

Dutch Architecture Policy and Institutional Infrastructure since the 1990's

Klaas Kresse

Assistant Professor, Department of Architecture, Ewha Womans University, Seoul, Republic of Korea

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Abstract This paper examines the Dutch policy for architecture and spatial design within the framework of the theory of creative industries. Creative industries are a young concept that emerged in the mid 1980's as a form of commercial cultural production associated with consumerism. The definition of the cultural industry is rather ambiguous in terms of its scope and its relation to the traditional field of art and cultural heritage. The paper describes the theory of the creative industry and relates the Dutch policy for architecture and spatial design to the creative industries theory. The sector of architecture and spatial design in the Netherlands has since the early 1990's been systematically supported by a national policy. Within this period a sophisticated infrastructure of institutions and funding incentives has created a successful and active culture of architecture, spatial design, architectural curating, architecture criticism, education, talent development, and research. Critical success factors for the Dutch policy are the separation of the cultural policy for architecture and spatial design from the art and cultural heritage sector, the 'depth' of the Dutch policy extending into fields not directly related to architecture and spatial design as well as the pro active role of the public sector assigning a central role to the architect and involving him in the beginning of the process.

Keywords: Architecture, Urban Design, Policy, Creative Industry, the Netherlands

1. INTRODUCTION

The Netherlands is one of the countries that has created a unique culture of architecture and spatial planning. Today, Dutch architecture and spatial design, and with it the entire creative industry, is not only an established brand in the design world, but also a considerable industry for the Netherlands in terms of turnover and employment. The creative industry is especially relevant when considering the Dutch policy for future development. Promoting education, the knowledge industry and creative services makes sense for a country that is short of natural resources.

For a small country in possession of only few natural resources, relying on highly educated human resources is a smart way to go. Due to a policy promoting the knowledge intensive and creative disciplines, the Dutch creative economy has, measured by its

proportion of national GDP, become one of the strongest in the world. This does not come as a surprise, as the creative industry belongs to the top sectors and focus industries of the Dutch economy. In 2014 the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science has summed up the achievements of the Dutch creative industry as follows: together the sectors of media and entertainment, creative services and business in combination with the art and heritage sector are responsible for 12.6 billion € turnover, which is 2.2% of the total national turnover in the Netherlands. Due to an export oriented policy the Netherlands, even though being a relatively small country takes the 8th place worldwide in creative export. There are 153.410 jobs in the creative industry, which accounts for 2% of the total amount of jobs in the Netherlands. Out of these 48.440 jobs can be found in the creative business and service sector, the sector to which architecture and spatial planning belong. (Ministerie van Onderwijs 2014) (Erp, Nemeth et al. 2014); (NUFFIC 2014);(Bobeldijk 2013).

The Dutch creative economy and especially the disciplines of architecture, spatial design have branded themselves as bold conceptual thinkers and innovators in their field. Considering the position of Dutch Design today it is worth mentioning that Dutch Design does not come forth out of a long history of designers and craftsmen as for example Italian design. Dutch design, and under this umbrella the disciplines of architecture and urban design, is the product of a public policy that has strategically promoted and grant-aided the creative industry with the aim of claiming a globally strong position in this knowledge and innovation driven field (Betsky and Eeuwens 2008). On top of this there are local characteristics present that ground the policy in a cultural,

Corresponding Author: Klaas Kresse

Assistant Professor, Department of Architecture,
Ewha Womans University, Seoul, Republic of Korea
e-mail: kkresse@klakr.net

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architectural and political context. This paper analyses the Dutch policy for architecture and spatial design on multiple levels in order to give insights in to the framework of institutions, the incentives and the (international) exposure the Dutch employed to support the architecture and spatial design sector nationally and internationally. Considering Korea, which is recently promoting a strong creative sector, it makes sense to understand the Dutch governmental policy as a reference for architecture and spatial design. Even though local institutions and local circumstances in Korea are different, the Dutch example shows how a policy that operates on several levels and through a range of independent institutions creates an environment in which local as well as foreign talents can find their place. This, as the Dutch example shows, leads to an internationally respected sector of architecture and spatial planning. The interest of several countries (Canada, Belgium, Spain, Denmark, Norway, United States) in the Dutch architecture policy has been unintentional, but nevertheless functions as an indicator for the success of the policy (Stegmeijer, Kloosterman et al. 2012).

The paper first places the Dutch architecture and spatial design policy since the 1990's in the wider theoretical framework of the creative industry. Here definitions, terminology and theoretical concepts are introduced. Then the paper describes the cultural, architectural and political foundations of the Dutch architecture policy previous to 1990. Afterwards, it analyses the consecutive architecture policies since the early 1990's, with a special focus their goals and tools. Finally, the paper evaluates the policies and identifies the critical success factors.

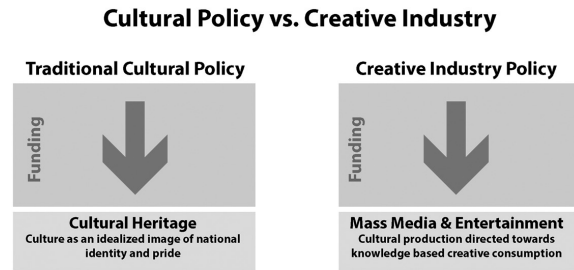
2. THE CREATIVE INDUSTRY

Theory, so far has not produced one established definition of the cultural (or creative) industry. Until today the use of the term creative industry has an ambiguous array of meanings (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt 2005) (Pratt 2005). This section gives a brief historical overview of the evolution of the creative industry apparent in the work of Hesmondhalgh and Pratt. Then it clarifies the definitions of the term creative industry within the discourse. Here the creative industry is defined first, in relation to non-commercial, cultural production or heritage. Second, the creative industry and its policy is placed in relation to a wider, national cultural policy. Crucial to the investigation of the policy is to look into its support and funding mechanisms. As the term creative industry is used ambiguously, looking at the funding mechanisms in the creative industry policies gives a clearer picture of the actual scope of the sector than the ornate description in policy documents. Pratt's has developed a theory on the notion of 'depth' of a policy, which is valuable resource here. The notion of 'depth' encourages considering also second level industries affected by the creative sector rather than only looking at the creative industry alone.

2.1 Concepts, Terms and Definitions of Cultural and Creative Industries

Making a distinction between the realm of art and the realm of commerce used to be much easier before the period of modernization than it is today. The growing ambiguity of the two realms is related to two shifts within society. First, there is the transition from feudalism to capitalism. Second, the process of industrialization lays the ground for the rise of mass culture, which

again is supporting an ambiguity between culture and commerce (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt 2005).



Hesmondhalgh and Pratt explain this process eloquently, defining the starting point of the ambiguous relation between art and commerce at the beginning of the 20th century, relying on research by Bordieu and Williams (1981). Within their elaboration of the evolution of the cultural industries they define a set of key factors occurring with the emergence of mass culture. Starting in the 1950's the authors pin point rising prosperity especially in the global north, the increase of leisure time, rising levels of literacy, television and new ways of consumerism, as well as an increased importance of cultural hardware as key factors in the evolution of the creative industries. Despite this evolution, in the 1950's policies addressing the creative industries are still lacking. Only in the 1980's the first policies for the creative industries emerged (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt 2005). In this context it should be noted that policy for the cultural industry is not the same as a culture for architecture and spatial design. Rather architecture and spatial design is a subcategory of the creative industry. In 1991 the Dutch policy for architecture and spatial design emerged as the first of its kind (Bento 2012) and became a reference for other national architecture policies emerging in Western nations (Stegmeijer, Kloosterman et al. 2012).

The boundary between the realm of art and the realm of commerce is vague. With the rise of the creative industry in the second half of the twentieth century the reciprocity between art and commerce starts eroding. In traditional cultural policy the cultural heritage is considered to be the main focus. Here an idealized image of culture is functioning as the carrier of the cultural identity through historical heritage. Culture in this conception is seen as a public good worth preserving. It is not produced for profit and is therefore entitled to public funding. Now, with the emerging creative industry tensions arise. Creative industry is commonly regarded as low or mass culture directed at private consumption. It addresses the masses instead of a small audience of art lovers and experts, and on top of that is created to make profit. This creates tensions between the cultural heritage sector and the newly emerging creative industry, mainly with respect to funding. Policies are by wont directed to support the not-for-profit sector and are therefore either not appropriately supporting the cultural industry or simply excluding these due to its commercial nature (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt 2005), (Pratt 2005). The policy and its funding infrastructure have to cope with an extended set of values in the cultural production. Policy makers role changes from being 'arbiters of taste and value' (Pratt 2005), towards developing long

term strategies for a knowledge based creative sector driven by highly skilled individuals.

Having drawn a distinction between the realm of cultural heritage and the creative industry, still ambiguity remains on who is part of the creative industry and who is not. Traditionally the notion of cultural policy includes the participation and consumption of heritage and cultural tourism. Since the 1980's this has been extended into the production of culture related goods and services (Pratt 2002). In what Pratt calls the 'depth' of the creative industry it is not only relevant who produces, participates and consumes the cultural production, but extends into the entire cycle of production. His example of the singer as part of the music industry illustrates this idea vividly:

"In the case of music, one would want to include not only musicians, but also their training, management and promotion, as well as the facilities, compact disc pressing plants, inlay printing, and distribution and retail. Critics question whether these are really the cultural industries; the answer is surely that the performances could not happen without them. Without these vast surrounding structures, the singer may as well be performing in the shower." (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt 2005)¹

It becomes clear how Pratt's notion of 'depth' resembles a self-image of a cultural policy that considers cultural production essentially as an economic activity. As mentioned earlier, this stands in contrast to the notion of the cultural sector being predominantly concerned with the conservation of cultural heritage, its exposition and documentation. The depth in Pratt's notion describes the impact of the creative act, in this case singing, on related industries associated with this creative act, but which are not necessarily creative by themselves. As the term creative industry is used ambiguously, analyzing to what extent a policy is promoting a deep involvement of associated economic activities is difficult. Explanations in policy documents are often ornate and confusing. I therefore propose to isolate the support and funding structure of the policy with the purpose to show the depth of a creative industry. For the case of the policy for architecture and spatial design in the Netherlands the main question emerging in this respect is, in how far is the policy capable to create an infrastructure that supports an ecosystem of not only spatial designers, but also related disciplines, such as architectural photography, architecture critics, graphic designers, publishers, etc.

3. FOUNDATIONS OF THE DUTCH ARCHITECTURE AND SPATIAL DESIGN POLICY

Specific local settings work as the foundation for the Dutch policy. We find here the specific geographical setting and the Dutch polder as a model for land creation, the local development tools for the utilization of the polders and the Dutch architectural design heritage to be important foundations for the first Dutch policy memorandum in 1991.

3.1 Polders; designing a 'tabula rasa'

The specific geographic situation and the constant struggle of

the Dutch with and against the sea have created a unique culture of engineering, architecture and spatial planning, also referred to as 'The Dutch Approach' (Ovink 2014). This has resulted in a sophisticated knowledge of water engineering and land reclamation known as polders. Polders are basically parts of the sea that have been separated by dikes and then drained in order to create new land for agriculture, industry or even cities. In these polders one can find a unique 'tabula rasa' situation. The land won from the sea is empty, flat and without noteworthy historical or landscape characteristics. It therefore functions as a perfect clean slate upon which spatial planning and design can evolve. To a certain extent this setting contributed to the freedom Dutch designers have and to an overall appreciative culture towards creativity and experiment. With engineers, planners and designers having a prominent role in this process, the Dutch developed a unique culture of spatial planning which has an impact on Dutch architecture and urban design.

Different from other countries, where a governmental land use policy would be rigorously pushed through in a top down manner, the Dutch planners developed a tool, which is known as the scenario method. In the scenario method spatial planners would work on a set of different utilization schemes. These schemes would show alternative ways of using the newly claimed land. The aim of this method is to trigger a public discussion on the potential of alternative scenarios for the development of the new polder. How should this new land be used? Rather than imposing one specific plan this strategy induces a public discussion on the utilization of the new polder. For spatial planners this practice meant their work was primarily to create plans of believable speculations of the future rather than fixed solutions (Salewski 2013). This scenario method can be seen as an early 'research by design', where designers take the lead in developing scenarios for the future. Out of these scenarios only the most promising ones are being tested and calculated to determine their feasibility. The key point here is that the idea of a future way of living comes first and only after regarded desirable is technically and financially worked out. Still today one can see a speculative and playful approach to architecture and urban design as well as transparent communication about different development possibilities embedded in Dutch architecture.

3.2 Planning methods and development policies

Many ambitious projects could be put into practice due to the assertive role of the public sector. The management of urban area development followed an active land policy led by the public sector (van der Krabben and Jacobs 2013). With the active land policy the public sector was in charge of land development. Here public sector owns land and then facilitates it and separates it into plots according to the public sector's ideal land use planning scheme for the area. Only then the plots are sold to individual developers. In this model the public sector and not the market has the biggest influence on urban development. Another advantage of this method is that seemingly opposing ambitions can be combined. In the Netherlands these were a need for housing as well as the ambition to maintain a high level of architecture and spatial design. In fact the two policies kept each other in balance here. On the one hand the VINEX-policy (Vierde Nota over de Ruimtelijke Ordening Extra, 1993) granted more autonomy to municipalities with respect to urban- and specifically housing development. This

¹ Hesmondhalgh and Pratt discussing the boundaries of the cultural sector using Pratt's definition of 'depth' rather than the often used definition of 'breadth' of the cultural sector.

resulted in locally driven urban development and competition for profits among cities. On the other hand, concerns emerged that purely profit driven urban development would compromise the quality of architecture and spatial design. The Dutch architecture policy is introduced as a means to balance between quantitative interests for profit and qualitative interests to ensure a high level of the built environment and the architecture. Due to a high level of planning control through the tool of active land development, assertive municipalities could ensure housing production as well as a high quality of architecture and urban design (Boeijenga and Mensink 2013).

3.3 Heritage of Dutch modern architecture

When reflecting on the history of modern architecture from a Dutch perspective, one will find a series of influential personalities from Dutch origin. This heritage can be seen as part of the foundation, upon which the Dutch architecture policy at the end of the 20th century is founded. Hendrik Petrus Berlage is considered one of the first rationalist architects and the first internationally influential Dutch architect of the modern movement. The following significant contribution to the world of architecture would be in the form of the group 'De Stijl' (1917). 'De Stijl' consisted of Dutch and international artists and architects that formed a loose group. The most famous of which were: Mondrian, van Doesburg, Oud and Rietveld (GuggenheimFoundation 2015). Gerrit Rietveld later received international success among modern architects with the construction of the Schroeder house in Utrecht (1924). The coming period was dominated by high modernism as advocated by Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe and the Bauhaus group with rather little conceptual lead of Dutch architects. Only later in the countermovement on the CIAM, two Dutch architects played a major role. Jacob Bakema and Aldo van Eijck, who together with Alison and Peter Smithson, George Candilis, Shadrach Woods and Giancarlo de Carlo formed the key members of the Team 10 movement (Risselada and van den Heuvel 2005). Out of this movement two new directions emerged. On the one hand that was the 'New Brutalism' movement, led by Alison and Peter Smithson, and on the other hand under the leadership of Dutch architects Jaap Bakema and Aldo van Eijck the structuralism movement (1959). Two younger Dutch architects that have made a significant contribution to the structuralism movement later were Piet Bloom and Herman Hertzberger. This short historical overview shows two things. On the one hand it shows that there has been a strong architectural tradition in the Netherlands upon which the architecture policy of the 90's could base itself. On the other hand one can see that throughout modern history Dutch architects have continuously addressed the local Dutch as well as an international context. As we will see later in this paper, the international aspect is still high up on the Dutch architecture policy agenda today.

4. DUTCH ARCHITECTURE AND SPATIAL DESIGN POLICY SINCE THE 1990'S

In this part the architecture memorandums since the beginning of the architecture policy in the early 1990's are discussed. The supporting policies and funding tools, as well as the infrastructure of architecture and architecture related institutions are explained. It will become clear how an integrated system of institutions, grants

and incentives on several levels contributed to a successful policy. In the last part it is explained how the focus of the architecture policy has changed, due to an altered political and economic context starting with the economic crisis in 2008.

4.1 'Ruimte voor Architectuur' – Space for Architecture

It was not until 1991 that occasional initiatives taken by municipalities were overtaken by a national agenda for architecture. In this year the Ministry of Welfare, Health, and Public Affairs (VROM) finalized the first national policy document on architecture, called 'space for architecture' ('Ruimte voor architectuur' 1991-1995 (VROM 1991)). On the one hand the government took their role as a good client themselves by commissioning buildings and planning projects and on the other hand by establishing and financing a set of institutions in the architecture and planning sector would found the basis for good architecture practice (box 1). Next to the direct impact on the architecture profession it also promoted related fields such as architecture research, critical architectural writing, architectural photography and the publishing of books on architecture (Dings 2009). Given the context of economic malaise in the Netherlands at the time, the creation of the first architecture memorandum is even more noteworthy. In this document architectural quality is defined as an integrated value based on the combination of three different criteria: cultural value, use value and future value which formed the basis for a worldwide unique infrastructure for architecture (Boer, Colenbrander et al. 2008), (Stegmeijer, Kloosterman et al. 2012).

The public sector, under the leadership of the ministries WVC and VROM considered itself a responsible client and promoter of the policy and actively promoted good clientship through the government bodies and supported a central role of design from the early stages of the project (Stegmeijer, Kloosterman et al. 2012), (Boer, Colenbrander et al. 2008). In order to carry out the tasks, a set of institutions was created. Most of this institutions still exist today and form the core of the vital architecture and spatial design environment in the Netherlands. Furthermore the policy promoted education leading to the creation of the internationally oriented post-professional course at the Berlage Institute. The initiatives promoting internationalization can be considered a reaction to the growing importance of globalization and the European unification at the time. From an economic point of view it was the first step to regarding Dutch architecture as an exportable service for an international market (Stegmeijer, Kloosterman et al. 2012). It is worthy to note that this policy decided to establish a set of independent institutions with different specializations, instead of creating one mega institution. These separated institutions would together with the already existing Universities result in a more active and diverse architectural landscape than one concentrated institute. The national authorities made a commitment to present a new architecture policy every four years, in order to stay on top of current issues and to provide a guiding policy for the new institutions. It was the task of the 'Chief Government Architect' to take the role of ambassador of this policy (Wagenaar 2011).

Additionally, to the institutions created by the national government, locally funded architecture centers started emerging all over the Netherlands. By 2012 there were more than 20 local architecture centers in the Netherlands, which meant that every bigger city would have an independent local architecture center.

Together with the already existing funds for artists and architects like the 'Fonds BKVB' and the already existing universities and architecture academies the Netherlands managed to create a solid infrastructure for architecture. The policy did not lead to immediate visible results. The incentive program would give architects the freedom to spend more time on research or on the development of innovative concepts and theories that would pay back in the long run. On top of that research grants had become a second source

of income that helped especially young offices through the first fragile years of practice. The program had an effect not only on the classics architects' profession, but also on the architectural climate in general. Architecture criticism became more prominent, and through the demand from new publishing houses also architecture historians and architecture photographers benefitted from the policy (Dings 2009). What we can find here is a relatively diverse and, to use the terminology of Pratt, 'deep' architecture sector,

BOX 1 - Institutions supporting Dutch architecture and spatial planning

The most important impulse for the architectural landscape in the Netherlands was the implementation of the following institutions:

1990 Berlage Institute

Post-graduate institute for architectural education with a strong international focus, resulting in a highly international group of educators and students

1991 funding Archiprix (already active since 1986)

Yearly exhibition of the best students graduation projects, promoting young talent to conquer a place in design practice

1993 new Dutch Architecture Institute - NAI in Rotterdam

The Netherlands Architecture Institute moved from Amsterdam to a new, bigger and more spectacular building in the Museumpark Rotterdam. Winning architect of the competition held for the design of this project was Dutch architect Jo Coenen. The NAI is established as an institute that combines the functions of a museum, a library, a café, a publisher of architecture books, a bookstore and the Dutch architectural archive under one roof. The NAI publishers operated independently at a later stage.

1993 Stimuleringsfonds voor Architectuur - SFA

Principle aim of the SFA is the promotion of Dutch Architecture and the funding of research, publications, exhibitions and other architecture related activities. It is considered one of the most important tools to implement the architecture policy.

1993 Architectuur Lokaal

Center of expertise, focussing on the construction culture, competitions and public tenders and good clientship in general

1991 funding European (already active since 1988)

Intereuropean ideas competition for architects younger than 40 years

1996 Archined

Independent online architecture platform

total funding architecture and spatial design 2011: 9.933.000 euro

2013 Het Nieuwe Instituut

New institute as a result of the merged institutes for architecture, design and new media in the building of the former Dutch architecture institute NAI and an additional cut in funding for the former NAI

2013 Stop funding of Post Academic Institute (Berlage Institute)

2013 Merging of IABR with NAI

2013 Budget cuts for Archiprix and European

total funding architecture and spatial design 2013: 7.929.000 euro

involving not only architectural and spatial design but also related fields.

4.2 'De Architectuur van de Ruimte' – The Architecture of Space

The second architecture memorandum entitled 'The Architecture of Space', 1996-2000 (De Architectuur van de Ruimte; (VROM 1996)) is for the most part a prolongation of the first architecture memorandum. Though, the second memorandum is adding two themes to the previous policy. In the first place, the central aim for a higher architectural quality was embedded in a wider definition of the term 'spatial quality'. Most importantly the policy broadened the field of focus from an exclusive interest in architecture into the disciplines of urban design, landscape architecture and infrastructure. So far the cultural value of spatial design has been underrepresented on the larger scale. (Stegmeijer, Kloosterman et al. 2012). In the second place, the policy was trying to stimulate more private parties to build with a higher ambition and architectural quality. A key idea in this policy was to combine quality spatial design with market oriented concepts. The national

**Dutch Institutional Infrastructure for Architecture
before 1990**



government has worked as a role model in the first policy, whereas in the second policy a trickle down effect of good clientship is promoted by involving local public sector and private parties. The institutions of Architectuur Lokaal, Archiprix and European are receiving an increased structural support to further promote good clientship and talent development. Additionally, the memorandum is joined by two more ministries and signed by the four ministries: OCW, VROM, LNV and VenW (Boer, Colenbrander et al. 2008).

4.3 'Ontwerpen aan Nederland' – Designing the Netherlands

The following architecture memorandum 'Designing the Netherlands' 2001-2004 ('Ontwerpen aan Nederland'; (Patijn, Idsinga et al. 2000)) followed the policy of the former memorandum and aimed at consolidating the role of architecture in construction by creating a series of big precedent projects. The series is known as the 'Ten Big Projects' (Tien Grote Projecten)

becoming the main focus of government led construction during the coming years. These ten projects all are characterized by a high level of complexity and ambition (Stegmeijer, Kloosterman et al. 2012). Rather than shifting the focus of the architecture policy, this period is elaborating on the prior policy of which the 'Ten Big Projects' are the practical evidence of the formulated ambition (Coenen 2003). With the Ten Big Projects the Dutch policy is

**Dutch Institutional Infrastructure for Architecture
2006**



promoting design and probably more importantly giving the architect an equal position amongst peers at the beginning of a complex, large-scale task of national importance. Until then these tasks were primarily approached from an administrative, technical and financial perspective to which design was of a later concern. The 'Ten Big Projects' create precedents in which architects are taking part in finding a solution for the problem, rather than giving shape and identity to the solution. As designers are engaged in the process from an early stage it is easy to weigh and judge alternatives. This furthermore creates a bigger awareness of architecture and spatial design in public and stimulates a debate in the context of national architectural, urban, landscape and infrastructural tasks (Coenen 2003). In the words of former National chief architect Jo Coenen we can find a silent reference to the scenario method described earlier.

4.4 'Actieprogramma Ruimte en Cultuur' – Action for Space and culture

The fourth architecture memorandum called 'Action for Space and Culture' 2005 – 2009 ('Actieprogramma Ruimte en Cultuur'; (Boer and Mol 2005)) focused more on the cultural and historical values of landscapes and cities. The main aspect of the strategy was the so-called 'conservation through development' that promoted a development-oriented approach of historically or culturally valuable sites. Within this approach a change has taken place. Whereas formerly the projects have been carried out with a focus on architecture as object, the projects in focus in the fourth policy memorandum approach the relation between heritage and the surrounding area integratively. Similar to the earlier architecture policy, a set of thirteen precedent projects ('voorbeeldprojecten')

were defined and carried out under collaboration with spatial designers starting from the early phases of those projects. Partly these projects were overlapping with the 'Ten Big Projects' of the third architecture memorandum. Again, the approach in the fourth memorandum stimulated an interdisciplinary collaboration in a research by design manner (Stegmeijer, Kloosterman et al. 2012), that relates to the scenario method described earlier. Furthermore this memorandum is supported by the ministries of 'Economic Affairs' as well as 'Defense and External Affairs' after 2001 (Boer, Colenbrander et al. 2008).

4.5 'Een cultuur van ontwerpen' – A Culture of Design

The fifth architecture memorandum 'A Culture of Design' 2009–2012 ('Een Cultuur van Ontwerpen'; (Boer, Colenbrander et al. 2008)) is emerging shortly after the start of the economic and property crisis in the Netherlands. Due to the involvement and losses of municipalities in property speculation; urban area development is reorganizing. These changes have effects on architects and result in a growing economic pressure and an increasing worry about the architectural and urban quality in the Netherlands. As a reaction to the reorganization after the crisis and a less active role in urban area development of the public sector, the memorandum is guiding architecture towards foreign markets in order to make up for the diminishing domestic demand. Design, the memorandum states, is an export product (Stegmeijer, Kloosterman et al. 2012). Furthermore, the memorandum is focusing on the role of architecture as a mediator between the parties involved in architecture and urban development. The memorandum defines three priorities, first the relation between good clientship of the public sector and early involvement of designers in the process, in line with the precedent projects in the two earlier architecture policies. Then, more attention is paid to urban planning and design as well as regional planning. And in the third place, redevelopment and reuse are considered to be more in the focus of the spatial design disciplines. Outside the fifth memorandum, but still related the Ministry of Infrastructure and Milieu establishes two new institutions to the architecture infrastructure. The first one is a 'laboratory for private clientship' (Lab Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap) and the second one is a fund for a new chair of 'Design as Politics' at Delft University of Technology (Boer, Colenbrander et al. 2008).

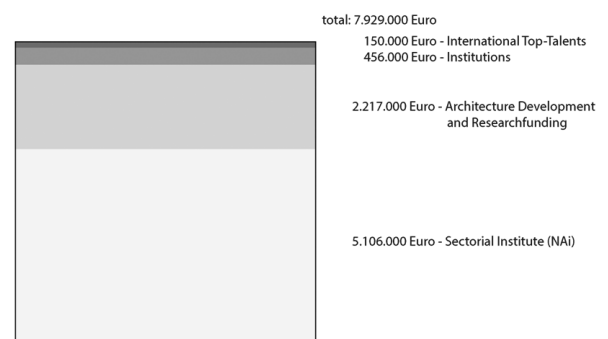
As a reaction to the economic crisis, from which the architectural sector has been hit severely, the architecture policy needed to deal with a new context as well as severe budget cuts from the national government (Beijer 2012). This includes a new orientation in politics, a post-bubble economy in the architecture and construction sector, a new approach to urban area development (Janssen-Jansen, Peel et al. 2012), which all led to a change of directions in the architecture policy and a reinterpretation of the role of the architect. After the economic crisis a general switch towards greater liberalization and market influence emerged. For instance, due to unsuccessful land speculation through municipalities many public sectors led projects stopped. A new impulse to development is therefore sought by giving greater responsibilities in urban development to the market (van der Krabben and Heurkens 2015) and placing the architect in a new role as a mediator between parties or even an initiator of projects. New market oriented models needed to be embraced and as such,

also the focus in the later architecture memorandums changed. In general, the policy has shifted towards a more libertarian and process oriented policy and away from a mainly quality oriented policy (Vollaard 2011). In the words of Piet Vollaard, the new policy is stressing economic value of architecture as an economic activity, rather than the cultural and qualitative values that have been stressed formerly (NAi-Platform 2012) (Vollaard 2012). With this shift we experience an emerging conflict between the two opposing concepts of architecture as a cultural activity versus architecture as an economic activity. This conflict is similar to the conflict Hesmondhalgh and Pratt describe between the cultural and the creative industries described in the theory section of this paper.

4.6 'Werken aan Ontwerpkracht' – Working on Design Strength

The latest memorandum for architecture and spatial planning in the Netherlands is called 'Working on Design Strength' 2013 – 2016 ('Werken aan Ontwerpkracht'; (Haegen and Zijlstra 2012)). As a reaction to the economic changes mentioned above, the government decided to change policy, cut funding and bundle forces of formerly separated cultural sectors. The overall budget cut for the sector was roughly 20%, going down from about 9.993.000 Euro to about 7.931.000 Euro (Cultuur 2011). Starting from 2013 the Dutch architecture fund (SFA) is combined with the design fund and the new media fund under the umbrella of the fund for the creative industry. The former NAI is fusing with the institutions of design and new media in the building of the NAI under the new name 'The New Institute' (Het Nieuwe Instituut) supported with ca. 19 million Euro in total (Zijlstra 2011).

Budget: Architecture and Spatial Design after 2012



source: Raad van Cultuur 2011

Other measures include the cutting of funding for the Berlage Institute, as well as the IABR (International Architecture Biennale Rotterdam), European and Archiprix. The memorandum belonging to this policy is following the lead of the general policy for culture in the Netherlands. It pushes the strength of design to react to (inter-) nationally urgent tasks. In this agenda the tasks are defined with a relevance to processes that occur locally, but also have a global relevance. Transformation of existing cities and landscapes is defined as one theme. Regional design, small-scale initiatives, multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary work and the search for new alliances between public and private parties are other themes defined in the memorandum. The role of the designer is redefined

in this memorandum. The word design is interpreted in a different way. The memorandum speaks about an interpretation of the designers role, where designers leave their role as draughtsman behind and involve themselves in the process more proactively. Advertising architects to become initiators of small projects, and intermediates between investors, financiers, users and the public sector. There have been two main points of critique on the new memorandum. On the one hand, it is criticized that the themes are too large and vaguely formulated, meaning that the memorandum avoids to make a clear statement. On the other hand, the memorandum is criticized for the withdrawal of the public sector out of the architecture policy, a position that has been very strong in the past and sat at the core of the policy (NAi-Platform 2012).

5. DISCUSSING THE DUTCH ARCHITECTURE POLICY SINCE 1992

The Dutch policy for architecture and spatial design is grounded on a local geographic, cultural, and architecture historical foundation. The architecture policy manages to make use of the strengths of those aspects and develop a progressive policy based on existing local qualities. In terms of developing a Dutch style the 'tabula rasa' planning of the polders is important. It has created a democratic, open planning culture where experiment is rather embraced than rejected. A bold, pragmatic and daring design style developed out of this. Later this style has been labeled Dutch design.

5.1 Themes in the Dutch architecture policy

The first important outcome of the Dutch culture is reflected in the architecture memorandums in the importance of the role of the designer. Rather than being pushed to the end of the process designers are given a role in the process from the beginning on. Then, the active land policy has provided a high level of control and therefore quality control in the hands of the public sector. This has been used responsibly with clear ambition to improve good clientship and to turn the public sector into a role model client. Third, investments are made with a long-term perspective. Funding institutions such as the architecture fund support talent especially in the economically fragile first years of professional practice. Other institutions provide a platform and exposure for talents towards the public. Fourth, the international orientation of the Dutch art and architecture scene, as apparent in for example in 'de stijl' and Team 10 has been picked up and strengthened. International orientation has been a key policy in the consecutive memorandums since 1992. This effort is not only limited to international exhibitions and architecture related events, but stretches into internationally oriented education and an open funding structure that stresses the ambition to attract and keep international design talent in the Netherlands.

The Dutch architecture policy has been stable, even though the Dutch architecture policy since the 1990's is reacting to political and economical changes we can find those themes mentioned above inherent in all the architecture memorandums.

1. Promotion of good clientship, with the public sector as role model client
2. Giving a key role to the designer in the early stage of

projects of national importance

3. Wide support of the architecture sector, reaching talents as well as established firms through promotion of education, funding of research and exhibitions
4. International orientation of the architecture culture created in the architecture policy

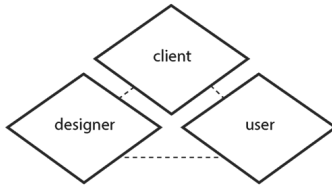
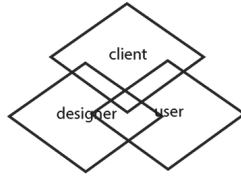
Themes in the architecture policy ensure that policy goals can be achieved in the long run. Having themes formulated general enough so that different political parties can identify with, helps to create a certain level of consistency and therefore maintains quality. Even though different political leadership reinterprets the precise goals and support differently, there is a maintained relevance of the themes mentioned above over more than 20 years. Defining key themes and the ability to work with these themes over a long period of time and political changes is remarkable as a factor to ensure quality.

5.2 Balancing quality and quantity driven policies

Another point that deserves mentioning here is the role of the architecture policy to balance the liberal VINEX policy, which has been also ratified in the early 1990's. Here, in order to cope with the population growth in the Netherlands, the VINEX policy encourages new housing developments. The national government step back from central planning and lets cities compete in the provision of housing in a free market. As the quality of the architecture and spatial design in this approach is expected to be relatively low, the Dutch architecture policy is implemented as a means of balance. As pointed out by Boeijenga and Mensink the architecture policy in the early 1990's had the role of balancing the liberal VINEX policy with a policy to ensure quality of architecture and spatial design (Boeijenga and Mensink 2013). This idea is dropped in the sixth architecture memorandum. Instead of balancing and ensuring quality of architecture and spatial design, the architecture policy now regards spatial design to be to a greater extent subject to market forces. Even though support of the architecture sector is still big, the attitude of the policy changes from the idea of balancing to the idea that architecture and spatial design operate to a greater extent by the rules of the market. This moment marks a turning point in the Dutch architecture policy. With the economic crisis of 2008 came a change of the economic and political environment in the Netherlands. The real estate sector has been hardly hit and with this came a new focus.

5.3 A new role for the architect after the economic crisis of 2008

When following the line of the architecture memorandums from 1992 until today, one can find a transformation of its character. There is a shift in the ambition from improving the quality of architecture in the Netherlands, towards considering architecture mainly as an economic activity. What has changed additionally to the orientation of the policy is the scale level of the tasks addressed. Architecture in the new policy is focusing less on iconic architecture and shifts towards architecture addressing environmental, social and spatial tasks. This implies an objective that shifts from the design of objects towards a larger scale and also an inclusion of non-physical factors, such as economics or politics. One can see this as a renunciation of the architectural discipline

**Relations
pre 2012****Relations
after 2012**

source: Actiesagenda Architectuur en Ruimtelijk Ontwerp 2012

from the interpretation as an autonomous discipline. The question of the relation between architecture and society is in the new policy answered in favor of a strong relation between society and architecture. This also comes with greater responsibilities of architects in terms of their economic abilities to survive. To a certain extent the policy in the Netherlands had created a milieu in which architects could operate rather autonomously and comfortably. This setting certainly contributed to the experimental character of Dutch architecture and spatial design as well as the output of books and exhibitions. With the new policy the question arises if this still creates enough freedom for experimentation and innovation. To tie in on the successes of previous Dutch architecture and spatial design this new setting is a difficult task especially during economically meager times. Time will tell whether the new direction of the policy will manage to create a generation of architects that can grow into the footsteps of the first generation of architects of the Dutch policy.

5.4 Detaching the cultural and the architecture sector

Earlier in this paper describes how the emergence of creative industries brought about ambiguities that would lead to tensions with the traditional arts and cultural heritage sector. The question would arise, how one policy could simultaneously serve both the cultural heritage and tourism sector as well as the creative industry with a for-profit orientation. This would lead to a situation where the traditional cultural heritage sector would feel threatened by the creative industry in a fear of liberalization, commercialization of the cultural sector, as well as an increasing competition for public sector funding. (Pratt 2005). In the Dutch policy for architecture and spatial design the tensions within the cultural sector are circumvented from the very beginning. By introducing a separate policy with an independent structure of institutions and funding mechanisms for architecture and spatial design tensions could be avoided. Furthermore a special importance and allure is given to the sector. Through these decisions the sector could focus on discussion of content rather than exhausting its energies in the competition for funding.

The Dutch policy promotes a wide scope of spatial design and related fields. Also, the policy actively promotes institutional diversity and a lively discussion. We can define the range of the architecture and spatial design sector by using Pratt's notion of depth (Pratt 2002) and relate this to the funded institutions. These institutions cover the preservation of historical architectural values and their exhibition, quality development, research and publication, talent development, as well as promotion of internationalization of Dutch architecture and spatial design. Following Pratt's notion

of depth, additional to the initial funding a trickle down effect is taking place, which results in a even larger number of institutions and businesses are becoming part of this culture. Though in the first place spatial designers benefit from this policy, in the extended field also curators, architectural photographers, architectural critics, graphic designers and urban geographers are involved. It is this depth that contributes to a successful policy as it supports a strong and diverse architecture culture.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Evaluating the Dutch architecture policy we discussed a multitude of measures contributing to a successful policy. Nevertheless, I want to conclude with the definition of a set of four critical success factors of the Dutch policy.

First, the long-term orientation of the policy allows creating a culture of architecture and spatial design. Education and talent development are investments into the future. Only with a long-term orientation can the fruits of this policy be harvested. Renunciation of a need for quick results in favor of an implementation of a culture of architecture and spatial design is realized through the maintenance of themes throughout consecutive memorandums. Second, circumventing tensions with the cultural heritage sector as described earlier is certainly one important success factor. Detaching the architecture sector and its funding structure from the cultural heritage sector avoided tensions between the two sectors. It is worthy to note that the Dutch policy for architecture and spatial design in the 1990's was unprecedented, with respect to the conflict between cultural heritages and design the policy acted with good foresight. Also for this reason the Dutch policy became a precedent for other countries national policies, as described earlier in this paper (Bento 2012). Third success factor is the broad scope of the policy and the funding of different institutions. The 'depth' created by this set of independent institutions leads to a public discourse, which is much broader than a discourse within only one big institution would be. Media and the public becomes engaged, which again contributes to a culture of appreciation towards spatial design in the Netherlands. The fourth and biggest success factor lies in the strong support of the architects by the public sector. Here the public sector decided to lead by example and played its role as responsible client. Architects in the Netherlands were given an equal position at the table together with other experts in order to shape and design big architectural and infrastructure projects of national importance. In the Netherlands the public sector has created structures to support good clientship and raise the quality of architecture, which in the end was in the benefit of architects and strengthened their role in the construction process. And even though the new policy asks more initiative and self-reliance from architects, the policy continues to assign a key role to the architect in shaping the Netherlands.

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