge for spatial planners is to cooperate and communicate about conflicting spatial priorities. Dealing with conflicts and difference is an inherent goal of spatial planning but even more a present-day goal in Dutch spatial planning. A present-day approach in the Netherlands is a problem-focused 'horizontal' planning approach with shifting coalitions of planners. This implies a planning setting with less central control and increased informality. A landscape concept can support cooperation between various spatial planners: a collective concept can serve as a point of reference, especially in new planning settings. Notwithstanding this appeal for using shared concepts, the differences between spatial planners need to be recognised at all times. The challenge is to balance between 'collectiveness' and 'difference'.

3. **Consequential role** *How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to establish direction?*

A third challenge in Dutch planning is to achieve an effective plan process which finally results in the implementation of plans. Whereas planning researchers traditionally favoured 'strict control' as an approach to plan processes, nowadays many favour 'flexibility'. Likewise, the idea that a landscape concept can provide a form of strict control is outdated. Rather, it is a challenge to introduce a landscape concept that establishes new directions by providing inventive ideas about future landscapes and influencing people's views and actions.

The meaning of a landscape concept is partly rooted in its nature and partly unfolded in practice. Accordingly, this study is based on a context-sensitive research approach which takes account of spatial planning as a changing real-life practice. Likewise, each research question is linked to two specific chapters. Firstly, each question is addressed in a theoretically-informed chapter in part B of this study. This chapter includes 'framing theory' to reflect on the *nature* of concepts (in this study, planning and post-structuralist theories). Secondly, each question is addressed in a case-informed chapter in part C, including a specific Dutch regional planning case, to reveal the *working* of concepts (in this study, a genealogy, a comparative analysis and a narrative approach as interpretive methods).

Part B. The nature of landscape concepts in spatial planning

The first chapter in part B explores the basic role of landscape concepts in spatial planning in describing landscapes. It is crucial to understand the meaning of 'landscape' in the context planning. A landscape is *part of* planning activities: a

landscape can be considered as a driving force of spatial planners. This study describes the meaning of landscapes with the help of three analytical dimensions; these dimensions take account of the lively and social reality of spatial planning. A landscape refers to: dynamic material, valued practice and symbolic construction. Ideally, landscape concepts are used to 'pack' together these three dimensions of landscapes. In line with these dimension, landscape concepts can be considered 'matters of concern': a combination of an object-orientated and political-orientated approach to an issue (according to Latour). Likewise, one approaches the reality of a landscape situation in planning by looking for both matters and concerns. The example of the use of the landscape concept Cluttering (i.e. a form of disorder or unattractiveness) in Dutch spatial planning illustrates that a landscape concept can fall short in two ways: the concept can be de-mattered (i.e. problem avoidance) or de-concerned (i.e. cut off from political and practical reality). Landscape concepts, in short, are not simply used to describe landscapes as plain objects; they are used to characterise material landscape matters together with the landscape concerns of people involved.

The second chapter in part B explores the supportive role of landscape concepts in spatial planning in coping with conflicts of interest. Ideally, spatial planners involved in a planning case communicate with the help of a shared language and create a consensus about the future of a landscape. However, this ideal can be problematic in practice: the idealised intention of a spatial planner on paper (as promoted by a Habermasian approach) is overruled by the powerful and political motivations of a spatial planner in reality (as explained by a Foucauldian approach). Insight into the nature of spatial planners further details the need but difficulty of cooperation. Spatial planners have ambitions, being a combination of collective goals and personal drives: they have a 'will to order' landscapes. The drives of spatial planners are diverse. A crucial aspect is their attitude towards complexity in spatial planning; this study distinguishes between a 'fearing' will to control and an 'adventurous' will to change. Landscape concepts are used to express the ambitions of spatial planners. A spatial planner with an adventurous drive will use different landscape concepts than a spatial planner with a fearing drive. Spatial planners are interconnected; they need to rely on each other as they are part of the same system. Collective landscape concepts, as a shared language, can be helpful in communication about ambitions and coalition-building about future landscapes. However, it is hard, if not impossible, to prevent spatial planners from attaching different meanings to a landscape concept. The meaning of a concept depends on the interpretation of a planner; the interpretation is influenced by his ambitions, assumptions and planning culture. Likewise, landscape concepts can be considered 'discursive constructions' (after Foucault). A case study about different users of the Ecological Network landscape concept, an essential concept in nature policy, demonstrates the possible consequences of diverse

interpretations of 'one' concept. Namely, diverse interpretations of an 'open' concept can result in, in this case, weak consensus and the denial of personal responsibilities in implementation of the concept. A planners needs to empathise with different 'readers' of a landscape concept, including their drives, rather than secure or refine the 'intentional' meaning of a concept.

The third chapter in part B explores the consequential role of landscape concepts in establishing direction. A landscape concept can be influential in spatial planning by presenting innovative landscape ideas and planning principles. But when is a concept defined as successful? The definition of 'success' in spatial planning depends on one's definition of spatial planning, on the expectations that arise from this definition and on the perspective one adopts of evaluating success. Taking into account the dynamic and strategic nature of planning (rather than a fixed and technical nature), 'success' need to be evaluated from a performance perspective (rather than from a conformance perspective): spatial plans, then, are evaluated on their learning effects, both intended and unintended consequences, as well as on 'dramaturgical' dimensions (rather than on a priori standards). A landscape concept can play a part in the subtle processes of learning and influencing, being processes towards possible formalisation of a concept in policy. In order to challenge hegemonic ideas and to establish new direction, a concept needs to break through resistance and focus attention on a specific idea. This challenge requires powerful and entrepreneurial spatial planners who can promote a landscape concept. Moreover, the linguistic nature and rhetorical label of a landscape concept also play a role in the performance of a landscape concept. A landscape concept can be considered a creative 'order-word' (after Deleuze & Guattari): a concept is a powerful 'password' related to specific assumptions and directed towards specific actions. A media analysis of the Dutch landscape concept National Landscape as an 'order-word' shows how the concept is related to implicit presuppositions about what landscapes should look like and how they should be managed. For example, the concept is merely associated with 'open' landscapes and restrictions to new spatial developments. Such simplifications and presuppositions will, mostly indirectly or unpredictably, influence the outcome of discussion and decision-making about National Landscape policy. In other words, the subtle performance of a landscape concept may have powerful consequences for spatial planning.

Overall, in part B of this study a set of dominating but false planning certainties about malleability, consensus and speech is challenged. In order to address planning questions, spatial planners need to have realistic expectations about landscape analysis, cooperation between planners and the possible effects of language. Likewise, a critical but realistic perspective on landscape concepts in spatial planning reveals that a concept has a colourful, multiple, rhetorical and creative nature.

Part C. The working of landscape concepts in Dutch spatial planning

In a first case study, it is further explored how landscape concepts, including their colourful nature, are used in practice to describe landscapes (i.e. the basic role of a concept). The case concerns the use of landscape concepts in spatial planning to characterise the area Het Groene Woud, one of twenty National Landscapes in the Netherlands. Het Groene Woud has a rich planning history. A set of concepts encountered in old planning documents are 'recycled' for this case. An overview of the concepts, the diverse 'roots' as well as trends are presented as a genealogy of landscape concepts. The meaning of each concept is interpreted using a framework comprising the three dimensions that define a landscape in spatial planning context (i.e. dynamic material, valued practice, symbolic construction). In short, the landscape concepts of the genealogy tell a story about a landscape with diverse 'green' land uses influenced by Brabant's dynamic culture. The genealogy shows a slightly developing engagement over time with lively and figurative landscape concepts, focusing on landscapes as symbolic constructions. For example, some concepts can be defined as spectre concepts as they evoke undesired images of landscapes (e.g. Brickification of landscapes). The use of colourful landscape concepts can be related to the process of landscape branding. Landscape branding is the inventive differentiation of a particular landscape from other landscapes by 'foregrounding' distinct landscape features and 'backgrounding' unproductive features. Landscape branding can influence recognition and appreciation of a landscape and consequently decision-making about a landscape. A landscape concept can be considered as a brand in the process of landscape branding, being a mental image that creates a selective story. Landscape branding entails some risks, for example it can be hyper-symbolic or excessively selective if information or people are excluded.

The second chapter of part C elaborates the extent to which landscape concepts are shared concepts as well as the possible role of landscape concepts in dealing with different ambitions, in the IJmeer case (i.e. the supportive role of a concept). The case concerns the use of four key landscapes concepts, encountered in a collective spatial vision for the IJmeer region: Waterpark, North Wing, Double City and Ecological Mainport. The vision is produced by an informal coalition of spatial planners from seven different organisations. The case includes a comparative analysis: the definitions in the collective vision of the four landscape concepts and individual readings of these concepts by the representatives of the organisations involved are listed, interpreted and compared. Individual readings of the concepts often reflect the definition in the vision (e.g. all respondents consider Waterpark a crucial 'full package' of diverse spatial functions). Sometimes, readings are similar in general but contain different details (e.g. a 'green' or 'red' approach to North Wing). Sometimes, readings clearly differ (e.g. Double City is either rejected or embraced). Moreover, readings show that

some landscape concepts accepted in the vision, are still considered as tentative or unfeasible; these concepts need further financial and strategic considerations (e.g. Ecological Mainport). So, the four landscape concepts are shared on paper by the seven organisations but their individual readings show that they are only shared to a certain extent in reality. On the one hand, some readings can be interpreted as signs of convergence of interests: concepts are open but problem-specific point of references so that many organisations can link their dreams and responsibilities to the concepts (cf. concepts as nodal points in a collective process of 'imagineering' a future landscape). On the other hand, some readings of the concepts can be interpreted as signs of divergence of interests: small differences in interpretations of concepts may emerge as major conflicts in the long term, when design details or financial decisions are made. In addition, some concepts are 'lost' in the old planning system; for example, the informal status of the main concept Waterpark was useful in bringing professionals together yet the concept was hardly embraced in new planning activities. Likewise, the team started with an 'adventurous' will to cooperate but continued with a 'fearing' will as individual organisations returned to their old positions. Although landscape concepts can neither be considered as detailed designs nor as sustainable agreements, they can still help link people and provide an initial and innovative direction for future landscapes. The temporary success of a concept may be inevitable and even essential for a planning future with shifting coalitions, in which each new coalition is assisted by a new 'bonding' landscape concept.

In the third case of Part C, the subtle success of the landscape concept Plan Stork in Dutch planning practice is detailed (i.e. the consequential role of a concept). Plan Stork can be considered an innovative landscape concept with ecological design principles for the future of Dutch river areas, including strategies for agriculture, sand and clay extraction, river-management and nature-development. Plan Stork is a popular but disputed concept. This case presents a 'narrative' of Plan Stork and uses a 'dramaturgical' framework to interpret the meaning of the settings, promoters, opponents, tactics, scripts and counter scripts of Plan Stork. In 1986, in a setting that becomes more receptive to environmental approaches, a team of professionals bundles a set of unconventional design ideas for river areas into the award winning landscape design 'Plan Stork'. In the same year, Minister Kroes from the Ministry of Transport, Public Works and Water Management promotes ideas of Plan Stork in a striking news item on TV, generating reactions from supporters and opponents. In 1987, the Plan Stork team gets the opportunity to promote Plan Stork in a glossy edition, with the support of governmental organisations. This entrance into a more 'formal' setting triggers more people to follow the plan. The professional debate about Plan Stork is exemplified by discussions in specialised journals; this debate creates more attention, no matter if the concept is confirmed or criticised. Minister Kroes and Members of Parliament also embrace Plan Stork. Some ideas behind Plan

Stork subtly fuse into other political debates (e.g. the integrated design approach of Plan Stork supports the discussion about the future of agriculture), other ideas are established in policy documents and translated into practice (e.g. clay extraction in flood plains in combination with nature development), whereas other initial ideas are not explicitly put forward in relation to Plan Stork (e.g. the sub-concept Urban Gate). Nowadays, professionals are still building on a selection of ideas from Plan Stork, whereas others call it an outdated or 'reduced' concept. Overall, the narrative of Plan Stork shows that change is, in this case, a subtle process of both tactical actions and lucky elements. A comparable process is agenda-setting: prioritising issues in pre-decision processes at the expense of other issues. In spatial planning, agenda-setting is related to power and change; it requires new ideas about future landscapes which can challenge hegemonic ideas and attention for these ideas. In addition, agenda-setting requires spatial planners who have an entrepreneurial 'will to friction'. A landscape concept can play a part in three activities of agenda-setting: it can put forward 'an urgency' in the selection of problems (cf. Plan Stork as the winning entry of a design competition), it can present 'a strategy' in the development of solutions (cf. Plan Stork as a combination of innovative ideas), and it can provide 'a standard' as problems and solutions are coupled (cf. Plan Stork established in policy). An innovative landscape concept can become hegemonic itself. Moreover, the formalisation of a landscape concept into a standard should not be considered to be the ultimate goal. Rather, a landscape concept can be crucial in the process towards formalisation and implementation by activating new thoughts, regardless of whether the concept is formalised or not.

The three planning cases in part C illustrate the working of landscape concepts in Dutch spatial planning. Again, landscape concepts appear to be colourful, rhetorical and creative. Moreover, the cases show how the performance of a landscape concept is defined by its users and the specific situation at hand. The outcome is a combination of the basic, supportive and consequential roles of a concept. The power of a landscape concept is not explicit; likewise, spatial planners can either overestimate or underestimate possible effects of a landscape concept.

Part D. Discussion and conclusion
The outcome of this study is reconsidered and completed in part D. Firstly, based on the study of landscape concepts as symbols of planning stories, I appeal for a 'will to connect' in spatial planning. Ironically, the traditional Dutch passion for planning, typified as a 'will to control', can hinder landscape change. Dutch spatial planning needs a shift towards a 'will to connect' in order to address planning challenges. A spatial planner with a 'will to connect' has realistic expectations and is concerned with the inherent relationship between planning issues which are often separated by others; he accepts the complex, political and dynamic reality of spatial planning situations and

acts according to this reality. Moreover, he uses landscape concepts in a different way than other spatial planners and links different expectations to the basic, supportive and consequential roles of landscape concepts. Paradoxically, we need landscape concepts that 'simply' grasp complexity. This requires inventive landscape concepts which refer to the dynamics, multiplicity and identity of landscapes (e.g. Colourful Rhizomes to describe a rurban region and Local Landscapes instead of National Landscapes). Secondly, I specify the definitions of spatial planning, spatial planners, landscapes and landscape concepts by taking into account the outcome of this study. Ultimately, a landscape concept in spatial planning is defined as: *a powerful 'package' of ambitious landscape ideas and planning principles, tagged by a rhetorical label and subtly used for diverse spatial planning activities.* Thirdly, I reflect on three concept-related planning activities presented in this study: landscape branding, 'imagineering', and agenda-setting. These activities can be considered as a response to planning challenges presented and comply with a 'will to connect' to the reality of a political practice that deals with complex landscapes. Nevertheless, the activities can also include a new form of negative control: these activities aim at securing specific ambitions by forms of selection which risks excluding other ambitions. Selection is inherent to spatial planning yet exclusion needs to be deliberated. Likewise, spatial planners need to reflect on the possible consequences of the use of landscape concepts: what and who is excluded but what and who can be included? Fourthly, I reconsider my interpretive research approach. My 'problematised' but realistic view on the meaning of landscape concepts in spatial planning can be reconsidered and improved by investigating additional but different planning situations (i.e. extending the 'space-time' context). I present two possibilities: a comparative study with Latvian spatial planning (cf. different 'space') and a follow-up study that takes into account new developments in Dutch planning (cf. different 'time'). Finally, this study concludes by confirming the assumption introduced in part A of this study: *landscape concepts are 'innocent' at first sight yet 'guilty' of various effects in reality.* It is hard to explicitly detect the performance and guide the success of a landscape concept as a landscape concept is 'simply' language and 'merely' part of planning activities. This is, however, a deceptive observation: the subtle power of landscape concepts makes them tactical instruments that can either reinforce or challenge existing landscape perceptions and planning principles. The study is completed with the presentation of answers to the research questions:

1. **Basic Role** *How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to describe landscapes?*

Landscape concepts in spatial planning are not intended to describe complete landscapes but highlight specific elements. This selection is based on a specific spatial ambition and summarised by a creative label. Likewise, landscape concepts can be considered 'colourful descriptions' of landscapes, rather than 'pure descriptions': they are *matters of concern.* The colourful and selective nature of landscape concepts makes them useful for landscape branding: spatial planners can use concepts to promote or warn about specific landscapes or specific features within a landscape.

2. **Supportive role** *How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to cope with conflicts of interests?*

Spatial planners interpret a landscape concept in their own way, based on their specific ambitions and professional background. A landscape concept is a *discursive construction*. An open landscape concept can serve as a recognisable point of reference that links diverse interests like an encouraging 'slogan'. Accordingly, a landscape concept can be a promising foundation for necessary bonding and cooperation of spatial planners. In the long term, however, conflicting interpretations may become evident but unsolvable. Conversely, a very specific or controversial landscape concept may be useful as it can trigger debate and finally result in a shared and sustainable alternative concept.

3. **Consequential role** *How do spatial planners use landscape concepts to establish direction?*

The power of a concept goes beyond its 'official' policy setting: the subtle effects of landscape concepts in 'pre-official' and 'un-official' settings are abundant and crucial for change. Landscape concepts are creative *order-words*. Namely, the use of landscape concepts can bring about information, discussion, creativity and solutions: a landscape concept is a package full of surprises. The use of a landscape concept can be helpful in the agenda-setting of planning issues. This requires a landscape concept with an innovative solution to an actual planning challenge, as well as a powerful promoter. Then again, the use of a landscape concept can also reinforce false assumptions about landscape and spatial planning and accordingly hinder change.

Samenvatting

Het optreden van landschapsconcepten in de ruimtelijke planning
Markeren, verbinden en tot stand brengen
Janneke E. Hagens 2010

Deel A. Introductie

Ruimtelijke planners zijn expressieve mensen. De gesprekken en teksten van planners zijn gevuld met metaforen en strategische taal. De taal van planners bevat vaak landschapsconcepten: 'pakketjes' met aansprekende 'labels', gevuld met creatieve landschapsideeën en planningsprincipes. Voorbeelden zijn Stedelijk Netwerk, de Verkamelisering van het landschap, het Groene Hart van Nederland en Natuur Parels. Landschapsconcepten worden gebruikt om een complex onderwerp te 'verpakken', die een centraal aandachtspunt van ruimtelijke planners is: landschappen. Landschappen zijn voortdurend veranderende 'producten' met zowel fysieke als sociale kenmerken. Landschapsconcepten worden niet alleen gebruikt om een complex onderwerp te 'verpakken', ze worden ook gebruikt in een complexe context: ruimtelijke planning. Ruimtelijke planning is een levendige en politieke praktijk, waarin verschillende planners op eigen wijze professionele pogingen doen om het landschap te versterken. Ruimtelijke planners zijn professionals die een balans moeten vinden tussen praktische, ethische en politieke aspecten, in samenwerking met anderen, ten behoeve van de toekomst van het landschap. Zo zijn landschapsconcepten interessante 'pakketjes' gevuld met informatie over landschappen, planningspogingen en de betrokken ruimtelijke planners. Een onderzoek naar landschapsconcepten kan deze informatie onthullen.

Het doel van deze studie is om de *aard* van landschapsconcepten in de ruimtelijke planning en de *werking* in de Nederlandse planningspraktijk te onderzoeken. Ik onderzoek de veronderstelling dat landschapsconcepten 'onschuldig' zijn op het eerste gezicht maar 'schuldig' aan krachtige effecten in werkelijkheid. Ik gebruik een kritisch maar realistisch perspectief op de betekenis van landschapsconcepten, die een optimistisch en instrumenteel perspectief zal uitdagen. Een kritisch perspectief gaat er van uit dat de betekenis van een landschapsconcept in de ruimtelijke planning veelomvattend en krachtig is. Terwijl een instrumenteel perspectief focust op officiële vormen van concepten (i.e. geïnstitutionaliseerde beleidsconcepten), richt een kritisch perspectief zich ook op pre-officiële en on-officiële vormen (bijvoorbeeld gericht op probleemstelling, debat en inspiratie).

De Nederlandse ruimtelijke planning heeft te maken met enkele tekortkomingen, die aangepakt kunnen worden met de inzet van landschapsconcepten. Drie tekortkomingen zijn uitgewerkt in deze studie. Elke uitdaging is gekoppeld aan een

specifieke rol van een landschapsconcept, wat resulteert in drie exploratieve onderzoeksvragen.

1. **Basis rol** *Hoe gebruiken ruimtelijke planners landschapsconcepten om landschappen te beschrijven?*

Een eerste uitdaging is het 'overtroeven' van traditionele landschapsbeschrijvingen. Traditionele beschrijvingen negeren de complexiteit, dynamiek en regionale verscheidenheid van de Nederlandse landschappen. Ruimtelijke planners houden bijvoorbeeld vast aan de rigide en verouderde indeling van regio's in 'stedelijke' en 'rurale' landschappen. Maar zelfs als benaderingen innovatief zijn, dan kunnen ze het dominante planningssysteem vaak niet 'doorbreken'. Landschapsconcepten kunnen helpen bij deze uitdaging, maar we zullen daarvoor eerst meer inzicht moeten krijgen in de basis rol van concepten.

2. **Ondersteunende rol** *Hoe gebruiken ruimtelijke planners landschapsconcepten om conflicterende belangen te hanteren?*

Een tweede uitdaging voor ruimtelijke planners is om samen te werken en te communiceren over conflicterende ruimtelijke prioriteiten. Omgaan met conflicten en diversiteit is een vanzelfsprekend doel van ruimtelijke planning; dat geldt zeker voor de hedendaagse Nederlandse ruimtelijke planning. Een actuele planningsbenadering in Nederland is een probleemgerichte 'horizontale' benadering met telkens wisselende coalities van planners. Dit impliceert een planningscontext met minder centrale sturing en een grotere informaliteit. Een landschapsconcept kan de samenwerking tussen verschillende ruimtelijke planners ondersteunen: een gezamenlijk concept kan dienen als een referentiepunt, vooral in de nieuwe planningscontext. Ondanks deze oproep voor het gebruik van gezamenlijke concepten, moeten verschillen tussen ruimtelijke planners altijd worden erkend. De uitdaging is om een balans te vinden tussen 'collectiviteit' en 'diversiteit'.

3. **Voortbrengende rol** *Hoe gebruiken ruimtelijke planners landschapsconcepten om een richting neer te zetten?*

Een derde uitdaging in de Nederlandse planning is het neerzetten van een effectief planproces dat uiteindelijk resulteert in de uitvoering van plannen. Vanoudsher focust planningsonderzoek zich op 'strikte controle' als procesaanpak, maar tegenwoordig is men meer op zoek naar 'flexibiliteit'. Ook het idee dat een landschapsconcept een vorm van strikte controle kan bieden is verouderd. Het is eerder een uitdaging om landschapsconcept te introduceren die een nieuwe richting neerzetten door het bieden van inventieve ideeën over de toekomst van het landschap en door het beïnvloeden van opvattingen en acties van anderen.

De betekenis van een landschapsconcept is deels geworteld in de aard van een concept en ontstaat deels in praktijk. Deze studie heeft daarom een contextuele onderzoeksbenadering, die ruimtelijke planning benadert als een continue veranderende praktijk. Elke onderzoeksvraag is verbonden met twee specifieke

hoofdstukken. Ten eerste wordt elke vraag behandeld in een theoretisch hoofdstuk, in deel B van deze studie. Dit hoofdstuk bevat 'kader-theorie' waarmee we reflecteren op de *aard* van concepten (i.e. plannings- en post-structuralistische theorieën). Ten tweede wordt elke vraag behandeld met behulp van een casestudie in een hoofdstuk in deel C; elke casestudie betreft een specifieke Nederlandse regionale planningscase, die *de werking* van concepten onthult (interpretatieve methoden, i.e.: een genealogie, een vergelijkende analyse en een narratieve benadering).

Deel B. De aard van landschapsconcepten in ruimtelijke planning

Het eerste hoofdstuk in deel B verkent de basis rol van landschapsconcepten in de ruimtelijke planning in het beschrijven van landschappen. Het is cruciaal om de betekenis van 'landschap' in de context van planning te begrijpen. Een landschap is een *onderdeel van* planningsactiviteiten: een landschap kan worden beschouwd als een drijvende kracht van ruimtelijke planners. Deze studie beschrijft de betekenis van landschap aan de hand van drie analytische dimensies; deze dimensies houden rekening met de levendige en sociale werkelijkheid van ruimtelijke planning. Een landschap verwijst naar: dynamisch materiaal, waardevolle praktijk en symbolische constructie. Idealiter 'verpakken' landschapsconcepten alledrie dimensies van landschappen. Overeenkomstig deze dimensies, kan een landschapsconcept worden beschouwd als een 'materie van zorg': een combinatie van een object- en politiek-georiënteerde benadering van kwesties (naar Latour). Men komt dicht bij de realiteit van een landschapssituatie in planning door te zoeken naar zowel 'materie' als 'zorgen'. Het voorbeeld van het gebruik van het landschapsconcept Verrommeling (i.e. een vorm van wanorde of onaantrekkelijkheid) in de Nederlandse ruimtelijke planning illustreert dat een landschapsconcept op twee manieren tekort kan schieten: het concept kan 'ont-materialiseerd' zijn (het probleem vermijden) of 'ont-zorgd' (ontkenning van de politieke en praktische realiteit). Samengevat, landschapsconcepten worden niet alleen gebruikt om landschappen te beschrijven als 'vlakke' objecten, ze worden gebruikt om het materiaal van landschap te karakteriseren en om de zorgen van betrokken personen te beschrijven.

Het tweede hoofdstuk in deel B verkent de ondersteunende rol van landschapsconcepten in de ruimtelijke planning in het hanteren van conflicterende belangen. Idealiter communiceren ruimtelijke planners in een planningscase via een gedeelde taal en creëren zij consensus over de toekomst van het landschap. Dit ideaal is echter lastig in praktijk: de ideale intenties van een ruimtelijke planner op papier (zoals gepromoot in habermasiaanse benaderingen) worden overtroffen door de krachtige en politieke motivaties van een ruimtelijk planner in werkelijkheid (zoals uitgelegd in Foucaudiaanse benaderingen). Inzicht in de aard van ruimtelijke planners geeft meer verklaring van de noodzaak maar moeilijkheid van samenwerking. Ruimtelijke planners hebben ambities, een combinatie van collectieve doelen en

persoonlijke drijfveren: ze hebben een 'wil om te ordenen'. De drijfveren van ruimtelijke planners zijn divers. Een bepalend aspect is hun houding ten opzichte van complexiteit in de ruimtelijke planning; deze studie maakt een onderscheid tussen een 'bange' houding gericht op controle en een 'avontuurlijke' houding gericht op verandering. Landschapsconcepten worden gebruikt om ambities van ruimtelijke planners uit te drukken. Een ruimtelijke planner met een avontuurlijke houding zal gebruik maken van andere landschapsconcepten dan een ruimtelijke planner met een bange houding. Ruimtelijke planners zijn met elkaar verbonden; ze zijn van elkaar afhankelijk omdat ze onderdeel uitmaken van hetzelfde systeem. Collectieve landschapsconcepten kunnen, als een gedeelde taal, behulpzaam zijn bij communicatie over ambities en in coalitievorming over de toekomst van landschappen. Het is echter moeilijk, zo niet onmogelijk, om te vermijden dat ruimtelijke planners verschillende betekenissen aan één landschapsconcept verbinden. De betekenis van een concept hangt af van de interpretatie van een planner; die interpretatie wordt beïnvloed door zijn ambities, uitgangspunten en planningscultuur. Zo kunnen landschapsconcepten worden beschouwd als 'discursieve constructies' (naar Foucault). Een casestudie naar verschillende gebruikers van het landschapsconcept Ecologisch Netwerk, een essentieel concept in natuurbeleid, toont de mogelijke gevolgen van uiteenlopende interpretaties van 'één' concept. Namelijk, uiteenlopende interpretaties van een 'open' concept kunnen resulteren in, in dit geval, zwakke consensus en de ontkenning van persoonlijke verantwoordelijkheid in de uitvoering van het concept. Een planner moet zich inleven in de verschillende 'lezers' van een landschapsconcept, inclusief hun ambities, in plaats van de 'oorspronkelijke' betekenis van een concept te fixeren of te detailleren.

Het derde hoofdstuk in deel B verkent de voortbrengende rol van landschapsconcepten in het neerzetten van een richting. Een landschapsconcept kan invloed hebben in ruimtelijke planning door het presenteren van innovatieve landschapsideeën en planningsprincipes. Maar wanneer kan een concept succesvol worden genoemd? De definitie van 'succes' in de ruimtelijke planning is afhankelijk van de definitie die iemand hanteert voor ruimtelijke planning, van de verwachtingen die samengaan met deze definitie en van het perspectief die degene hanteert bij het evalueren van succes. Uitgaande van de dynamische en strategische aard van planning (in plaats van een statische en technische aard), moet 'succes' worden beoordeeld vanuit een 'prestatie'-perspectief (in plaats van een 'conformiteits'-perspectief): in dat geval worden ruimtelijke plannen beoordeeld op hun leereffecten, met zowel bedoelde als onbedoelde gevolgen, als ook op hun 'dramaturgische' dimensies (in plaats van op van te voren bepaalde normen). Een landschapsconcept kan een rol spelen in de subtiele processen van leren en beïnvloeden, processen die mogelijk leiden naar de formalisering van een concept in beleid. Om dominante ideeën te weerleggen en om nieuwe richting neer te zetten, moet een concept weerstand

doorbreken en de aandacht vestigen op een specifieke idee. Deze uitdaging vereist krachtige en ondernemende ruimtelijke planners die een landschapsconcept kunnen promoten. Daarnaast speelt de taalkundige aard en het retorische label van een landschapsconcept een rol bij het optreden van een landschapsconcept. Een landschapsconcept kan worden beschouwd als een 'creatief devies' (i.e. mot d'ordre, naar Deleuze & Guattari): een concept is een krachtig 'paswoord', verbonden met specifieke veronderstellingen, die richting specifieke acties stuurt. Een media-analyse van het Nederlandse landschapsconcept Nationaal Landschap als 'mot d'ordre' laat zien hoe een concept is verbonden met impliciete vooronderstellingen over hoe landschappen eruit zouden moeten zien en hoe ze beheerd moeten worden. Bijvoorbeeld, het concept wordt vooral geassocieerd met 'open' landschappen en beperkingen aan nieuwe ruimtelijke ontwikkelingen. Dergelijke vereenvoudigingen en vooronderstellingen zullen, meestal indirect of op onvoorspelbare wijze, invloed hebben op de uitkomsten van discussie en besluitvorming over Nationaal Landschappen beleid. In andere woorden, het subtiele optreden van een landschapsconcept kan krachtige gevolgen hebben voor de ruimtelijke planning.

Samengevat wordt in deel B van dit onderzoek een set dominante maar gebrekkige planningszekerheden over maakbaarheid, consensus en spraak weerlegd. Om planningsopgaven aan te pakken, moet een ruimtelijke planner realistische verwachtingen hebben over landschapsanalyse, samenwerking tussen planners en de mogelijke effecten van taal. Een kritisch maar realistisch perspectief op landschapsconcepten in de ruimtelijke planing toont dat een concept een kleurrijk, meervoudig, retorisch en creatief karakter heeft.

Deel C. De werking van landschapsconcepten in de Nederlandse ruimtelijke planning

In een eerste casestudie wordt nader onderzocht hoe landschapsconcepten, met hun kleurrijke aard, in de praktijk worden gebruikt om landschappen te beschrijven (i.e. de basis rol van een concept). De case betreft het gebruik van landschapsconcepten in de ruimtelijke planning om het gebied Het Groene Woud te karakteriseren, één van de twintig Nationale Landschappen in Nederland. Het Groene Woud kent een rijke planningsgeschiedenis. Een set van concepten uit oude planningsdocumenten zijn 'gerecycled' voor deze case. Een overzicht van de concepten, de diverse 'wortels' en trends worden gepresenteerd als een genealogie van landschapsconcepten. De betekenis van elk concept wordt uitgelegd met behulp van een kader, bestaande uit de drie dimensies die 'landschap' definiëren in de context van ruimtelijke planning (i.e. dynamisch materiaal, waardevolle praktijk, symbolische constructie). Samengevat vertellen de landschapsconcepten van de genealogie een verhaal over een landschap met uiteenlopend 'groen' landgebruik, die beïnvloed wordt door de levendige cultuur van Brabant. De genealogie laat zien dat er in de loop der tijd een kleine groei van

levendige en beeldende landschapsconcepten ontstaat, die de nadruk leggen op het landschap als symbolische constructie. Bijvoorbeeld, sommige landschapsconcepten worden gedefinieerd als 'waarschuwingsconcepten' omdat ze beelden van ongewenste landschappen oproepen (bv. de Verstening van landschappen). Het gebruik van kleurrijke landschapsconcepten kan worden gerelateerd aan het proces van landschapsmarkering (of: landschapsbranding). Landschapsmarkering is het op inventieve wijze differentiëren van een bepaald landschap ten koste van andere landschappen, door belangrijke landschapselementen op de voorgrond te zetten en onbelangrijke op de achtergrond. Landschapsmarkering kan van invloed zijn op de erkenning en waardering van een landschap en vervolgens op besluitvorming over een landschap. Een landschapsconcept kan worden beschouwd als een 'markering' (of 'brand') in het proces van het landschapsmarkering: een mentaal beeld dat een selectief verhaal creëert. Landschapsmarkering kent enkele risico's. Het kan bijvoorbeeld hyper-symbolisch of te selectief worden als informatie of mensen worden uitgesloten.

Het tweede hoofdstuk van deel C onderzoekt de mate waarin landschapsconcepten gedeelde concepten zijn en de mogelijke rol van landschapsconcepten in het hanteren van uiteenlopende ambities, in dit geval in de IJmeer case (i.e. de ondersteunende rol van een concept). De case betreft het gebruik van vier sleutel-concepten uit een gezamenlijke ruimtelijke visie voor de IJmeer regio: Waterpark, Noordvleugel, Dubbelstad en Ecologische Mainport. De visie is opgesteld door een 'informele' coalitie van ruimtelijke planners uit zeven verschillende organisaties. De case omvat een vergelijkende analyse: de definities in de gezamenlijke visie van de vier landschapsconcepten en de individuele lezingen van deze concepten door de vertegenwoordigers van de betrokken organisaties zijn gerapporteerd, geïnterpreteerd en vergeleken. Individuele lezingen van de concepten komen vaak overeen met de definitie in de visie (bv. alle respondenten beschouwen Waterpark als een cruciaal 'compleet pakket' van diverse ruimtelijke functies). Soms zijn lezingen vergelijkbaar op hoofdlijnen maar bevatten zij verschillende details (bv. een 'groene' of 'rode' benadering van de Noordvleugel). Soms verschillen lezingen wezenlijk (bv. Dubbelstad wordt afgewezen of juist omarmd). Daarnaast laten lezingen zien dat sommige landschapsconcepten die zijn geaccepteerd in de visie toch worden beschouwd als voorlopig of onuitvoerbaar; deze concepten moeten financieel en strategisch verder overwegen worden (bv. Ecologische Mainport). De vier landschapsconcepten zijn dus gedeeld op papier door de zeven organisaties, maar de individuele lezingen laten zien dat ze in werkelijkheid alleen worden gedeeld tot op zekere hoogte. Enerzijds kunnen sommige lezingen worden geïnterpreteerd als tekenen van convergentie van belangen: concepten zijn open, maar probleem-specifieke referentiepunten, zodat veel organisaties hun dromen en verantwoordelijkheden kunnen verbinden aan de concepten (cf. concepten als

knooppunten in een collectief proces van 'beeldcreatie' van het toekomstige landschap). Anderzijds kunnen sommige lezingen van de concepten worden uitgelegd als tekenen van divergentie van belangen: kleine verschillen in interpretaties van concepten kunnen zich ontwikkelen tot grote conflicten op de lange termijn, wanneer keuzes over ontwerp of financiën worden genomen. Daarnaast raken enkele concepten 'verloren' in het oude planningssysteem. De informele status van het hoofdconcept Waterpark was bijvoorbeeld nuttig voor het verbinden van professionals, maar het concept is nauwelijks ingezet in nieuwe planningsactiviteiten. Zo begon het team met een 'avontuurlijke' instelling om samen te werken, maar vervolgde met een 'bange' instelling toen de afzonderlijke organisaties naar hun oude posities terugkeerden. Hoewel de landschapsconcepten niet beschouwd kunnen worden als gedetailleerde ontwerpen noch als duurzame afspraken, kunnen ze toch nuttig zijn in het verbinden van mensen en in het bieden van een eerste innovatieve richting voor toekomstige landschappen. Het tijdelijke succes van een concept zal onvermijdelijk zijn en zelfs belangrijk voor een planningstoekomst met steeds wisselende coalities, waarin elke nieuwe coalitie wordt geholpen door een nieuw verbindend landschapsconcept.

In de derde case van deel C wordt het subtiele succes van het landschapsconcept Plan Ooievaar in de Nederlandse planningspraktijk uitgewerkt (i.e. de voortkomende rol van een concept). Plan Ooievaar kan worden beschouwd als een innovatief landschapsconcept; het bevat ecologische ontwerpprincipes voor de toekomst van het Nederlandse rivierengebied, inclusief strategieën voor de landbouw, zand- en kleiwinning, rivierbeheer en natuurontwikkeling. Plan Ooievaar is een populair maar ook betwist concept. Deze case presenteert het 'verhaal' van Plan Ooievaar; het gebruikt een 'dramaturgisch' kader voor de interpretatie van de betekenis van de setting, initiatiefnemers, tegenstanders, tactieken, scripts en contra-scripts van Plan Ooievaar. In 1986, in een setting waarin men steeds ontvankelijker wordt voor milieubenaderingen, bundelt een team van professionals een set van onconventionele ontwerpideeën voor riviergebieden in het prijswinnende landschapsontwerp 'Plan Ooievaar'. In hetzelfde jaar promoot minister Kroes van het ministerie van Verkeer en Waterstaat de ideeën achter Plan Ooievaar in een opvallend nieuws-item op tv, wat reacties oproept van mede- en tegenstanders. In 1987 krijgt het Plan Ooievaar team de kans om Plan Ooievaar te promoten in een glossy uitgave, met de steun van overheidsorganisaties. Deze entree in een meer 'formele' setting zet meer mensen aan om het plan te ondersteunen. Het professionele debat over Plan Ooievaar wordt geïllustreerd door discussies in vaktijdschriften; dit debat leidt tot meer aandacht, ongeacht of het concept wordt ondersteund of bekritiseerd. Ook Minister Kroes en parlementsleden ontwikkelen Plan Ooievaar verder. Sommige ideeën achter Plan Ooievaar worden op subtiele wijze onderdeel van andere politieke debatten (bv. de geïntegreerde ontwerpbenadering van Plan Ooievaar ondersteunt de discussie over de

toekomst van de landbouw), andere ideeën worden vastgelegd in beleidsdocumenten en uitgevoerd in praktijk (bv. kleiwinning in uiterwaarden in combinatie met natuurontwikkeling), terwijl andere oorspronkelijke ideeën niet expliciet gepromoot worden in de context van Plan Ooievaar (bv. het deelconcept Stedelijke Poort). Ook nu bouwen professionals nog voort op een selectie van ideeën achter Plan Ooievaar, terwijl anderen het een verouderd of beperkt concept noemen. Samengevat toont het verhaal van Plan Ooievaar aan dat verandering in dit geval een subtiel proces is van zowel tactische acties als toevallige elementen. Een vergelijkbaar proces is agenda-setting: het prioriteren van kwesties in pre-besluitvormingsprocessen ten koste van andere kwesties. In de ruimtelijke planning is agenda-setting gerelateerd aan macht en verandering; het vereist nieuwe ideeën over de toekomst van landschappen die dominante ideeën en aandacht voor deze ideeën kan weerleggen. Daarnaast vereist het ruimtelijke planners die een ondernemende instelling tot 'frictie' hebben. Een landschapsconcept kan een rol spelen in drie activiteiten van agenda-setting: het kan 'een urgentie' in beeld brengen bij de selectie van problemen (cf. Plan Ooievaar als de winnende inzending van een prijsvraag), 'een strategie' presenteren in de ontwikkeling van oplossingen (cf. Plan Ooievaar als een combinatie van innovatieve ideeën), en 'een standaard' bieden als problemen en oplossingen worden gekoppeld (cf. Plan Ooievaar gevestigd in beleid). Een innovatief landschapsconcept kan zelf dominant worden. Bovendien moet de formalisering van een landschapsconcept in een standaard niet worden beschouwd als het ultieme doel. Een landschapsconcept speelt eerder een cruciale rol in het proces richting formalisering en uitvoering door het activeren van nieuwe gedachten, ongeacht of het concept wordt geformaliseerd of niet.

De drie casestudies in deel C illustreren de werking van landschapsconcepten in de Nederlandse ruimtelijke planning. Opnieuw blijken landschapsconcepten kleurrijk, retorisch en creatief te zijn. Bovendien tonen de casestudies hoe het optreden van een landschapsconcept wordt bepaald door haar gebruikers en de specifieke situatie op dat moment. Het resultaat is een combinatie van de basis, ondersteunende en voortbrengende rol van een concept. De kracht van een landschapsconcept is niet eenduidig; zo kan een ruimtelijke planner de mogelijke effecten van een landschapsconcept overschatten of onderschatten.

Deel D. Discussie en conclusie
De uitkomst van dit onderzoek wordt overwogen en afgerond in deel D. In de eerste plaats, gebaseerd op de studie van landschapsconcepten als symbolen van planningsverhalen, pleit ik voor een 'wil om te koppelen' in de ruimtelijke planning. Ironisch genoeg kan de traditionele Nederlandse passie voor planning, getypeerd als een 'wil om te controleren', landschapsverandering belemmeren. Met het oog op diverse planningsuitdagingen heeft de Nederlandse ruimtelijke planning behoefte aan

een verschuiving naar een 'wil om te koppelen'. Een ruimtelijke planner met een 'wil om te koppelen' heeft realistische verwachtingen en houdt zich bezig met de inherente relatie tussen planningskwesties die vaak gescheiden worden door anderen; hij accepteert de complexe, politieke en dynamische werkelijkheid van ruimtelijke planningssituaties en handelt naar deze werkelijkheid. Bovendien maakt hij op een andere manier gebruik van landschapsconcepten dan andere ruimtelijke planners; hij verbindt andere verwachtingen aan de basis, ondersteunende en voortbrengende rol van landschapsconcepten. Paradoxaal genoeg hebben we landschapsconcepten nodig die op 'simpele' wijze complexiteit omvatten. Dit vereist inventieve landschapsconcepten die verwijzen naar de dynamiek, verscheidenheid en identiteit van landschappen (bv Kleurrijke Rhizomen om een 'rurbane' regio te beschrijven en Lokale Landschappen in plaats van Nationale Landschappen). In de tweede plaats specificeer ik de definities van ruimtelijke planning, ruimtelijke planners, landschappen en landschapsconcepten, rekening houdend met de uitkomst van deze studie. Uiteindelijk is een landschapsconcept in de ruimtelijke planning als volgt gedefinieerd: een krachtig 'pakketje' van ambitieuze landschapsideeën en planningsprincipes, met een retorische 'label', die op subtiele wijze wordt gebruikt voor diverse ruimtelijke planningsactiviteiten. Ten derde, reflecteer ik op drie conceptgerelateerde planningsactiviteiten die in deze studie worden gepresenteerd: landschapsmarkering ('branding'), beeldcreatie ('imagineering') en agenda-setting. Deze activiteiten kunnen worden beschouwd als een reactie op gepresenteerde planningsopgaven en voldoen aan een 'wil om te koppelen' aan de realiteit van een politieke praktijk die zich bezighoudt met complexe landschappen. Deze activiteiten kunnen echter ook resulteren in een nieuwe vorm van negatieve controle: deze activiteiten hebben het veiligstellen van specifieke ambities tot doel, door selectievormen die kunnen leiden tot het uitsluiten van andere ambities. Selectie is inherent aan ruimtelijke planning maar moet 'opzettelijk' plaatsvinden. Ruimtelijke planners moeten ook overwegen wat de mogelijke gevolgen zijn van het gebruik van landschapsconcepten: wat en wie wordt uitgesloten, maar wat en wie kunnen er wel bij betrokken worden? Ten vierde reflecteer ik op mijn interpretatieve onderzoeksbenadering. Mijn 'geproblematiseerde' maar realistische kijk op de betekenis van landschapsconcepten in de ruimtelijke planning kan worden overwogen en aangescherpt door het onderzoeken van aanvullende maar andere planningssituaties (i.e. uitbreiding van de 'ruimte-tijd' context). Ik presenteer twee mogelijkheden: een vergelijkingsstudie met de Letse ruimtelijke planning (cf. andere 'ruimte') en een vervolgstudie die rekening houdt met nieuwe ontwikkelingen in de Nederlandse planning (cf. andere 'tijd'). Tot slot wordt deze studie afgerond met de bevestiging van de aanname die geïntroduceerd is in deel A van deze studie: *landschapsconcepten zijn op het eerste gezicht 'onschuldig' maar in feite 'schuldig' aan krachtige effecten.* Het is moeilijk om het optreden van een landschapsconcept expliciet op te sporen en het succes van een landschapsconcept te sturen: een landschapsconcept is

'gewoon' taal en 'slechts' een onderdeel van planningsactiviteiten. Dit is echter een misleidende observatie: de subtiele kracht van landschapsconcepten maakt ze tactische instrumenten die bestaande landschapspercepties en planningsprincipes zowel kunnen versterken als verzwakken. De studie wordt afgesloten met de presentatie van antwoorden op de onderzoeksvragen:

1. **Basis rol** *Hoe gebruiken ruimtelijke planners landschapsconcepten om landschappen te beschrijven?*

Landschapsconcepten in de ruimtelijke planning zijn niet bedoeld om complete landschappen te beschrijven, maar om specifieke elementen te benadrukken. Deze selectie is gebaseerd op een specifieke ruimtelijke ambitie en wordt samengevat door een creatief label. Zo kunnen landschapsconcepten beschouwd worden als 'kleurrijke' beschrijvingen van landschappen, in plaats van 'feitelijke' beschrijvingen: ze representeren *materie van zorg*. Het selectieve en kleurrijke karakter van landschapsconcepten maakt ze nuttig voor landschapsmarkering: ruimtelijke planners kunnen concepten gebruiken om specifieke landschappen of specifieke kenmerken van landschappen te promoten of om er tegen te waarschuwen.

2. **Ondersteunende rol** *Hoe gebruiken ruimtelijke planners landschapsconcepten om conflicterende belangen te hanteren?*

Ruimtelijke planners interpreteren een landschapsconcept op eigen wijze, gebaseerd op hun specifieke ambities en professionele achtergrond. Een landschapsconcept is een *discursieve constructie*. Een 'open' landschapsconcept kan dienen als een herkenbaar referentiepunt dat uiteenlopende belangen koppelt, als een bemoedigende 'slogan'. Zo kan een landschapsconcept een veelbelovende basis vormen voor de noodzakelijke verbinding en samenwerking van ruimtelijke planners. Op de lange termijn kunnen conflicterende interpretaties echter aan het licht komen, maar onoplosbaar zijn. Omgekeerd kan een zeer specifiek of controversieel landschapsconcept nuttig zijn om debat te stimuleren en uiteindelijk te resulteren in een gedeeld en duurzaam alternatief concept.

3. **Voortbrengende rol** *Hoe gebruiken ruimtelijke planners landschapsconcepten om een richting neer te zetten?*

De kracht van een landschapsconcept gaat verder dan haar 'officiële' beleidssetting: de subtiele effecten van concepten in 'pre-officiële' en 'on-officiële' settings bestaan in overvloed en zijn van cruciaal belang voor verandering. Landschapsconcepten zijn *creatieve deviezen (mot d'ordres)*. Namelijk, het gebruik van landschapsconcepten kan informatie, discussie, creativiteit en oplossingen voortbrengen: een landschapsconcept is een pakketje vol verrassingen. Het gebruik van een landschapsconcept kan nuttig zijn in het op de agenda krijgen van planningskwesties. Dit vereist een landschapsconcept met een innovatieve oplossing voor een bepaalde planningsuitdaging, evenals een krachtige promotor. Het gebruik van een landschapsconcept kan echter ook verkeerde aannames over het landschap en ruimtelijke planning versterken en daardoor verandering belemmeren.

Curriculum Vitae

Janneke Evelien Hagens was born in 1978 in Nijmegen, the Netherlands. In 2002, she graduated in Environmental Planning and Design, specialisation Spatial Planning, at Wageningen University, the Netherlands. Her study (1996-2002) included: two theses (a scenario study for spatial directions in Dutch river areas, best thesis award BNSP 2002; and a study about landscape consequences of European Common Agricultural Policy); a semester at the University of Manchester, UK (certificate in Landscape Management and Planning); and two internships (at SAB consultancy in spatial planning, Arnhem, the Netherlands; and at Parry Shire local government, Tamworth NSW, Australia). After her graduation, she worked for the provincial authorities of Noord-Holland, the Netherlands, departments of strategic planning and public administrations (2002-2004). In 2004, she started her PhD-research and worked as a Researcher at the Land Use Planning Group of Wageningen University (2004-2008), where she worked on various research and teaching activities. From 2008, she has been working as an Adviser at NovioConsult, Nijmegen, specialised in landscape policy. Her main areas of research interest are confrontations between planning theory and practice, combinations of social and natural sciences, and dealing with complexity in the field of environmental policy.

Annex to statement

Janneke E. Hagens
PhD student, Mansholt Graduate School of Social
Sciences (MG3S)
Completed Training and Supervision Plan

Description	Institute / Department	Year	ECTS
Courses:			
Mansholt Introduction course	Mansholt Graduate School of Social Sciences	2004	1,5
Research Methodology	Mansholt Graduate School of Social Sciences	2004	2
Advanced readings in philosophy and social theories	Land Use Planning Group and Socio-spatial Analysis Group, Wageningen University	2004-2006	1
Teaching and supervising thesis students	Onderwijsondersteuning Wageningen University (OWU)	2005	1
Comparative Planning Systems and Open Space Preservation	Mansholt Graduate School of Social Sciences	2005	1
Spatial planning, theoretical and methodological approaches	AESOP (Association of European Schools of Planning)	2005	2
Interfaces between science and society	Dutch-Flemish Network for Philosophy of Science and Technology	2005	3
Qualitative Research Methods	Mansholt Graduate School of Social Sciences	2006	3
Multi-agents systems for natural resources management	Mansholt Graduate School of Social Sciences	2006	4
Writing scientific text in English	Netherlands Graduate School of Urban and Regional Research (Nethur)	2007	4,4
Short Intensive Course Discourse Analysis	Amsterdam School for Social science Research (ASSR)	2007	5
Teaching and supervising activities:			
Supervising MSc students	Land Use Planning Group, Wageningen University	2005-2007	1
Guest lectures	Land Use Planning Group, Wageningen University	2006-2008	1
Course Planning, Knowledge & Practice	Land Use Planning Group, Wageningen University	2006	2
Academic master clusters (coach)	Environmental Sciences Group, Wageningen University	2006	-
Presentations at conferences and workshops:			
AESOP 2005 International Conference, *The Dream of a Greater Europe*, Vienna University, Austria		2005	1
45th Congress of the European Regional Science Association (ERSA), *Land Use and Water Management in a Sustainable Network Society*, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Netherlands		2005	1
III Meeting of AESOP *Thematic Group on Complexity*, Cardiff University, UK		2006	-
International Conference, *New concepts and approaches for Urban and Regional Policy and Planning?*, Leuven University, Belgium		2007	
AESOP 2007 International Conference, *Planning for the Risk Society*, University of Napoli, Italy		2007	-
Mansholt Multidisciplinary seminar		2008	1
Total (minimum 30 ECTS)			**34,9**