



Developing Urban Design Research with VINEX

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ABSTRACT

During the mid-1990s and the first two decades of the 2000s, the Netherlands underwent a super zoning programme called VINEX to redevelop peripheral areas. The initial objective is to change to an urban landscape design project for high-density housing, favouring places that tend to be elitist. This research looks first at the evolution of VINEX on urban landscape design and then at how the recent NR development programme has sought to correct housing speculation. Finally, by comparing the objectives of VINEX and the NR programme, this research aims to highlight how land reclamation can also be achieved through new policies of green landscape and social inclusion and not only through land consumption, a peculiar characteristic of Dutch planning.

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1. Introduction

The Netherlands has always been a place that has undergone profound transformations due to its predominantly flat orography, characterised by alluvial land below sea level. Water is a fundamental element in the management and formulation of spatial policies, which were initially conceived on a landscape level precisely to defend the territory from frequent flooding. This method of legislating in the function of self-defence has contributed to creating in the Dutch a solid social and civic sense towards public space, leading to the development of great respect towards the water element, which from being an enemy has become an integral part of land planning (Pungetti, 1991).

Urban development policies have always aimed at intensively shaping the landscape, densifying urban centres, creating new ones, and consuming a large part of space for agriculture. However, since the end of the 1980s and continuing into the 1990s and early 2000s, Holland has been hit by a new 'golden age' of building, which, through the contribution of big names in international architecture and anti-

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dogma signatures, has changed the urban design of the territories. However, this change in the design of the landscape and its almost total territorial saturation has brought to specific light problems due in part to the state's exit from territorial policies. The state has delegated management to local authorities and private organisations, which have reduced the budget for funds for the design of new neighbourhoods, resulting in immediate master plans and mediocre architectural quality.

2. Design methodology

The VINEX programme - *Vierde Nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening Extra* (Fourth National Planning Guideline Document) designed for an extended period and a continuously developing society, showed all its shortcomings, especially in the second decade of the 2000s when Europe was hit by a long period of economic crisis. The fifth NR development programme was created precisely to address the problems left by the effects of the previous one and seeks to correct all the distortions of VINEX. This article analyses the nation's spatial problems by re-reading urban development reports and their approach to spatial development and evolution over time. In the first part, the programmes from the Amsterdam Housing Act of 1901 to the decentralisation programmes of the 1960s and 1970s are described, up to the issues of decommissioning and redevelopment that led to the birth of VINEX. This experience is then analysed and how its application transformed the national territory over twenty years, especially regarding the landscape's anthropisation.

This is followed by an analysis of the objectives of the fifth NR report and how spatial preservation policies were set up to correct the problems left by VINEX. After this chronological run through the development reports, differences in the procedure are compared using the comparison methodology so that the corrections made can be understood. In the concluding part, attention is drawn to how more excellent reflections on landscape and public space preservation policies can create greater social cohesion. The VINEX programme created *de facto* elitist neighbourhoods for the wealthy classes, a peculiarity that today's planning must no longer run into.

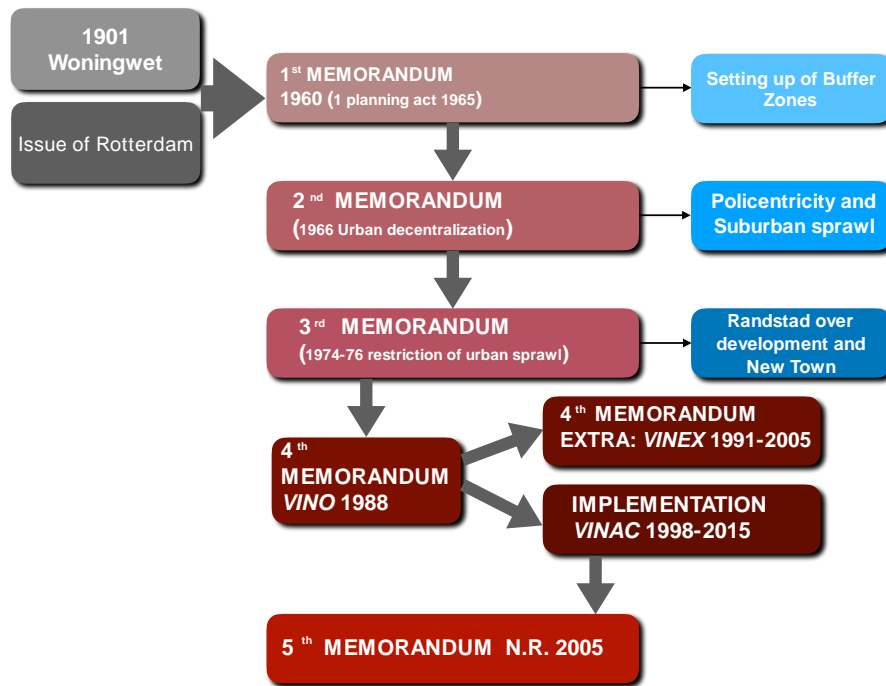


Figure 1. Structure of the study

3. The Dutch landscape and the planning and development reports

The transformation of the Dutch landscape has undoubtedly been influenced by the Planning and Development Reports drawn up in the early 1960s up to the present day and which have, in any case, had as their reference the fundamental pillar of the Woning Wet of 1901 (Ugolini, 1996), a law passed for Amsterdam, but which nevertheless helped to regulate the construction and land use.

Spatial transformation policies have always sought to favour urban compaction and the protection and preservation of green areas (Nabielek et al., 2013); since the years following the Second World War, planners have tried to develop policies to contain urban centres and curb dangerous sprawl. Since the Second World War, the Dutch economic structure has expanded enormously due to the economic and financial aid that relieved the disastrous national situation, characterised both by a severe crisis in the agricultural production system and, above all, by the severe housing shortage that led over time to the peripheral construction of buildings of dubious architectural quality that were utterly unrelated to the territorial typology; these include the ERA buildings and the emblematic example of the Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Amsterdam, Bijlmermeer district (Source: Wikipedia)

The second report, drawn up by the VROM (Ministry of Land and Housing) in 1966, introduced the concept of 'clustered dispersal', in which the polycentricity of cities was favoured in favour of decongesting the central areas and preserving the rural fringes through peripheral redevelopment (Nabielek et al., 2013). However, this relationship favoured the expansion and saturation of the Randstad, which led between 1974 and 1978 to the creation of a new relationship, the third, which was responsible for the identification of areas for the construction of new towns such as Almere in the northeast of Amsterdam and Zoetermeer a few kilometres from The Hague.

The Randstad (a name first given by the founder of KLM Royal Dutch Airlines - a Dutch acronym for 'Koninklijke Luchtvaart Maatschappij', in English 'Royal Aviation Company' - Albert Plesman, during one of his flights over the country) which was initially divided into the north wing (Amsterdam-Utrecht) and the south wing (The Hague-Rotterdam), as it became more and more ring-like, so much so that it was given the appellation 'Delta metropolis', about the Rotterdam Delta region that contributes to the unique landscape configuration of the area (Bruinsma & Koomen, 2018).

One of the objectives of the first reports is to confront both the increasing number of inhabitants due to the phenomenon of the 'baby boomers' and the growth forecasts drawn up until 2000; in this analysis, it should be pointed out that the 1975 oil shock was ignored. The impact of population growth on architecture led to a sharp increase in the need for housing, the urban need to contain cities and many urban parks and the beginning of the expansion of the public infrastructure to contain the use of private vehicles date from this period. In the Randstad area, an urban-landscape reality begins to emerge within the ring formed by the cities; it is an agricultural and recreational area known as the 'green heart', one of the pillars of Dutch town planning and considered an inviolable element in subsequent development relations that will contribute to a linear west-east evolution of the Delta area. The problem of deconcentration, anticipated by the second report and continued in the third, underestimates the problem of the expansion of the new towns, an implication that Burke, in 1966, anticipates for these new centres, identified initially as garden cities and then becoming future dormitory districts highly dependent on the central cities that continue to be a catalysing centre. At the same time, however, the expansion of these cores leads to a worrying saturation of the Randstad and a consequent danger to the inner green heart (Evers, 2018).

This expansion makes it possible to elaborate on some thoughts about the uncontrolled development of cities, especially in the West Netherlands in which the most important centres are concentrated and, as with much of Europe, within its fabric, there has been the divestment of important productive activities with the consequent emergence of urban voids.

3.1. The design of urban development

The decommissioning that began as early as the mid-1970s led to a progressive loss of the identity of the places that had sprung up around the production functions, located for the most part in the areas of the 'inner cities' and, particularly in northern European countries, those functions linked to the port realities. The lack of investment after the Second World War to safeguard the centres also highlighted, around the 1980s, the degradation and high condition of social exclusion of the central areas of urban centres, numerically similar to that of many peripheral areas. In this situation of social, urban, and architectural decay, the Dutch government, through the VROM, implemented a series of measures to redevelop the social fabric that affected the brownfield areas, which had become highly critical points in the main cities over the years. Around 1985, therefore, a first draft of what was to become the 'fourth urban development report' took shape, which saw the light in 1988, better known by the acronym VINO (Vierde nota de Ruimtelijke Ordening). This programme would change the urban, architectural, and social face of many Dutch neighbourhoods to foster social inclusion through integrated and participatory design programmes. The primary aim, therefore, was to foster urban mix and the application of the concept of the 'compact city' so that territories could be stitched up and many competencies of the state redistributed to local bodies and private individuals (Hoff van den 2006; Nabielek et al., 2013; Bruinsma & Koomen, 2018).

The real turning point began in the period 1991-95 with the supplementary note to the fourth report, known as the extra note, and activating a programme better known as VINEX (Vierde nota de Ruimtelijke Ordening Extra), which aimed at stitching up the most extreme parts of urban centres with the central areas through infrastructural implementation and the creation of independent citadels characterised by a high number of both social and private housing (Evers, 2018). However, problems with VINEX begin to be encountered in the early years of the new millennium, when the districts built in various areas of the nation are presented not as examples of compact cities but as examples of diffuse and elite rather than mixed cities (Fratini, 2014); the absence of suitable connecting infrastructure causes the programme to be extended in a second implementation until 2015-2017 that bears the name VINEX 2 or VINAC (Hoff van de G.J.J, 2006; Bruinsma & Koomen, 2018).

During the termination phase of the VINEX programme through the VINAC implementation, the fifth planning and development report is drafted, which attempts to analyse and correct those criticalities caused during the decades of the extra note; the new face of the national territory after the construction of the new districts, which were nothing more than super zoning experiences, is observed (Garcia Barba, 2009).

The fifth NR report (Note Ruimte) began its study phase in 1999 and was drafted in 2002 in the entire VINEX operation. One of the objectives in the administrative field concerns the state's withdrawal from urban policies except by exclusive delegation, extending what had been anticipated in the fourth report and effectively consolidating the principle of subsidiarity. In addition to endowing the provincial and local authorities with exclusive competencies and favouring openness to private intervention, integrated planning for territorial policies is consolidated to carry out interventions that represent an economical use of space. The new report considers the construction experience of the VINEX period as over and focuses on the preservation of the landscape and the territory, operating through the motto "centralise what is necessary, decentralise what is possible" (Bruinsma & Koomen, 2018); in fact, stricter principles are applied about the execution of new constructions.

4. The case of the VINEX programme

The VINEX programme, as anticipated in the previous paragraph, represents the extra note of the implementation of the fourth planning and development report; it envisages, initially until 2005 and later in the VINAC implementation until 2015, the construction of "one million new houses" (Fratini, 2014).

Given the small land area of the Netherlands, the data received on the building density envisaged by the programme are impressive: from 1999 to 2004, 828,145 dwellings were built, contributing to a radical transformation of the landscape, mainly due to the construction of new districts on the periphery of urban fringes (Gibelli, 2011).

Local authorities begin to play an important role because they are called upon to manage territorial policies through a transfer of the State's competencies to the Provinces, the Municipalities, and private individuals with the condition that the construction of the housing stock respects the quotas of 70% private housing and 30% subsidised housing (Fratini, 2014).

The state's exit from the management of real estate production and the consequent entry of the private sector implies greater competitiveness in the construction sector, which essentially aims to fulfil two purposes: "contain social spending, focus on operations and diversify products" (Fratini, 2014).

One of its most controversial aspects is disregarding the goal of high-density and compact cities to chase high market interests and realise elitist low-density neighbourhoods (Hoof van den, 2006). This has generated one of Europe's most emblematic examples of super zoning and land consumption.

The different implementation in the fourth report is undoubtedly very complex because it was born in a context of high development in the country. When parliament began to define this interaction in 1991, the programme was already operational and focused on redevelopment of inner-city areas (Gibelli, 2011).

The first draft of the extra note was drawn up around 1993, but it was in 1995 that the programme was made operational; the first two key objectives consisted of infrastructural implementation and the construction of new housing allocated in districts often close to major motorway junctions (Fratini, 2014).

Regarding infrastructure, VINEX has focused heavily on the implementation and strengthening of motorway and railway arteries, local public tram, and metro links, and strengthening port and airport activities such as Schipol Airport. The strengthening of the airport is based on four fundamental points concerning economic development, the reduction of vehicle traffic, integrated neighbourhoods with

housing, services, public transport, cycle paths and, finally, the preservation of urban space (Kruithof & Teule, 1997).

The main characteristic is to go and build new districts in areas that are no longer productive or characterised by the presence of old suburban brownfield sites, maintaining the line of decentralisation, where the state retains the competence to 'circumscribe consistency of public funding' (Fratini, 2014). The provinces and municipalities, on the other hand, are responsible for drawing up structural plans, monitoring expenditure, the financial sustainability of contracting companies, and dealing with the implementation phase. Although covering the entire national territory, the VROM's choice for so-called 'VINEX-locations' concerns the Randstad area, where new neighbourhoods can fit in more urbanised areas and be more easily connected to the infrastructure system.

One of the peculiarities in the location of the districts was to have divided the areas into three types, defined as A-B-C, depending on the type of infrastructure system present and possible implementation. Category A belongs to the districts oriented toward public transport and close to a tramway or railway line; band B areas are those with intermediate proximity to a railway line; while band C areas are those that do not have a vocation for public transport but prefer the use of the car (Hilbers & Snellen, 2010).

4.1. The foundation of the control centres (BON)

To avoid the overlapping of tasks between provinces and municipalities, the competence assigned to local bodies for land management led to the establishment of BONs - 'Bestur Op Niveau' (Control Centre), which consist of an administrative division of seven regions with the task of coordinating and facilitating the work of the municipalities (Kruithof, Teule, 1998). These new control entities have more extraordinary powers under the current framework law. However, the problem with their operation was that they were not endowed with certain delegated powers over land management. Instead, they remained within the Ministry of the VROM, which remained a direct interlocutor because it had more transparent legislation (Kruithof & Teule, 1998).

The problem between the BONs and the VROM mainly concerns metropolitan areas and land management, landscape management and the price of land on which to erect districts, and the Ministry suggests a nationally uniform price. BONs, on the contrary, are more oriented towards local market prices.

Another issue is increasing density and agreement with the various municipalities, especially when the VINEX district is between the large centre and the immediately smaller one. The latter usually fears being contested by the population mass of the more critical centre that would inevitably occupy the new location. Moreover, the building typology preferred by large centres also differs from that of small ones: the former prefer more substantial buildings to favour the concept of a compact city. At the same time, the latter are inclined to smaller single-family or semi-detached buildings with gardens, already defining the affluent target of future inhabitants.

Despite the controversial aspects and the difficulties between the State, the various local bodies and the private sector, the programme is one of the Netherlands' most extensive land and landscape transformations, as described in Atlas VINEX, one of the most comprehensive texts published on the subject. However, in the first ten years of the report (1995-2005), dwellings were built at an "average low-density of 20/25 dwellings per hectare" (Fratini, 2014), where the most common type is the traditional terraced house with a garden. The redevelopment of the landscape outside the built-up areas in the old 'Brownfields' places aims to encourage green space not as a simple isolated case but as a system of connections between the various centres.

The enhancement of infrastructural connections and green infrastructures has been partly thwarted by the poor coordination between the various local authorities, which has favoured the emergence of poorly integrated citadels, where the concept of bottom-up planning has not been correctly applied

and where there has been the development of a kind of luxury ghettos of '8000-12,000 inhabitants' (Fratini, 2014).

Most of the areas interested in construction are generally divided into sub-areas of about 'two hundred to three hundred inhabitants', a choice that serves to facilitate the sale of building lots and facilitate access to investors, who, according to the agreements between states, Regions, and Municipalities, are obliged to fragment the areas within the planned timeframe to favour their buildability.

This principle, created to streamline bureaucratic procedures, creates pressure on administrations that are forced to produce masterplan schemes quickly and in a very simplistic way, with an excessive fragmentation of the various sub-areas planned as if they were 'frameworks' without urban homogeneity (Fratini, 2014).

4.2. The VINEX dwelling characteristic

The environment, considered the individual's living space, is a complex reality that greatly influences territorial policy questions. Therefore, in examining the context of the place in which to live, one must consider the importance this has in an individual's life, especially in being an actor and spectator of the evolutionary processes governing a place (Turri, 1998).

The territory thus constitutes the relationship between spatial arrangement and social structure, constituting the so-called 'social logic' of space; this is the condition for creating a habitat where residents can feel connected and part of a community (Januszewski, 2016).

Over time, criticism of the new district's concerns that they have favoured a tendentially residential vocation in sub-areas, with a prevalent presence of terraced houses that constitute a monotonous design with endless and disorienting perspectives (Hoff van't et al., 2006; Garcia Barba, 2009).

However, in surveys conducted within the citizenry, residents are delighted with their dwellings. Indeed, in many of the districts, there was no shortage of examples of high architectural design that represented the 'anti-dogmatic' splendour of super modernism at the turn of the millennium, which brought the affirmation of young architects who became a flagship for the nation.

The VINEX building typology, therefore, tends to be terraced. However, in some sub-areas, the style is sometimes very varied, ranging from 1930s-inspired retro design to modernist linearity to examples of super modernism. The variety of styles present constitutes a great example of what can be defined as 'postmodern patchwork' (Fratini, 2014).

The division into sub-areas means that there is a polarisation of building typologies, not guaranteeing a homogeneous variety; we go from compact buildings in the areas intended to be central to single-family terraced typologies in the more peripheral areas (Figure 3), up to luxury villas in Palladian style and inspired by the typical Dutch stately home (Hoff van't et al., 2006) (Figure 4).



Figure 3. Typical design of VINEX district (Source: Wikipedia)



Figure 4. Ypenburg, Boswijkde sub-area (Source: Wikipedia)

The massive use of terraced housing, which tends to give homogeneity to the districts, responds to the desire of a large part of the population to have a private home with a garden, a general requirement of the average inhabitant that tends to create the typical European 1990s residential district design, not far removed from the similar typologies of the 1970s and 1980s (Ibelings, 2006).

As Isabella Fratini writes in her 2014 article, most districts are anonymous, so much so that many of them are not counted among the exemplary cases, given their small size. However, even among the most emblematic ones, some areas are typologically and architecturally anonymous (Donker, 2006).

One of the problems with the programme is that it has preferred the private ownership system to the rental system, as described in the 2001 memorandum "what people want where people leave", which is very much in favour of private owners rather than tenants. In the pre-VINEX period, the tendency of the average Dutch citizen was toward renting. However, the disengagement of the state from the management of housing policies and the takeover of the private sector resulted in the favouring of ownership and the encouragement towards the purchase of new houses, so much so that between 1998 and 2010, an increase in ownership of 65% was expected (Priemus, 2001).

The memorandum, therefore, marks the supremacy of the owner-occupied house with a garden, which guarantees the realisation of the citizen and his affirmation within society, even if modest in size. These appear to be the concepts that favour the typical typology of the new districts but also favour

experiences of super zoning with the consequent construction of purely elitist residential neighbourhoods.

Table 1. VINEX Housing stock (Source: Website of the Provinces)

Distribution for Provinces				
<i>Total for Provinces</i>	<i>Total VINEX-locatie</i>	<i>Extension</i>	<i>Sites for houses</i>	<i>% for regio</i>
Noord-Nederland	13.400	5.310	8.090	2,8
Oost-Nederland	61.670	18.093	43.577	15,3
Noordelijke-Randstad	125.700	47.750	77.950	27,4
Utrecht	44.300	7.200	37.100	13,1
Zuidelijke-Randstad	120.540	48.450	72.090	25,4
Zuid-Nederland	89.236	43.970	45.266	15,9

4.3. The role of landscape

Landscape in the VINEX programme has been of considerable importance, especially in the dynamics of the construction of the districts, which old Dutch rural landscapes have inspired mainly to amplify the concept of residential and recreational space.

The preservation of rurality is due to the preservation of the environmental quality and the rural space depending on the regional and socio-cultural context. Ecological and landscape diversity varies according to the variation of the urban scale to ensure a wide variety of spatial use.

In the forecasts of the fourth extra report, demands are clearly expressed not to distort the rural and original characteristics of the area but instead to develop political strategies for developing new ecosystems. The realisation of the districts was inspired by the characteristics of the old landscape, as shown by comparisons with old cadastral maps, even though they do not constitute a 'historicising concept' (Hoff van't et al., 2006).

The areas of the future districts, however, were former military sites or rural areas on the edge of which the countryside used for recreation began. Rurality was, without a doubt, one of the fundamental elements of the nation's culture; one only must think of polderisation, subsequent agricultural and bulb production, and finally, recreation, all of which contributed to the unmistakable appearance of the landscape (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Ypenburg, a typical VINEX landscape (Source: Wikipedia)

The landscape initially becomes the primary element of the programme and has been mapped according to four guidelines: green routes, yellow routes, blue routes, and brown routes.

In the green routes, an attempt is made to encourage the increase of biological networks to improve the ecological quality and use it as a guide for the spatial development of the regions concerned. On the other hand, areas with a solid agricultural vocation are considered yellow routes, and an attempt is made to keep them concentrated in certain areas. Blue routes, on the other hand, provide an opportunity to expand rural development and recreation and manage water resources.

Finally, brown routes seek to maintain scattered rurality to encourage new agricultural areas' growth. Some research carried out prior to VINAC shows the lack of infrastructural coordination between the districts and the primary centre, demonstrating in contrast to other surveys that flows to the workplace are not as frequent as in preliminary pre-masterplan surveys (Ibelings, 2006).

5. The fifth NR report

Following on from the experience of the extra note, the fifth NR report, which lays down its foundations between 2006 and 2008, seeks to correct the errors of land consumption by setting landscape as its starting point and territorial preservation as its primary objective; the motto for its launch is: "obtaining space for development".

The central State, at this stage, delegates more to local authorities the competencies of their territories, favouring, even more than in VINEX, the participation of the private sector in spatial development policies, trying to "decentralise what is possible and centralise what is necessary" (Dekker, 2006).

Land consumption, which occurred in the twenty years of the fourth report, shifts the attention of planners from the large cities of the Randstad, the subject of many interventions, to peripheral rural centres subject to alarming depopulation with the risk of entering the phenomenon of new desertification.

Based on these considerations and to achieve the objective of migration 0, the fifth NR report states that the VINEX experience ends the period of significant building interventions in large centres, except in targeted areas defined as red zones: territorial entities governed by planning instruments in which building construction and redevelopment interventions can be implemented.

After the 2008 crisis, Europe and especially the EU states had to come to terms with a phenomenon that was thought to be manageable, namely poverty as a concept thought to be circumscribed only to specific categories of the population. The sovereign debt crises, on the other hand, have brought to light a grey area of the population, that of the middle class, which despite producing income, is unable to produce development like the society of the 'glorious 30s': years of development after the Second World War.

Suppose up until the fourth report, society was in a state of continuous development. In that case, the fifth report shows a reversal of this trend, which, however, also has a backlash on urban development, highlighting the fragilities already present in the territories. Therefore, the new objectives include territorial preservation and landscape preservation beneficial for territorial regeneration and a more inclusive and sustainable society.

Landscape preservation takes place through the development of a green contour study, which began in the VINAC period but was little used. Nevertheless, some interesting data emerge from this tool, namely that 27% of the landscape areas fall within these contours, of which 17% are part of the national ecological network, and 3% are UNESCO-protected areas. From this, it can be deduced that the remaining 73% of the land has been used for agricultural activities while it has primarily been used for building expansion.

In order not to fall into the error of the VINEX long-term forecasts, the NR report sets 2020 as the final target, after which implementation is envisaged with a 2020-2030 memorandum, in which an attempt is made to limit housing expansion. However, one of the problems identified in the old reports is precisely that of housing, which, despite the large stock produced, mostly luxury, cannot meet the demand for housing. For this reason, municipalities and provinces must try to create collaborative processes to coordinate new zoning and regional plans to meet the goal of decentralisation and correct the excessive land consumption predicted by the fourth report.

5.1. Correction methodology of the NR report to the fourth VINEX extra note

The fifth report is based on the concept of a sustainable city whereby, unlike VINEX, the landscape as green and public space takes on a fundamental role and is not subordinate to a design accompanying the dwelling.

With the new NR, corrective methods take place first of all by modifying current planning instruments. One of these is the PBKs (critical planning decisions), which were created with VINAC and concern structural plans for green spaces; in the new NR, these no longer remain vague and intended for large spatial areas but must be specific to each area they are intended for with appropriate memoranda, such as those intended for the sea and rivers.

In the new NR, moreover, there is a more significant delegation of powers to local authorities, which allows better identification of local emergencies, which in VINEX had in part been introduced by the BON, but which had found it difficult to apply due to the significant role still played by the VROM. The landscape takes on an essential role at this stage and, unlike the fourth extra report, is no longer considered a national key but takes on a regional role and, in this sense, must follow development lines which meet the needs of the area in which it is located.

Only by meeting regional needs can that 'bottom-up' system be created to create a real national development network that considers a new ecological structure, new guidelines for water resources, buffer zones and infrastructure in general. Furthermore, the role of each stakeholder must be defined and in what time frame they can implement the regeneration goals. The main actors in this scenario are the local authorities that must operate according to specific competencies to avoid overlapping and field interferences. The provinces must operate according to a broader territorial interest, while the capillarity of local control is entrusted to the municipalities that play a primary role in this context.

To carry out a correct division of competencies, the first step is a revision of the laws that influence planning and which provide for a system of simplification in the drafting of spatial plans and where the first element is the control of the intervention budget that is allocated to three territorial areas that are considered fundamental sources of investment: rural areas, local and regional infrastructures, and urban renewal.

This is a central corrective system compared to VINEX, which operated, at least in its first part, under the 1965 Planning Act. When the new law was passed in 2007, specific intervention methods were revised, such as reducing technical approval times. In this scenario, the municipalities take on a significant role through a right of refusal on an active land policy whereby they purchase land and then allocate it to housing or private projects.

However, this procedure, which has been in place since 2004, allows municipalities to establish option rights for the realisation of non-agricultural spatial functions, which with the 2007 law is further enhanced through the use of expropriation. Furthermore, one of the means used for land management is competitive tendering and the use of European funds, especially for objectives aimed at landscape regeneration and enhancement and aligning with real estate market prices. The new land policy management tools, therefore, offer better opportunities to manage infrastructure and green systems

while respecting cost containment and implementing services and public spaces according to the directives of European frameworks.

In the NR report, the budget becomes fundamental and spatial development follows three specific directions: rural areas, urban renewal and that local traffic for which public transport is sought to be implemented. The issue of costs is not absolute but takes on flexible characteristics regarding the use of the budget, especially for sectors that intervene in landscape management, the preservation of national landscapes, the protection and implementation of buffer zones and the improvement of the country's agricultural areas.

In this context, the provinces play a crucial role in ensuring a capillarity in infrastructure connections so that the national ecological network can always be well preserved in the overall design. The principle of subsidiarity is thus the fundamental cornerstone of the fifth NR report, which, unlike the previous one, seeks to be closer to the needs of the citizen and to favour the implementation of public space to a greater extent, limiting building activity and especially the creation of large luxury districts.

6. Conclusions

The fourth extra note, called VINEX and its subsequent implementations, such as VINEX 2 or VINAC, have contributed to the total change in the design of the urban landscape, highly densifying the Dutch territory. The densification, unfortunately, did not take place, in contrast to the initial objectives, in a way that favoured compaction, but in a diffuse way, creating a design comparable to a postmodern collage (Fratini, 2014). However, not all of the experience has been negative because it led first and foremost to the redevelopment of areas and neighbourhoods that were then still grey areas or occupied by brownfield sites. On the other hand, what created distortions was the programme's conception over a long period of time, not taking into account economic crises and, above all, the lack of coordination of the private sector's entry into territorial policies. When the budget was reduced, preference was given to profit rather than quality and urban integration, sacrificing public space in favour of low-quality architecture, forming the backbone of VINEX neighbourhoods. In this contribution, the differences between the various planning and development reports are analysed, starting with the law of 1901 and then moving on to the subsequent post-war reports that contributed to the new design of the territory to avert the dangerous phenomena of building expansion. Over time, however, these reports have underestimated another element of strong land consumption due to agricultural and bulbiferous activity.

The fourth report, on the other hand, sanctions the end of the era of expansion to enter the era of redevelopment; the first part intervenes in the disused areas of the "Inner cities" but, with the promulgation of the VINEX extra note, redevelopment is extended to the peripheral areas, sanctioning the change in the face of the territory. The objectives and strategies of the programme were analysed up to its implementation, how there was a predilection for the isolated single-family dwelling that favoured the diffuse city rather than the compact one as initially proposed. In all this, the role of the landscape has always been to be subordinate to building activity.

The sovereign debt crisis then brought to light the flaws of this programme and the real speculative aims with the consequent excessive land consumption. Thus, to limit the damage, the RUMTE was launched, which sought to make corrections through greater attention to land preservation. To do this, more delegations are given to local authorities, and the "Grand Immeubles" season is considered closed, regulating building activity in clearly defined red zones.

The fifth NR report corrects the errors of VINEX through the preservation of the landscape in the green systems, its infrastructure and water protection. In this scenario, PBKs are therefore enhanced, and BON errors corrected. Therefore, the local authority becomes a key player in preserving and regenerating the territory, avoiding long-term objectives, but providing clear information on who the actors will be, where they will operate, and the time frame for achieving results. Therefore, the fundamental pivot of

this relationship is strengthening the principle of subsidiarity so that there is the supervision of the necessary interventions to implement the public space as a place of integration and relations.

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Data availability statement

The original contributions presented in the study are included in the article/supplementary material, further inquiries can be directed to the corresponding author/s.

Ethics statements

Studies involving animal subjects: No animal studies are presented in this manuscript.

Studies involving human subjects: No human studies are presented in this manuscript.

Inclusion of identifiable human data: No potentially identifiable human images or data is presented in this study.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interest.

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